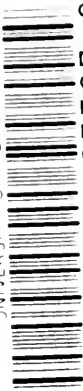


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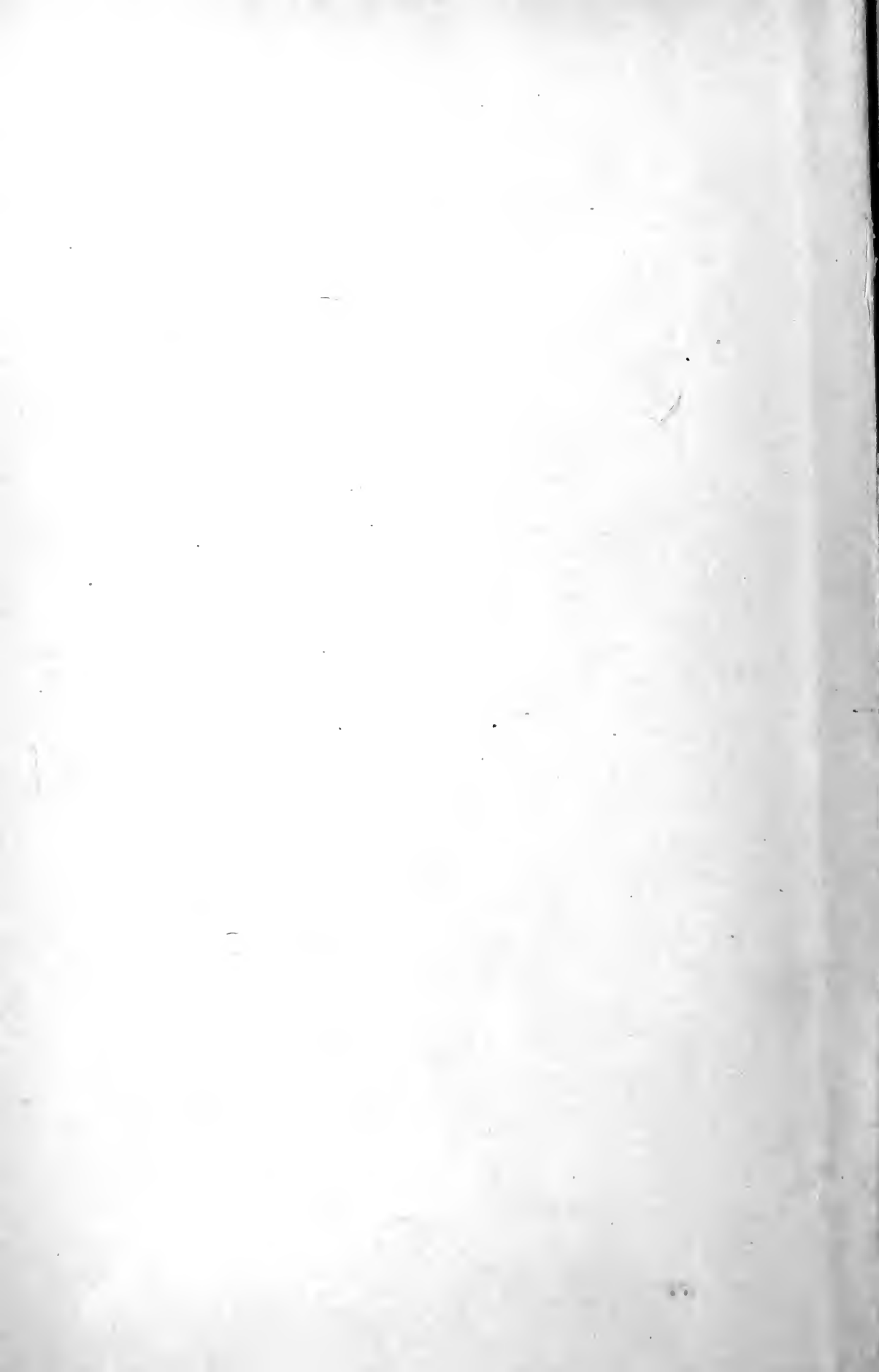


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# Assyrian Deeds and Documents

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# Assyrian Deeds and Documents

## Recording the Transfer of Property

Including the so-called private contracts, legal decisions  
and proclamations preserved in the Kouyunjik  
Collections of the British Museum

Chiefly of the 7th Century B.C.

*COPIED, COLLATED, ARRANGED, ABSTRACTED,  
ANNOTATED AND INDEXED*

BY

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VOL. III.

MONEY LOANS—LEGAL DECISIONS—  
DEEDS OF SALE—SLAVE SALES

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## PREFACE.

THE task of translating and elucidating the documents treated in this Volume has been hindered by a desire for completeness which has only partly been satisfied. The appearance of many notable and valuable works in Assyriology has entailed an amount of study which has led to some improvements, but at a great expense of time. Whether the additional information on a few points has made amends for the delay must be left to the reader's judgement to decide. This Volume, however, deals with about one-third of the whole material published in Volumes I. and II.

In order to render the disjointed facts, so plentifully scattered throughout these texts, and often so interesting for their indirect bearings on other subjects, more readily accessible, somewhat full indexes have been given. These are not intended to be complete registers of every point raised, suggestion made, or word discussed, but to assist readers to find the principal matters for which they would naturally look. In the nature of things, it was inevitable that some points should be touched upon time after time, as they occurred in their different associations. Few subjects could be treated once for all and then dismissed from notice. Hence a full estimate of what may be gathered from these texts on a given point is best reached by comparing what is said in one place with the other places which are indicated by an index.

In such an arrangement of texts as has been followed here, a table of contents could only register the headings of a few chapters; and the incidental subjects touched upon are more conveniently arranged alphabetically. In the case of the indexes of Semitic words and names the order of the Semitic alphabet is followed. In the index of Assyrian words and phrases, no attempt is made to assign words to their roots, for several reasons. In a few cases, the root is not certain; in most cases the root is not considered in the text, only the word itself. Phrases would have to be entered under several roots, instead of under their first word. The assignment of words to their roots is more appropriate in a glossary than in an

index. It also appears likely to give needless trouble to some who might use the book and who might not readily discover to which root the word they sought would be referred. Especially with words beginning with a vowel, which are here alphabetically arranged, no attempt is made to distinguish the root vowel.

The proper names will be found to play a very important part in the notes. At first, it was my intention to relegate them to a Chapter on Proper Names, but the continual recurrence of the same name made this undesirable. Besides, the true bearing of the transactions could only be made clear by emphasising the personality of the parties to them. Hence, it soon became evident that the most direct way was to give, on the occasion of mentioning any one person, a condensed sketch of his doings, so far as recorded in our documents. I had intended to present such a sketch under each name in a final index. But after indexing the proper names in our documents, with references to the occurrences of each name, I realised that thus there would have to be a separate index volume. This could not, of course, appear until all else had been finished. The notes and comments must either anticipate much of that index, or lose much of their point. Hence, I decided to make each note as full as I could, and refer to it when further mentions occurred.

This plan, of giving all the occurrences of a name, in the notes, on its first appearance, was not adopted until its convenience had become evident. In the notes on the simple advances or loans, the importance of the personalities involved was less marked; for a prominent official generally made advances to inferior personages, who rarely appeared again. But with the more complicated transactions, it became clear that much would depend on the recognition of the individuals concerned and of their exact status. In fact, so closely are the interests involved in our documents interwoven one with another, that the reader will notice, before he reaches the end of the volume, that almost every person named in the transaction before him has been dealt with previously. As the references had to be given in the MSS., as sent to the printer, I could only quote by sections, not by pages. The inconvenience of reading through a long section in order to find a single name will, I hope, be reduced by the Index of Proper Names now attached to this volume.

In that index will be found; first, the number of the section under which any enumeration of the occurrences of a particular name is to be looked for; and, second, the numbers of the pages on which other mentions of that name may also be found. The

references in the body of the text had to be made to the number of the contract where the name occurred. When that contract falls within the limits of this volume, each name is of course noticed ; if only by a reference to the previous section in which it was discussed. But references to the number of a text, especially when a name has to be sought out in the cuneiform of Volume I., are likely to cause considerable inconvenience. If the only subject of enquiry is the position or functions of the person, not merely the way in which his name was written, then a reference to the page of this volume will be sufficient.

Another view of the proper names soon forced itself into a position of importance. The scribes are far from anything like uniformity in the way in which they spell proper names. It became necessary, not only to record the places where the same collection of signs could be found, but to add the places where the same name was written differently. The recognition of these various spellings was necessary if a record was to be set out of all the transactions in which a given person took part. As a preliminary to such a recognition, the analysis of the names had to be undertaken. It then appeared that many names lay outside the range of Assyrian and Babylonian derivations. The comparison of Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Egyptian and even Persian names had to be at least attempted. This was not entirely uncongenial work, for a collection of Proper Names, specially for the sake of comparison with Old Testament names, was the object that had first led me to examine the contracts. Hence, I have recorded my views of the affinities of the names occurring in this volume, and the Index of Biblical and Aramaic Names illustrated, will perhaps be welcomed as a contribution to the subject.

It was, at one time, my intention to publish a collection of the names in Assyrian and Babylonian documents as well as in the other Cuneiform Inscriptions. This is the intention, apparently, of others also ; and from what I have heard of the size of their collections, I judge that little use would now be served by persisting in carrying out my purpose. But I should fail in my duty to my readers, if I did not make their use of the material in my work as easy as possible.

The admirable remarks by Professor Hilprecht in the Ninth Volume of *Cuneiform Texts of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Philadelphia*, pp. 20-29 (*B. E.* ix.); the invaluable collection of names in Volume v. of the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform*

*Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum*, by Professor Bezold (*Cata.*); and the numerous lists of Proper Names attached to the recent editions of *Cuneiform Texts*, have made much of my previous work superfluous. The student should specially consult Strassmaier's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss* (*S. A. V.*), for variants to the names. Dr Peiser's lists at the end of his *Babylonische Verträge* (*B. V.*) and *Acten-Stücke* (*A. S.*), the index of names in the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets, at the end of Vol. v. of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (*T. A.*), are very valuable. The articles by Professor Delitzsch, Dr Ziemer, Dr Demuth, Dr Jäger, and others in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, have added much to our knowledge of the reading of proper names.

Professor Hommel deals at length with Proper Names, Biblical and other, in his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*.

Lidzbarski's *Nordsemitische Epigraphik* gives the Aramaic, Phoenician, Punic, Palmyrene, Nabataean, Sinaitic, and other Semitic names from the inscriptions and is largely quoted in this volume. It is invaluable for comparative purposes (*N. E.*).

A large number of interesting names, chiefly Aramaic, are noted in my 'Assyrian Doomsday Book,' Vol. xvii. of Delitzsch and Haupt's *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, usually quoted as the *Harrañ Census* (*A. D. B.*).

Of great value are the lists of Specimen Names drawn up by the Assyrian scribes themselves. One very large example, K 241, was published in II. R. pp. 63, 64. This appears in Vol. II. as App. 1. In Rawlinson's Edition some readings are doubtful. The obverse and reverse are there interchanged, as printed out in the Catalogue, p. 63. Dr Bezold in his list of Proper Names in Vol. v. of the Catalogue has given the correct transcription of most of these names. I have had the good fortune to recognise that 82-3-23, 137, is really a join to K. 241, thus restoring 9 lines of columns viii. and ix.

The next example, App. 2, Sm 55 + Rm 567, is only a small fragment of what it once was, and does not add much to our knowledge compared with the others.

The fine example, App. 3, 83-1-18, 695, is unfortunately in a very bad state and was much defaced by silica when I copied it. It has since been beautifully cleaned and many better readings are possible. These will be used in the notes as we proceed. No far-reaching theories should therefore be based upon the text as given in Vol. II., without careful collation. Some improved readings will be found in the *Corrigenda*, p. xiii.

With respect to App. 4, 83-1-18, 715, it may well be a flake off one of these three lists, but I have not yet discovered its place. The tablet App. 5, K 5656, would have been invaluable, if we had more of it, for it gives us the accepted renderings in the later nomenclature of a number of ideographically written names. In this respect it resembles K 4426, published v. R. 44, where, however, the names seem to be those of ancient Babylonian monarchs and authors. In this text, however, one or two points seem clear. Thus, at any rate in proper names, *AN-UR-RA* is read Nêrgal, and that Bau was to be read Gula, rather than the reverse.

In view of the comparative rarity of female names, App. 6, 81-2-4, 255, and the next three lists should be welcome. They are unfortunately not well preserved.

The value of these lists for my work is obvious. For when on the damaged and often carelessly written contracts a name appears, which does not occur elsewhere, our reading becomes a practical certainty, if found in Appendix 1.

Since the publication of the texts in Vol. II., a number of further joins have been made. Thus the fortunate recognition of K 8787 as part of K 9060, led me to join into one tablet nos. 1110-1115. That tablet now consists of nine fragments, K 8787, K 9060, K 10329, K 12983 + K 12988, K 13200, K 13214, K 13216, K 13223, K 14305. This thoroughly justifies my classification of nos. 1110-1115 together. But it was impossible to join them until the connecting links were found.

In view of the great probability that further joins will be made in the course of my further examination of other classes of fragments, I have decided not to republish the joined tablets until it is necessary to write the comments upon them in full.

The promise of publication of the joins marked with a \* in the list of joins in Vol. II. will therefore be redeemed later. Already some texts have been twice published for the sake of their added fragments. To continue to do this, to republish a text each time a new fragment is added, seems likely to lead to no useful result. Should any reader be working on texts of which I have announced further fragments, I shall be glad to give any information directly, by correspondence. But the further publication of joins must now be postponed until the texts are dealt with in their proper order. On the other hand, I shall welcome any suggestions made to me as to the probable connection of the published fragments. If such suggestions prove to be correct, I shall gladly acknowledge their

source, while if they are not of any value I shall not remark upon them.

Many of the fragments are so similar in style that there is every probability that they originally belonged to one tablet, but nothing can be done to join them till the connecting link is found. On the other hand, two fragments which really join may lie side by side some time before their connection is seen. This is especially true of lists, where the character of the articles enumerated is so varied that no plan is to be discerned. Even when the sort of list is clearly the same on two fragments, repeated trial is needed. Thus I have tried to join no. 858 to no less than six others, and at last, after two failures, found that it really joined no. 840. Lines 2-11 of the obverse of no. 858 restore lines 1-10 of col. 1. of no. 840, the first complete line reading *Ḳurdi-Ašur amêlu šaknu apil šarri*.

With respect to the Tables of the amounts of loans, referred to on p. 14; and most other Tables, for which additional information may be expected, it seems best to postpone them all until the texts are as complete as I can make them. As long as these continue to alter, or increase in number, it is waste of space to tabulate.

To Dr E. A. W. Budge, for many kind concessions, and to Messrs King and Thompson are due my renewed thanks for interest and sympathy.

I also desire to express my great indebtedness to the Rev. W. Cruickshank, who not only carefully collated the whole of the texts treated in this volume, but also read over the proof-sheets and verified most of the references to parallel passages.

Professor Dr P. Jensen has again done me the inestimable service of reading the proof-sheets, and to his suggestions I owe many improvements. In several cases further enquiry based on his criticism has resulted in important elucidations. The appearance of his notes to the Sixth Volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* after most of this work was written, has considerably modified my views. Some of the changes to be made in consequence are embodied in the Addenda and Corrigenda, on p. xiii. It is to be hoped that the reader will consent to consult these with the texts.

The remainder of the work will now, I trust, proceed more rapidly.

## CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

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- 8 In the Sumerian *SAG-DU*, the *DU* is not a phonetic suffix, but part of the ideogram.
- 9 It would be better to say that *ŠA* may denote 'shape,' and to leave it uncertain whether *šiknu* is the word for 'shape' or 'form,' see Jensen, *K. B.* vi. p. 333. The reading of *ŠA-MEŠ* might be *šuknâte* here, the plural of *šukuttu*, 'possession.'
368. Professor Jensen points out that the reading *Bêl* is very unlikely. The ideogram *AN-BIL* is almost certainly to be read *ilu eššu*, 'the new god,' i.e. 'the new moon.' According to IV. R. 5, 40 c and *B. A. S.* III. 228, *ilu eddišû*, or *edišu* = 𐎶𐎵𐎶. Further *ina kaḫḫadi* is best rendered 'precisely,' here, of time, 'precisely at new moon'; in § 361, of a sum of money, 'so much precisely.' See also § 508, and *K. B.* vi. p. 396.
- 31 Against Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 490 b, Professor Jensen has shewn, *K. B.* vi. p. 355, that *šiššu* is the true form for 'six.' Hence sixteen would be *šiššerit*.  
In reading the name of Ašur, Professor Jensen would write Aššur for the god, and Aššûr for the city.
- Another way of regarding the apparent confusion of readings for the preposition *ĀŠ*, would be to say that it was always read *ina*; but the words *ina* and *ana* interchange.
- 32 We should note that *UD-mu* is only *ûmu*, with the phonetic suffix *mu*. When used where we expect a plural, we may say that the singular is used for the plural, or that the ending has been dropped, so that *ûmu* has been written for *ûmê*.
- 34 It would be better to say that Samsu is the way in which the Assyrians rendered Šamšu, the 𐤔 of the Aramaic is rendered by *s* in Assyrian regularly, as *sûru* for שור, *saglu* for שלל, etc. But Samsu might also be Phoenician or Arabic.
- 37 Perhaps the best reading is *šâḫil-eṣṣêdi*, 'weigher of the harvest.'
- 81 There is no satisfactory evidence that *KU* = *kurmatu*; but *KU* is the ideogram for all sorts of cloth. Hence a *kâšir* of *KU* may be one who looks after clothes in some way, if not a 'tailor.'
- 95 Professor Jensen has pointed out to me that on K 2100, Atgi is said to be a name of Adad, in the land of Sûhu. Hence Atgi-ilu may be 'Atgi is god'; or, if we read Atgi-ili, 'Atgi is my god.' I am now rather inclined to regard Lâtêgi, etc., as from *elêgu*, for the *elêku* of *H. W. B.* p. 157 a, 'to rejoice.' Thus we should have 'I will rejoice in Ištar,' etc.
- 101 The *kinittišu* may well be the *kinîtu*, *H. W. B.* p. 338 b, 'maid.' Hence we should here have a maid-servant of Dâri-Bêl's.
- 103 The phrase *ina šattišu ḥallak* might perhaps mean 'when a year has gone

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- by'; but I do not know of an example of *ḫalāḫū* used for the passage of time.
- 107 The name Ubbuku, etc., I should now read Ūpuḫu, and refer to the same root as Ūpaḫ in Ūpaḫ-ana-Arbaili, etc. Compare Ūḫubu alongside Aḫabbi-ilu, etc.
- 110 In view of the Latin transcriptions, Methun, Metthunus, Mettun, Mettunus, etc., of the Phoenician name 𐤌𐤕, given *N. E.* p. 319 b, I am inclined to think that Metūnu, Mitunu, are transcriptions of what appears as Matan in other names, see § 409. To take *metūnu* as meaning 'gift' in the name Aa-metūnu would demand that the name was shortened from a longer name of which the last element should be a verb.
- 120 f. The various forms shew rather that *UR* = *bāṣu*. *NU-UR* may be read Lā-tabāš, 'Be not ashamed'; but Nūr may, of course, be shortened from Nūr-ili. For further examples of *UR*, compare Nabû-šarḫu-u-ba-ša, in K 858, line 3, with its variant in line 9, Nabû-šarḫu-UR; *H. A. B. L.* p. 551. So too, the name *Nabû-alsi-tu-nu-ur*, in II. R. 64, III. 46, is really *Nabû-alsika-NU-UR*, rendered by the previous line Nabû-alsika-labbiš.
- 143 The name Siltiba-Ištar, or Šiltiba-Ištar, see p. 170, might very well be read Tarteba, etc., so as to give a verbal form, probably from *rābu*. But I know of no exact parallel.
- 151 f. With respect to *tappi*, we may note that *TAB* = *eṣṣpu*. The meaning of *lapātu* is 'to touch, beat, knock.' Hence *talpātu* might mean *lipit ḫāti*, 'the application of manual labour,' in fact, the undertaking of repairs. But we might also postulate a root *rapū*, 'to make better.' Then we might render 'he shall undertake the making good of all the beams.' The *uru* as Jensen has shewn, *K. B.* VI. p. 438, means 'a flat roof.'
- 153 The Greek form would, according to some, rather point to a name Kîn-zêr.
- 165 The name Mīnu-aḫti-ana-ili, of course, means 'What have I sinned against God?'
- 168 Professor Jensen, *G. G. A.* 1900, p. 863, has given a very ingenious explanation of the note Ḥabigal attached to Sennacherib's name. He takes it to be for *ḫābu rabū* and would render 'great rascal,' because Sennacherib destroyed Babylon.
- 175 The city name rather means 'the new fold.' For *supūru* = fold, enclosure, see Jensen, *K. B.* VI. p. 338.
- 185 There seems no reason why we should not read Nabû-lā-tušarani, from *uṣṣuru*, with a meaning 'Nabû do not leave me.'
- 186 The wording of the last line would imply that Professor Jensen had himself argued against the identity of Nusku and 𐤍𐤏, which he has always maintained. The word 'his' has been misplaced. Read 'the last argument against his identification.' But in any case I should have said 'relieving' rather than 'depriving.'
- 203 The name Ša-mudammik-zêr may also be read Šāpik-zêr.
- 333 Professor Jensen suggests to me that the name of the god *BE-ir* can be read Lābir. Whether any connection exists between this Lābir and the 'old' Bêl of Tiglath Pileser I. is not clear to me.
- 340 Professor Jensen suggests that there may be two goddesses called *Bêlit šêri*, one who is Ašratu and another who is the *tupšarrātu* of Hades.



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- 346 Professor Jensen would read the signs *TA PA-NU ERIN* as *ina pâni erîni*, that is 'before the cedar-tree,' which was used in the cult of Ašratu.
- 357 A possible reading would be *ammar karpāt agannu šaṭru išalti*, 'the whole contents of an inscribed *agannu* bowl he shall drink.' In this case, the bowl was doubtless inscribed with some magical formula that would produce sickness in an evil-doer. This suggestion was made to me by Professor Jensen. He further suggests that *takaltu* may be from *akâlu*, 'to write,' the root possibly of *aklu* and of *makaltu*, something with which the *bârû*, or magician, operated; see *H. W. B.* p. 56. Then *takaltu âsî* looks very like 'a physician's prescription.'
- 403 The reading *Alahḫa-Šamaš* is founded upon the possibility that the sign *DAN* was really *LAḪ*; but I am nearly sure the scribe intended *DAN*. This is not known to have the value *LAḪ*, and hence the reading is doubtful. If it were correct, Professor Jensen suggests that it might be *אלהא-שמש*. If we read *A-DAN* as *Ela* we have *Elaḫa-Šamaš*, which would not be very different. But *A-DAN* is an ideogram for several words, some one of which with *ḪA*, either as an ideogram or phonetic syllable, may form a name, which at present I do not recognise. In App. 3, III. 12, the *A-DAN* is now quite certain. That tablet having been cleaned I am now able to suggest some improved readings.

Col. I. line 1, there is nothing clear after *û*. Hence I am not prepared to say what the full name was.

Col. II. Before line 1 are traces of a name beginning with *Bêl*, then the name *Bêl-ba-ni*, but line 1 of my edition was very likely *Bêl-balâtsu-ikbi*. Only *ik-bi* is really certain. After this was a line ruled before *EN-LIL-šar-ušur*. The presence of *AN-BE* in the next line points to *AN-BE* being one reading of *EN-LIL*; though it is not a proof.

In line 29, for *KAK* read *LID*. In line 31, the last sign may have been *na*. In line 37, after *AN* may now be read *GA-DU*, but there seems to have been more.

Col. III. At the end of line 18, *AN* may now be read. In line 23, the first two signs may have been *ḪU-UT*. After line 24, another line may be read *Sa-la-a-AN*. In line 29, for *DU* read *AL*. Line 31 was probably *Ardi-ili*.

Col. IV. In line 17, *rim* is doubtful, a single horizontal followed *AN-XXX*. In line 22, after *ša* seems to have been *la*. In line 25, the last sign was *ma* not *pa* and the name may not be complete. In line 26, the last sign is *la* not *ka*, and more may have followed. Below line 28, read *AN-XXX-PAP* again, then *PAP* below the other two signs *PAP*.

Col. XI. In line 7, read *DU'-A-NI-AN-II*: *AN-II*, of course, is *Allai*. In line 12, for *KAK* read *LID*, i.e. *rim*. In line 15, read *AN-BU-da-ri*. Line 16 is clearly *AN-BU-dalâ*: in line 17, read *AN-BU-PIR-a*. Line 19 is certainly *AN-DI-ma-nu-BAR*. In line 21, read *AN-DI-ma-nu-ḫa-man-nu*.

Col. XII. In line 1, after *AN* is the sign Brünnow's no. 306. After line 6 is a division line. In line 11, the signs *AN-IM* are certain now. In line 17, for *ba* read *la*, for *ki* read *ku*. In line 18, the signs *ma-ḫir* seem to be run together, and at the bottom of *ma* is a slant wedge (or a

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- scratch?). In line 20, before *EN*, *AN* is now clear. But *EN* may be *KID*, only I can see but two verticals; *AN-KID-DAL-LI-ilai* is curious. In line 21, the first two signs are *IŠ-MI*. Then again *KID* for *EN*, and at the end *LI* for *ZU*. This would give *Šil-KID-DAL-LI*. In line 26, for *KAN* read *AD-DI*. The name is *AN-Da-ad-di-EN-ni*. In line 32, the first sign is the form of *IŠDU*, which occurs all through, and the name may be read *Išdi-KUR-GA-GAL*.
- 408 The names Atta-imme, Atta-idrî, might mean 'Thou art my right (hand or side),' 'Thou art my help.'
- 468 Professor Jensen suggests that in place of Atalu-šumîa we should read the name Ata-lû-šumîa, 'Ata be my name.' This raises the question whether Ata may not be for Atta, 'thou.' We should then render 'Be thou my name.' Here *šumu*, properly 'name,' may be used, as often in proper names, in the sense of 'son,' 'heir.' Then also Atta-'idri may mean 'Thou art my help,' see p. 408; compare Atâ-idri, p. 442.
- 492 Professor Jensen suggests that Tirai may be from the god Têr, see the H̄arran Census, like Mardukai from Marduk. For the name Gadi'ai, if so read, he would compare 𒊠𒊡𒊢. This might also appear as Gadi-Iâma, since Iâma was, at any rate in later times, the rendering of 𒊠𒊡; see Hilprecht, *B. E.* ix. p. 27. But it is clear that 'Iba could also be a rendering of Jahve, compare Jensen, *K. B.* vi. p. 578, (Sib'e for 𒊠𒊡) and then 'Iba-ḳâme is the same name as Jehoiakim, Joiakim, Jokim. That 'Iba is a possible cuneiform rendering of Jahve, lends great probability to Professor Jensen's suggestion, that in Abdi-ḥeba, the name of the Tell Amarna king of Jerusalem, the element Iḥeba is really 'Iba, Jahve. Examples of the ' being replaced by *ḥ* are plentiful, e.g. Nabû-ḥaḳabi for Nabû-'aḳabbi, etc. If this be so, then Iḥeba, Jahve, was worshipped at Jerusalem, in the Tell-el-Amarna period. That the first element of the name is Abdi almost proves that Iḥeba was a divinity. The name would mean 'Servant of Jahve.' Can the ideogram *IB* in *NIN-IB*, *AN-IB*, represent 'Iba, Jahve?
- 493 With H̄inummu, Professor Jensen would compare 𒊠𒊡𒊢.
- 496 In the name H̄adasâ, if the last *a* be a badly made *ni*, then we have H̄adasâni with which Professor Jensen would compare H̄andasâni.
- 520 The reasoning on p. 520 as to the equivalence of *UD-su* and *batûsu* is not conclusive. As *batûsu* is only applied to a daughter, *UD-su*, which is used of both sons and daughters, may be different. In fact, we may read *UD-su* phonetically as *parsu*: and derive it from *parâsu*, 'to cut off, separate,' *H. W. B.* p. 542, and especially *parâsu ša tulê*, 'to wean.' Hence *parsu* would mean 'a weaned child.' Hence the youngest division was 'sucklings,' the next 'weaned children.' This explanation is due to Professor Jensen, and clears up a very obscure point in the H̄arran Census Lists. The recognition of *batûsu* for *batultu* is also due to Professor Jensen. The word means 'daughter' in this connection, literally 'maiden.' On p. 521 it would be better to read 2 *TA ŠAL batula...* as *šitta batulâte*, 'two girls.'

## CHAPTER IV.

### LOANS OR ADVANCES OF MONEY OR GOODS.

345. Some sort of classification of the documents contained in this work seems a necessary preliminary to a successful attempt to study them. It seemed best, however, not to decide the character of a document by a summary estimate of its likeness to some modern type, and so to bring it under the heads of division which would appear in a modern legal treatise ; but rather to place together those texts which were most nearly alike, and then by comparison, and recognition of likeness or unlikeness, to gradually settle their real nature. This result can hardly be regarded as certain in all cases. There are, however, some groups very clearly defined by the nature of their formula ; so that, setting aside the accidentals of time, place, and parties concerned, we may regard each such group as consisting of entirely similar documents. Other documents appear related, more or less, to more than one such group, and may be differently classed, according to the predominance assigned to one or other characteristic. These may be then appended either to those groups which they most closely resemble in form, or to those which seem most closely allied in purpose. A classification according to the class of property involved, real or personal, would lead to a different order.

The plan adopted here is, first, to collect those most similar in the terms employed ; then, to select the fullest and most complete of the type so recognised, and finally, to arrange the rest so as to form a commentary upon them. Having thus settled the type, the variations will supply a means to settle the meaning of the terms which constitute its characteristic formula, or the amplifications and condensations, which it might undergo, without essential change.

346. Which of the groups so formed should first engage our attention may be decided on various grounds. The group actually taken first is that which seemed to me, on the whole, to form the best introduction to the others. Their shortness, the simplicity of their subject, and the comparative ease with which they are recognised, were sufficient in my opinion to give them the first place. Consequently we shall consider first, the loans or advances, of money or goods: and documents more or less closely allied to them. As I have conceived the principles that should underlie their classification, I have taken first the simple loans of money. These seemed to present the fewest complications or obscurities, with the sole exception of the much longer and more detailed deeds of sale. The latter are in some senses equally clear and simple in their purpose, but involve a much longer treatment from the penalty clauses which they impose for breach of contract. The simplicity of these simple money loans consists partly in their brevity, partly in their being solely concerned with money. The most closely related documents seemed to be loans of money on security, involving a slight addition to the formula of a 'simple' loan. Scarcely to be distinguished from these, except by slight changes in formula, are the assignments of property in composition of debt, or in discharge of interest. The exact nature of most of the simple money loans clearly being an advance to meet working expenses, the question arises whether these expenses were ultimately incurred on the lender's, or on the borrower's behalf. It will be seen that probably they were intended to be those incurred, in the administration of the lender's property, by the borrower acting as tenant or bailiff. Hence an allowance, for wages and keep, for workmen employed on a job, seemed necessarily to be grouped next in order. Some fragments of documents, possibly belonging to the above-named classes, are placed next; in default of more appropriate position. A document apparently agreeing to a renewal of a loan, an agreement as to repayment, some assignments of property for debt with contingent possession, some advances on security with a variant formula, and a further set of fragments seemingly of a nature similar to one or other of the above classes, complete a group mainly concerned with the advance of money.

347. Suspending our judgement on the question whether the above are loans or really only management advances, the next set of tablets are allied in formula, and record the advance of corn,

cattle, wine, or oil under closely similar conditions. The probability that these were advances made by the lender for the benefit of his own estate, to be accounted for by a steward, is more or less prominent: but the great similarity of formula involves their being placed next. Quite distinct in shape of tablet, but closely allied in formula, are the loans of corn, evidently for seed, or keep, until harvest. A somewhat different purpose appears in an advance of corn and a cow in return for service. Deposits of slaves, whose service is to recoup the value of the loan, seem to be closely allied in purpose to the last. An actual receipt for repayment forms a fitting appendix to a group dealing with loans: and a few fragments, each of which must come under some one of the preceding heads, close the group.

348. There is a justification for this grouping, which may serve as some reply to the natural objection that in modern law these documents belong to different classes. This is given by the fact that in most cases these tablets are of a shape and size quite unlike the other classes to be considered later. They are nearly all inner tablets, that is to say, they once had envelopes. Some nine of them exist in duplicate, the outer inscribed envelopes being, at least partly, preserved. A few are mere fragments of envelopes, the inner tablet being lost. One section of the group, the corn loans, are of the so-called 'heart shape.' That these shapes were not used to record sales, leases, etc., forms an argument for supposing that the Assyrian scribes themselves regarded the contents as distinct in purpose. There was not, however, a rigid adherence to the rule that such transactions should be recorded on a particular shape of tablet, for one or two of these documents are of much the same shape as a deed of sale should be; but in these cases the similarity of formula secures their position. Many, which preserve no certain indication of having had an envelope, are of the same shape as those which had. In the majority of cases the lines of writing are parallel to the longer axis of the tablet.

349. The predominance of this class of case tablet among those recording loans or advances is very noteworthy. It is probable that this method of enclosing a document in an envelope was also used for letters. We have at least one such example of a letter, and its envelope bearing the address and sender's name and seal, in 81-7-27, 199, pub. *H. A. B. L.* p. 396. Other letter tablets seem to have been enclosed in a coarse cloth envelope, doubtless also

sealed and addressed. In the case of our documents, the envelope was inscribed with a duplicate of the text on the inner tablet, and sealed by the borrower. The method suggests that they were a note of acknowledgement of the debt and its conditions. We are not able to regard them as orders to a treasurer or banker to furnish the money, as the envelope would then have been addressed to him. Still, in the absence of the envelopes, we cannot be quite sure that this was never the case. The balance of evidence, however, is against it, and we may perhaps regard all our documents as in one sense acknowledgements of debt. They were therefore held by the lender, and there seems no obvious reason why the borrower should have had a copy, unless as a check on the lender's demands. Of course the lender held both envelope and inner tablet, and they are not so much duplicate copies, as one original executed in duplicate.

350. The value of a duplicate version of a text is enhanced by the fact that the scribes seem rarely to have made exact duplicates. The two versions vary in spelling, and also by the insertion or omission of terms or even clauses, the outer text being as a rule the fuller and longer. The inner text is often very condensed and only a comparison of the longer forms could make it intelligible. The adhesion of the clay of the envelope, the distortion caused by its pressure, and perhaps the knowledge that it was not so likely to be read, cause obscurities and effacements which render inner tablets hard to read and hard to understand. The simplicity of the transaction does not always find a corresponding simplicity of interpretation. Notwithstanding, it seems to me most appropriate to commence with the simple money loans.

*Simple loans of money.*

351. The tablet which I have given as no. 1 seems to be the best example we have of the unabridged formula. Others furnish some slight expansions, but they also omit something that is here given. In order to have a clear view of the whole transaction it is best to reconstruct an imaginary case. We will suppose that *A* lends *B* ten shekels of silver. The acknowledgement which *B* gives of the debt should state that the ten shekels of silver belong to *A*, but are now in the possession of *B*. It should record the date at which the money is to be returned, and what interest or rate of interest is to be charged, and may affix a penalty or forfeit in case of failure to repay

at the proper date. The document should be sealed and dated, and then constitutes *B*'s bond for the money.

352. The way in which each of these requirements was carried out has to be discussed. The actual acknowledgement was made by affixing the seal, or impressing the nailmark, and the formula affirming this to be the act of *B*, or of the borrowers, if more than one, was set, as a rule, at the head of the document. Thus the document would commence with the words *kunuk B*, 'the seal of *B*.' Then would follow *B*'s titles or offices or perhaps his parentage, so as to satisfactorily identify him. If he could not seal the document he impressed his nail, usually the thumb-nail, I believe. Then the clause would run *kûm kunukkišu şupurşu iškun*, 'in lieu of his seal he has set his nailmark.' Then the document would go on, *şupur B*, 'the nailmark of *B*.' If more than one borrower had to be named, *kunuk* or *şupur* is written before each name and the opening words are put in the plural, *kûm kunukkişunu şupurşunu iškunu*, 'in place of their seal they have set their nailmark.' Often one seal seems to have served for the party.

353. Not all of our tablets, however, preserve this statement, nor even the seal or nailmark. The envelope often appears to have been sealed, when the inner tablet was not, e.g. nos. 48 and 49, 87 and 88, 103 and 104. In some cases it is absent from both, e.g. nos. 122 and 123. Several tablets, which judging from their shape may have been inner tablets, have no seal mark nor nailmark, e.g. nos. 6, 8, 20, 26, 34, 35, 36, 42, 46, 47.

354. The sum of money, as one would expect, was always stated. As belonging to *A*, the lender, it is said to be *ša A*. As now in the possession of *B*, the borrower, it is said to be *ina pâni B*. These two phrases are the key to the whole transaction: and they are liable to be misunderstood. The *ša* is not here the relative pronoun, 'which,' referring to the antecedent sum that *A* has lent; for then the verb of the sentence should agree either with *A*, or less probably with the noun expressing the sum. The verb agrees with *B*, as we shall see presently. The words *ina pâni B*, literally mean 'in the presence of *B*': that is 'at his disposal,' 'offered him.' They mark the transfer of the money from the presence of *A* to the presence of *B*, as we should say 'from *A*'s pocket to *B*'s.' Accordingly in no. 43, we have *ištu pâni A*, 'from the presence of *A*,' indicating *A* as the lender. Actually, this first sentence has no verb expressed. In our hypothetical case it would read *X šikli kaspi ša A*

*ina pâni B*, 'ten shekels of silver from *A* to *B*.' The verb which follows is *ittiši*, 'he has borrowed,' or *ittašu*, with the same sense. We might render 'ten shekels of silver which *B* has borrowed of *A*': but not correctly, for *B* is not in the nominative, but governed by *ina pâni*, nor could we render 'ten shekels of silver which *A* has lent to *B*.' For although it is conceivable that the words *X šikli kaspi ša A ina pâni B ittiši* might mean that, we have several instances in which the borrowers are denoted by *ina pâni*, as is proved by the following verbs for returning the money being in the plural. Then we also have the verb *ittašu* in the plural, see nos. 4 and 5. If this be not conclusive, we may consider the clause at the end of no. 350, *IV manê erê ša šupur ittiši*. After what has been said in § 61, on the meaning of this clause, 'so much for his seal,' it must be clear that *ittiši* here means 'he has taken' or 'received,' not 'he has lent.' In fact, we may go so far as to render directly, 'he has borrowed': for that is true, with the reservation that the loan was of a certain nature to be later discussed.

355. Whether the verb *ittiši*, in the sense 'he has borrowed,' is derived from the well-known Assyrian verb *našû*, 'to lift up,' then 'to carry off, take away'; or whether we are to postulate a separate verb, at any rate we may compare the Hebrew נָשָׂא, 'to lend on interest,' הֶשִׁיב, 'to lend or borrow on security.' In the frequent phrase in the Babylonian contracts *ina pût ..naši*, it means 'to be taken as security.' It is thus clearly a technical term for 'taking,' not 'lending.' I do not think that the notion of 'at interest,' or 'on security' belongs necessarily to the verb, but was only implied by custom. In the acquisition clause of the deeds of sale, e.g. no. 318, line 12, it takes the place of the more common *ilki*, 'he has taken.' In nos. 83, 84, 102, *inašši* must mean 'to take,' 'to receive.' In no. 72, *našiat* must mean 'is taken,' even if the idea of a pledge be implied.

356. The verb *našû*, to which Meissner, *Supp.* p. 68, gives the meaning 'to come and bring,' is evidently used in our documents as a practical synonym of *našû*. The meaning for *ittašu*, or *ittaša* can hardly be 'he has brought,' for that would suggest payment; it must also have the sense of 'take,' for no distinction can be made between the use of the verbs *našû* and *našû*.

357. It seems to me certain, that as far as this class of document is concerned, the bare literal rendering of *X šikli kaspi ša A ina pâni B ittiši* is 'ten shekels of silver belonging to *A*, in the possession



of *B*, he has borrowed.' The verb *ittaṣu* I render in exactly the same way. There remains an uncertainty about the actual construction, as long as it is uncertain whether *ittaṣu* is really a plural form. This would be removed were a document available in which the borrower was a female.

**358.** As a rule a certain specified day is fixed for the date of the repayment, and in that case apparently no interest is demanded. If payment be not then made, interest is charged at a specified rate per month. Thus on no. 1, we have *ina ūmi I(kan) šá arḫi Du'ūzi kaspu iddan šumma la iddini ana rebūtišu irabbi*, 'on the first day of the month Du'uzu he shall give the silver; if he do not give it, it shall increase by a fourth part of it.' Then follow the date and the names of the witnesses. It seems needless to repeat here the summary of facts concerning the date and witnesses, which will be found in §§ 62—76.

**359.** We have now dealt with the essential part of the formula. The amplifications which it receives in some cases may next be noted. At the same time we may note that some of these terms are omitted and the condensations will also be taken into account. Thus the very important clause which records the acknowledgement of the debt may be omitted. I imagine that that was only done on the inner tablets, as a rule, but the loss of the envelope in some cases, and the undoubted validity of an inner tablet in such a case, led to the recognition of such an abbreviated form as valid, in any case. Hence it was occasionally omitted as well understood and implied of course. So we shall find other terms omitted, and we may entertain the question whether they were implied or not really contemplated. Such cases must be decided on their own merits and a degree of uncertainty must remain in several cases.

**360.** We shall for the time being avoid the term 'lent' as having too special a sense and speak of the sum as 'advanced.' The sum of money advanced is usually named at once, in the first line of the document, after the seals, if there are any. It was generally silver, *kaspu*, but in a few cases bronze, *erū*, see nos. 29, 31, 40, 43. The amounts are very various: see table of 'amounts of loan' at end of this chapter. The mina of Carchemish occurs in many sums, e.g. nos. 5, 15, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35, 41, 48, 52, 55, 58. The mina of the king is named in nos. 3, 9, 12, 33. No data are furnished for correlating these minas.

**361.** The sum may be specified as *kaḫḫadu*, as in nos. 20, 31,

32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 52. This term has often been rendered 'capital': but can hardly mean that always when applied to a sum of money. When the word *kaḫḫadu* is applied to the sum advanced in the first clause of the body of the document, the meaning 'capital' seems admissible even if somewhat superfluous. But elsewhere it seems better to render 'sum advanced,' as it certainly denotes that. It may imply that the 'capital sum' was handed over, without any rebate, or deduction on account of interest due. It clearly marks the sum as the amount advanced and therefore also to be repaid. In later Babylonian times *kaḫḫadu* is distinctly opposed to 'interest,' though the sense of 'complete sum' remains in use.

The term is always written *ŠAK-du*, i.e. *kaḫḫadu*, with the phonetic suffix *-du*.

**362.** Another term which is applied to the sum lent is *ŠAK-MEŠ*, see nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 50, 108. That this is not the plural of *kaḫḫadu* is shewn by no. 38 and its duplicate no. 39, where both terms are applied to the same sum. It is always associated with Iṣtar and the complex *ŠAK-MEŠ ša Iṣtar* may be rendered 'Iṣtar heads.' This I have argued, in §§ 336, 337, may be the name of a rudimentary coin. To the views there given may be added the opinion of Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie*, p. 58, where he regards these as at any rate ingots stamped with a head of Iṣtar. The enigmatic circle found upon the early Persian coins, may be inherited from these Assyrian 'coins' and have been originally the initial of Iṣtar in its Aramaic form עשתר.

**363.** In two or three cases the sum lent is said to be a *kiṣirtu*. Now Dr Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 134, has shewn that *kiṣru* in the old Babylonian contracts meant 'wages.' If this was still true, *kiṣirtu* may be the collective form of *kiṣru*, and we should have to regard the sum as 'wages,' or 'maintenance money' for the servants under the control of the borrower. In Assyrian times, however, *kiṣru* appears also to mean a 'collection' of men, as a troop for war or a gang for work. It also seems to denote a 'collection' of dwellings, as a quarter of a town, e.g. the *kiṣir ešši* of Nineveh in no. 950. The meaning 'collection' of money may refer to a number of advances for different purposes all advanced at one time. The meanings here suggested are not at all inconsistent. In later times the term *kiṣru* also retained the meaning 'hire,' see Meissner, *Supp.* p. 85 b, and we may fairly conclude this was its predominant

meaning in Assyria. For this term see nos. 50 and 52, compare no. 51.

364. Once the money is stated to be the *iškar* of the Queen Mother, no. 33. With this word we may compare the *iš-ka-ri* in Peek-Pinches, p. 4, no. 2, l. 5, 12. These were some revenues or income connected with the year, 'of the 13th year, of the 14th year.' Del. *H. W. B.* p. 145 b, considers that it has a similar meaning to *šimdu*, or *šimittu*. Now the *šimdat šarri* in old Babylonian times was some tax or forfeit, Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 97. This may therefore be the name of some fund, replenished in older times by 'fines'; but there is very little evidence to decide the sense.

365. In another case the advance was made from the *ginû* of the god Ašur: nos. 49, 50. The *ginû*, or 'customary,' of a god, was the fixed revenue or income due to his temple from endowments of land, and consisted of a variety of products, often food and wines, but in some cases also money. The unconsumed portion may have formed an accumulated fund, from which the priests made advances to borrowers. It is less likely that the term here denotes the purpose for which the advance was made, viz. to pay the *ginû*.

366. Once the money is said to be *ša ŠA-MEŠ bit ili*. Here the *ŠA* or *GAR* may be an ideogram for some part of *šakânu* or its derivatives. It may be the property of the temple, or its 'product.' Also *ŠA* may be the ideogram for *šaknu*, and then the money belonged to the *šaknûti* of the temple. But *ŠA* is also an ideogram for *akâlu*, and the money may be for the *akâlê* or 'breads' for the temple. As *ŠAK* seems to have been used to denote 'drink' we may suppose that the *ŠAK-MEŠ* named above were the 'drinkables' to be bought with the money. But this very text, no. 44, shews that the *ŠAK-MEŠ* was for 'breads,' which seems to me to exclude the notion of 'drink' altogether. It seems most likely that the money was the property of the *šaknûti* of the temple, or perhaps that we have to do with a 'mint' of which these 'Ištar heads' were a 'product.' It may be noted that *šiknu* means also 'shape,' and these pieces of metal may have borne representations of Ê-anna, the temple of Ištar.

367. The money advanced belonged to a god, as Ašur in nos. 48, 49, to Ištar of Arbela in nos. 42, 43, and to Ištar of Nineveh, in no. 37.

368. The phrase *kaḫḫadu (ilu) Bêl*, where *kaḫḫadu* is written *ŠAK*, occurs in nos. 53, 57, 105. It seems to mean some specific

date, as it is always followed by *ša arhi*, 'of the month.' I fancy it must denote some festival of Bêl, which always occurred in a well-known part of each month, or of the months referred to. It is possibly an unrecognised ideographic expression. The phrase also occurs on K 464, where we read, *kaḫḫadu (ilu) Bêl ša arhi Addâri ana (âlu) Dûr-Šarru-kinu imatuhu*, 'at the beginning (?) of Addâru, they will set out to Dûr-Sargon.' At any rate, we may take it that this is not a specification of the money.

369. The name of the ultimate owner is always introduced by the preposition *ša*, which we may render by 'belonging to.' In some translations, which have appeared, and which will be noted later, this force of *ša* seems to have been overlooked. If the verb used implied a notion of transfer we might render by 'from.' The idea of origin is not foreign entirely to *ša*, but 'from' is more usually expressed by *ištu*. We must not, however, mistake our *ša* for the personal pronoun, referring to the sum advanced, as that would involve taking the name of its owner as nominative to the following verb, if any.

370. When the owner is a god, or the temple treasury, the name of the official who makes the advance on his behalf is also introduced by *ša*. Here again, if this official was stated to have lent or advanced the money, we might render *ša* by 'which,' taking it as the object of the verb. But no such verb appears. We must therefore I think render *ša*, either by 'belonging to,' as implying the delegated ownership, or in view of the real owner acting through this official, render *ša*, by *per*, 'through,' or 'by.' This idea of agency is usually expressed by *ḫâtâ*, 'by the hands of.'

371. The verb of the sentence is never expressed, nor is it easy to state authoritatively what was implied. Literally it may be rendered, 'ten shekels of silver belonging to *A*, in the presence of *B*.' As the arrangement of no. 1 stands we might be inclined to let the sentence run on and include the words *ina pûhi ittiši*. Leaving on one side the exact force of *ina pûhi*, and noting that *našû*, if taken as the Assyrian rendering of the Hebrew, נָשָׂא, 'to lend to a person,' would allow us to take *A* as nominative, we may render the whole, 'ten shekels of silver which *A* lent to *B* *ina pûhi*.' Here we may remark that the Hebrew uses לְ of the person *B*, and that the Aramaic dockets render *ina* by ב. If we take *ina* as equivalent to *ina pûni* we should have a very consistent view of the whole. But here is the great difficulty as it seems to me. As long as we have

only one lender we have *ittiši* with only one borrower, but *illašu*, a plural form, when there are more than one borrower. Hence it seems clear that the nominatives to the verbs *ittiši*, *illašu* are the names of the borrowers. The phrase *ina pûhi ittiši (illašu)*, therefore seems to be a fresh sentence and must read, 'he (they) received (borrowed) *ina pûhi*.'

372. We have now noted all the general terms of the fuller formula of an acknowledgement of a debt, in the case of the simple loans or advances. Only three cases occur when a form so full as that here discussed is used, nos. 1, 51, 52. Others evidently follow the same general form, but omit some detail.

Many state the sum, the parties, the fact of the advance (or receipt) *ana pûhi ittiši*, and the rate charged, but omit the date for repayment. In such cases, possibly, interest accrued from the date of the advance, or equally likely, the date was well understood to be after harvest, or at the end of the current year. Examples of this sort are: nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 20, 38, 39, 42.

In other cases we have given the sum, the parties, the date of repayment, omitting the clause *ana pûhi ittiši*, but inserting the clause *šumma la iddan*, 'if he do not pay,' and adding a rate of interest as a penalty. Such are nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 33, 35, 40, 41, 46, 54, 59.

The rate of interest is omitted in no. 18, and not preserved in no. 14.

Others are still more concise; stating merely the sum, the parties, and the rate of interest, e.g., nos. 19, 21 (?), 22, 23, 24, 25 (?), 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 44, 48, 49, 50.

In one case, two minas of silver were advanced, one to bear interest, the other not; see no. 32.

Another case, no. 30, states a sum to be repaid with interest, *adi rubê*, but omits to state the rate, or amount. Another states the sum advanced and the parties, but neither mentions interest nor date of repayment, no. 37.

Some are too fragmentary to give any certainty as to the terms which they originally contained, e.g., nos. 10, 36, 47, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58.

The last, no. 60, seems to be part of another tablet, but little is left to decide the nature of the tablet exactly.

373. In view of the great variety in the clauses retained or omitted we may doubt whether the omitted clauses were implied,

or whether the variations mark real differences in the nature of the transaction. I am inclined to think the former is more likely. I believe that it was always understood that the advances would be repaid at the usual time, that they were not subject to bear interest if returned then, but bore interest at the usual rate if kept back longer. Further I am inclined to believe that they were always lent *ana pûhi*, though on this point I should desire more evidence.

The danger of arguing from the omission of any phrase, from these inner tablets, is seen by comparing no. 19 with its duplicate no. 20. For while no. 19 omits the phrase *ana pûhi ittiši*, no. 20 inserts it. So too no. 3 has the phrase, while the duplicate no. 26 omits it. It seems probable, therefore, that where the inner tablet omits a phrase, we should find it on the outer tablet if preserved. This is not certain, but must make us cautious in arguing from the absence of any clause from what is clearly an inner tablet.

374. It is now time to pass in review the opinions that have already been formulated on the various points raised in this sketch of the purpose and contents of our group. In doing this we have to remember that Professor Oppert, at any rate, was breaking fresh ground, and had to make working hypotheses as he went along, subject to revision when further light should come. The process is instructive and the handling of it by him is masterly. But it must be admitted that the results are rather uncertain.

375. First, in regard to the terms *ša* and *ina pâni*, which are the key to the whole transaction, we may note that Dr Oppert reached no sure conclusion in his *Documents Juridiques*. There he deals with our nos. 2, 5, 16, 19, 22, 27, 38, 39, 40, 48, 49, 87, 88, 115, 162. In the case of no. 2, he renders *ša* by *debitum* or *dette de*, and *ina pâni* by *in facie* or *vis-à-vis de*. In no. 5, *ša* is replaced by *quas* (i.e. *minae*) and *ina pâni* by *pro*, but Dr Oppert recognises that the money *forment le montant de la créance de A sur B, qu'il leur a donnée en prêt*. Further in his remarks on this text, p. 163, he says, *le nommé A a donné 20 minas et demie d'argent à quatre individus soit en prêt, soit contre une hypothèque*. As this term, *hypothèque*, often meets us in *Doc. Jur.*, it is well to note its exact meaning. In Dr Oppert's own words, *nous disons hypothèque pour indiquer que le prêteur n'a pas besoin de détenir réellement le gage, et que, suivant la loi assyrienne, le droit pouvait s'attacher,*

*comme chez les Romains, à une chose mobilière comme à un immeuble.*

Now that is not a very clear explanation, for there is no *chose mobilière* suggested in the text, nor any *immeuble* either. We cannot appeal to the Assyrian law, for all we know of that is to be deduced from our documents. It is to them we must turn for explanation. It seems that Dr Oppert, with his logical mind and legal training, was puzzled by the strangeness of a loan without security. But if we bear in mind the possibility, which will I think gradually become a conviction of certainty, that the lender *A* advanced this money for expenses incurred by *B* in harvesting the crop on land owned by *A* and farmed by *B*, the case is quite simple. *A* had his security in the crop, of which he probably took one-third as rent, and he would expect the repayment of his advance from the share which *B* would have as his own. He naturally required *B*'s acknowledgement of the advance, to be spent by *B* on the wages and keep of himself and the harvesters, and provided he was repaid in full, he was merely investing capital in his own business. The greater efficiency secured by the facility the advance afforded *B* in procuring harvesters and ensuring their contented labour, would be reflected in the more rapid and satisfactory harvesting of the crop. This improvement in the amount and quality of the crop would be shewn in the increased rent paid to *A*, and would stand for interest on the advance in the meantime. Hence if the full sum was repaid at harvest time, no interest need be demanded. But if *B*, notwithstanding the facility afforded by the advance, delayed or scamped his work, *A* would suffer not only by diminished quality and quantity in his share of the crop, but his money would have lain idle and a high rate of interest would fairly be charged. This was an increase of, apparently, one-third per month. The justice of such a rate of interest lay as much in the exceptional purpose and nature of the loan, as in the conventional ideas of the time on the point. A third was the share which *A* had in the produce of the land, which was his capital, and now was augmented in value by the amount of the loan. The detention of both beyond the proper date called for a similar return from both. Such seems to have been the argument. It was probably never contemplated, that in any case the delay would extend beyond a month or two. In all probability after a month's delay, *A* could himself claim the harvest and recoup his expenses from it. In any case he had his security and it was ample. What would happen, if in case of war, tempest,

or other disaster, neither *A* nor *B* could save the crop, does not appear. Probably the risk had to be borne as best they could, and *B* would be reduced to sell himself to *A* to pay off his debt.

In no. 16, *Doc. Jur.* p. 231, Dr Oppert renders *ša* by *quae, dette de*, and *ina pâni* by *in facie, en face de*. In no. 19, *Doc. Jur.* p. 181, we find *ša* replaced by *quod*, and *ina pâni* by *ex*, the two phrases being rendered also by *créance de A venant de B*. In no. 22, *Doc. Jur.* p. 239, we have *ša* rendered again by *debitum* and *ina pâni* by *in facie*, the whole as *créance de A sur B*. In no. 27, *Doc. Jur.* p. 193, *ša* is rendered by *quas* and *ina pâni* by *in facie*, the whole as *créance de A au profit de B*. In nos. 38, 39, *Doc. Jur.* p. 226, *ša* is still *quas* and *ina pâni* is *in facie*, the money *sont la créance de A sur B*. In no. 40, *Doc. Jur.* p. 187, *ša* is *quod*, *ina pâni*, *in facie*, but the French takes a new turn, *que A devra à B*, which is certainly wrong, for *B* owed it to *A*. In nos. 48, 49, *Doc. Jur.* p. 233, we have *ša* given as *quod*, *ina pâni* as *in facie*, and the whole as *dette de A vis-à-vis de B*. In nos. 87, 88, *Doc. Jur.* p. 155, we have *ša* rendered *quas* and *ina pâni*, *ex*, or in the French version *créance que A a reçue*, but the *B*, *C*, etc., are not mentioned. In no. 115, *Doc. Jur.* p. 158, we have *ša* rendered as *creditum*, and *ina pâni* as *ex*: the whole as *créance de A sur B*, etc. Lastly, in no. 162, *Doc. Jur.* p. 173, the whole text is misunderstood, owing to the bad edition of it given in III. R.

On the whole then, we see that from the texts at his disposal, Dr Oppert was unable to decide whether *ša* meant *debitum* or *creditum*, *dette* or *créance*, nor who was the debtor and who the creditor. In fact, as Dr Oppert says later, *Assyrisches Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 245, *so würde man platterdings in Zweifel darüber sein, wer Schuldner und wer Gläubiger ist, da die überaus lakonischen Ausdrücke nach beiderlei Seiten hin erklärt werden können*. He says that the Assyrian language and lexicon admit either rendering. One can only settle the question by finding a case where one party is a female or when more than one person occur on either side. This latter case, however, was already at Dr Oppert's disposal, as in nos. 87 and 88, without being of any assistance to him. But now he proceeds to render our no. 1 quite correctly thus, 16 *Drachmen Silber des Kisir-Assur angesichts Abdi-samsi. Als Anleihe hat er es entnommen. Am 1 Tammuz wird er das Geld geben, etc.* He then asks triumphantly, *Wer ist hier der Schuldner, wer ist Gläubiger, wer hat geliehen, wer soll Zinsen zahlen?* Professor Oppert answers



his questions as I do, and for the same reasons. When several persons appear marked by *ina pâni*, the verb 'shall pay' is in the plural *iddinû*: no. 17, l. 5. This solution of the question was not available in 1877, when *Doc. Jur.* was published, for the text in point had not only not been published, the tablet was not even found till 1891. We therefore owe this step to the understanding of these documents to the last collection brought to the British Museum by Dr E. A. W. Budge.

376. All the more credit should therefore be given to Dr F. E. Peiser, who in *K. B.* iv. p. 111, first divined the inner significance of the words. He there renders our no. 5, and for *ša* gives *gehörig* and for *ina pâni*, *im Besitze des*. He appends as a foot-note these words, *das Geld, welches das Eigenthum des Zazî ist, ist dem Šulmušarri und den andern geborgt, und somit nun in ihrem Besitze*. At any rate in the contracts which he was able to publish, Dr Peiser had not the key which no. 17 gives, but he correctly divined who was lender and who was borrower, without its aid. Further he had the great merit of keeping his opinion all through. He always renders these terms the same way. Dr Oppert attacks Dr Peiser fiercely for the rendering *im Besitze*, pointing out that the same sum cannot be in the possession of more than one person at the same time. In strictness, he might have found the same fault with *gehörig*, for the money very often did not belong to the lender, but to some owner on whose account he advanced it. He may have lent money 'belonging to' Ašur, but if it had been his own, the scribe would still have used *ša* before his name, as he does now. Hence the *ša* rather marks the source of the loan, than the actual ownership of it. It may mark either the ultimate source in the owner, or the immediate source, in the agent of the owner, and may be applied to both at the same time. As to a rendering, *ša* is certainly the preposition 'of,' but it has that shade of meaning which marks origin, *de* or *ex* in Latin. We can use 'from' in English with little risk of being misunderstood, when it denotes the ultimate ownership, and 'by' when mere agency is implied. But we should be unwise to neglect the precaution of seeing how far this meaning could be traced outside this oft-repeated phrase, used always in the same context.

377. In the deeds of sale, to be discussed later, where there never was any doubt, even for Dr Oppert, who was seller and who buyer, we find that the property is spoken of as *ištu pâni*, 'from the

presence of' the seller, and *ana pâni* or *ina pâni*, 'into the presence of' the buyer. Here then the receiver is undoubtedly noted by *ina pâni*, so in a loan, the borrower should be noted by *ina pâni* also. The scribe was content to express the fact, the money passed from *A* to *B*, from *A*'s presence to *B*'s presence. Possession is a metaphysical term; a legal notion. Whether a sum of money belongs to more than one person at a time or can be in the possession of more than one person at the same moment is an interesting question, but has no place here. The Assyrian scribe probably had never considered how far possession could be shared, and perhaps had never considered the question whether a man possessed what he had borrowed. But he had a terse but sufficient phrase to express the fact that money had been advanced by *A* to *B*, without entering into the question of who then possessed it. He said simply 'Money from *A* to *B*,' and we may expand his phrase into 'money advanced by *A* to *B*,' without any further implications as to 'possession.' If a verb were implied in the Assyrian, it must have been one which agreed with the sum of money as its nominative, and have meant 'has been given,' or 'has been transferred.' The deeds of sale express the words 'the money has been given' by *kaspu tadin*. Hence we may assume here *tadin*, or some more appropriate equivalent, if there was one. This expresses the fact, and leaves the purpose of the advance undefined.

378. Professor Oppert goes on to say that *es gehört denn doch das non plus ultra von metrologischer und archäologischer Unzulänglichkeit dazu, in assyrischen Documenten von Geld zu sprechen*; which seems to me to overstep the mark. If the Assyrians had not coin, they did not lack money. After about a page of close reasoning, he concludes therefrom, *zwanzig Minen Silber sind enthalten in einem Silberbarren von etwas weniger als einem Decimetercubus; fünf Männer besitzen denselben nicht auf einmal zur selben Zeit, aber solidarisch können sie Schuldner dieses Silbergewichts sein*. Now to no five men that ever lived would a solid bar of silver be any value whatever to keep, either singly, or in turns, or as a company, for a few months and then return as they received it. If it was only silver, as Dr Oppert will have it to be, and not money, for what conceivable purpose could it have been borrowed? It was too heavy to wear. It must not be supposed that they were smiths who would work it up and repay with other silver. They must have borrowed it for some business purpose, to pay something or buy

something to sell again at a profit. The purpose, I believe, actually was to pay hired servants to do harvesting, and on the sale of the crop, or accounting for it to the landlord, they made their profit and returned their loan. But they used it as money in any case.

379. In the case of the loans or advances of money, and of other commodities also, the nature of the advance is often expressed by the phrase, *ana pûhi ittiši*. A common variant is *ana pûhi ittašu*. The general sense cannot be gainsaid. Both *ittiši* and *ittašu* are clearly passives from *našû* and *naşû* respectively. *Našû* exists in Hebrew with the sense of 'borrowing,' and 'lending'; a verb *naşû* exists in the Assyrian with the sense of 'carrying.' Hence I venture to render *ittiši* by 'is taken' or 'has been taken' that is to say 'is borrowed.' That *naşû* is an exact synonym of *našû* I do not assert, but *ittašu* in our texts expresses the same fact as *ittiši* does. Its form is plural, while *ittiši* is singular. Strict grammatical accuracy may not exist in these documents; but one may suppose in the one case, that the separate money pieces are regarded as needing a plural and in the other that the sum of money regarded as a whole demanded the singular. Mere habit seems to have had more to do with the usages than grammatical rules. We find *ittaša* as well as *ittašu* and without any certain reason for the change. It might occur to some to think that *ana pûhi ittiši* could mean 'he advanced *ana pûhi*' while *ana pûhi ittašu* meant 'they received *ana pûhi*.' Such a distinction however breaks down before facts, the latter phrase is used when there was but one receiver. Both verbs *našû* and *naşû* are used elsewhere in other forms and nowhere can I detect a shade of difference between their meanings. In *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 250, Dr Oppert says both are singular. As far as form goes they may be present or preterite.

The expression *ana pûhi* serves to indicate the nature of the advance. It is not a loan proper, but, as abundantly shewn by the fuller formula, an advance for a term without interest, subject to the payment of interest should the capital not be repaid at the proper time. That the Assyrians should have a special term for this sort of loan need not be cause for wonder. The only security the lender had was his tablet bearing the borrower's seal; it was like our 'note of hand.' That the term does not appear in later Babylonian times seems to me merely to shew that this class of loan was not common then. The loans then were of the same kind as usual in modern times: interest accrued from the date of the loan, until

repaid, and at a fixed rate. Yet not always, for money was also lent without interest, and without security beyond the acknowledgement; and in these cases, though *ana pûhi* is not written, the same idea may be implied.

380. Dr Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 130, seems to have established the fact that *paḥû* means 'to exchange.' It may thus have reached a general commercial sense, such as 'barter' and even 'business' in general. However, we can hardly think here of such a sense as 'for a bargain' or 'for consideration received.' It is more likely that the advance was made so to speak in 'exchange' for the document as an 'acknowledgement.' This document would have to be returned on the repayment, and would then be appropriately broken. In this case the document had a certain value to the holder, if lost he would be unable to establish his claim to repayment. Even if not 'negotiable,' which it very likely was not, it could doubtless be regarded as an asset and descend to heirs, representatives and assigns. That some such inherent value attached to the document may be inferred from the fact that apparently in the case of pledges 'any one' who repaid the loan could take the pledge. Of course this 'any one' may in practice have been restricted to the depositor and his legal representatives, but it is not so stated. So the document acknowledging a debt may have been 'negotiable paper' and have passed into other hands to collect. Otherwise how are we to account for the number of these acknowledgements of debt in the Palace Archives? if the loans had been repaid, the tablets must have been broken. Were all these debts never paid? Of course the broken tablets may some of them have been broken before the fall of Nineveh; it seems likely enough that some were. The number left, however, of all dates, either shews that the debts were never repaid or that we are on the wrong track in considering the loan to be in 'exchange' for the document. No other object is named as having served to earn the loan.

381. It is clear that the most important seal to obtain to such an acknowledgement would be that of the borrower and that it is his seal which is said to be affixed. Once in possession of the sealed acknowledgement of the debt, the creditor would have felt secure and may have considered such a document a fair 'exchange' for his money. If this idea is to be kept prominent we may render *ana pûhi illişi* by 'he has advanced in exchange for this acknowledgement,' and then *illaşu* may refer to the receiver, 'he or they

have taken in exchange.' This idea seems to underlie several renderings which have appeared. Against it is the doubt as to the number of the verb as pointed out above; which is got over by taking the word *kaspu* or the idea of money as the nominative. The invariable form of the phrase makes it very difficult to be sure. So far as our documents go the word may be *pûti*, *bûhi* or *bûti* equally well with *pûhi*, and then the connection with *pañû* must be given up. No other derivative of *pañû* occurs in our documents.

382. In view of this, and the number of unreturned *pûhi* tablets, I am still inclined to doubt whether this idea of 'exchange' is prominent. I content myself with saying that *ana pûhi* expresses and names that sort of advance which the documents make clear to us. The same phrase is applied freely to corn advances. The purpose of these advances will appear later and seems to have been to serve as seed for the fields or food for the reapers, to be returned at harvest time, with a specified rate of increase, and under a penalty of paying interest at a high rate, if not repaid 'to date.' It seems to me very probable that the explanation of *ana pûhi* is to be found in the *metayer* system. The owner of the estate supplies to his serfs, who are partly smaller farmers on their own account, partly his servants, a large proportion of their stock. Thus we find the same officials advancing corn, oxen, sheep, oil, wine, &c. to people on precisely the same conditions as the money is here advanced.

383. It was the interest, the duty, of the landlord to find these things for his farmers for a proper time. They were bound to return them at the end of the period for which they had been furnished. They were bound to return them uninjured, or in full measure, or pay for them at market rates. If they retained them beyond the proper period they paid a fine, for the prolonged use of them. The money advanced may have been in lieu of these corn and stock allowances, or for other businesses than farming. The payment of wages is possible, the keep of labourers on some work in hand is also possible. It seems more probable that the borrowers were commissioned to undertake some remunerative works and furnished with the capital. It must have been remunerative or the money could not be returned. It could not be mere wages nor keep for that could not be expected back. If, however, these borrowers had been farmers of the royal estates and the lenders royal stewards, all is plain. The money was advanced to work the farm, repaid from sale of produce, when also the farmer paid himself for his

labour and made his profit. That no interest was charged during the period of loan was natural, the money was sunk in the speculation, it was a necessary expense of the management, its return later was all that was demanded. Such farming may not seem profitable to the landlord at first sight, but I think it was. If he had no interest on his money, he had his crop saved at the sole expense of a fixed proportion which the farmer kept for his trouble and as his share. What the share was I do not know. Of course if the farmer had the capital to expend on the farm he would not borrow: he had only his rent to pay whether that was a fixed sum or a share of the crop. On the other hand, if he had no capital to carry on till harvest, he did not go to a money lender and borrow at the ruinous Oriental rates, his landlord advanced the capital and he repaid when he sold the crop. The heavy rates charged for nonfulfilment of the contract seem to me merely deterrent penalties to insure attention to business. If the crop were an utter failure, there is very little probability the interest would be paid. Perhaps the farmer then pledged himself, or some of his property, to repay the loan.

384. We have one example of a repayment which may be noticed here, although it belongs to the corn loans. In Ulûlu (Aug.-Sept.), B.C. 686, Baḥianu advanced two homers of barley to Nabû-nûr-nammir, and one homer each to Latubâšâni-ilu and Šabtânu, *ana pûhi ittašu*. In Aaru (Ap.-May), next year, the two men, who had borrowed one homer each, repaid each one homer, Nabû-nûr-nammir did not repay his loan. There was no more repaid than lent. It is most likely that there rarely was. Now I maintain that *ana pûhi* distinguishes these advances and denotes their special character. They were allowances for administration, and like the tools and plant found by a manufacturer for his workmen, only that here the workmen were not paid wages but shared profits. If this explanation be the right one and we retain the derivation of *pûhi* from *paḥû* this verb must have come to mean 'administer' or 'carry on business,' especially 'farm.' In that case, it is very likely that *paḥâtu* was the proper expression for a business so administered, and when applied to a province really meant an 'administrative district.' The function of the *bêl paḥâti* would be to carry on State business, doubtless in the first place to collect revenue, then also to rule and otherwise administer. If this be so, Meissner's contention that *paḥâtu* is not connected with our

*paḫu* falls to the ground and Jensen's derivation (*Kosm.* p. 420) is justified, though from another point of view.

The appearance of the *bêl paḫâti* in these documents, as the receiver of considerable advances, supports the contention; though independently it would have little weight. In no. 152, the agent acting for the king's son is called his *bêl paḫâti*. That an agent should have this title is very significant.

385. The word *pûḫu* also occurs in the letters: e.g. 80-7-19, 20, *H. A. B. L.* p. 372, has *ina cli šarri pûḫi šá šarru be-ili išpur-anni ma-a* &c. i.e. 'concerning the king, the *pûḫi* which the king my lord sent me, saying &c.' Here *pûḫi* surely means a 'commission' or 'instruction': compare 83-1-18, 16, *H. A. B. L.* p. 375: K 112, *H. A. B. L.* p. 228. It appears clear that *ana pûḫi* alone means for purposes of administration; or, as we should say, 'for management expenses.' That these expenses should be advanced is also to be expected and seems to have been a regular custom. It seems to me that *ana pûḫi našû* describes the responsibility which an Assyrian landlord had, to find stock in trade, and even capital, for his tenants to work their farms, and further to furnish it on easy terms. It must also have included the responsibility to furnish the governors of distant provinces with all needful maintenance while at their posts. Whether these officials had salaries I doubt, they probably exacted what they could and merely transmitted the appointed revenue, keeping the surplus for themselves. Such a process may often have meant ruin to the official. We find in our documents, governors pledging their estates in their provinces, to creditors at Nineveh, whether on receipt of the appointment, or for expenses in the capital, or to make up deficiencies in the revenue due from them, does not appear. They very likely expected to make a good thing out of the appointment and found no difficulty in raising money upon their estates with such good prospect of their early redemption.

386. Some of the renderings which have appeared may be noted here. Oppert, in *Doc. Jur.* p. 162, 227, 247, renders *ad mutuum deprompsit, il leur a donnée en prêt*, or *ad mutuum abstulit, pour faire un prêt*.

Peiser, in *K. B.* IV. p. 111, renders '*Gegen Quittung (?) werden sie (es) herausgeben.*'

Meissner, *V. O. J.* 1896, p. 264, in his review of *K. B.* IV. thinks '*Gegen Quittung*' inadmissible and points out that neither *ittiši* nor

*ittaṣu* are presents. He renders 'als Tauschobject herausgeben,' i.e. 'sind entlehnt.' This, however, while cautious, seems to leave matters as they were. The fact of an advance being made is already implied in the document. The question is, what kind of advance is to be understood?

Pinches, *J. R. A. S.* p. 894, renders 'He has taken it in possession.'

Oppert, in *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 246, says *Das Wort pûhu ist schwierig, heisst 'Darlehn' mutuum, nicht commodatum, da es nicht immer gratis gegeben wird. Ob es mit dem chaldäischen פוה 'Quelle' zusammenhängt, mag dahingestellt bleiben.* He renders it 'als Anleihe hat er es entnommen.' This is not going far to make the reason for the use of the phrase apparent. But it is evident that the consensus of opinion regards the phrase as indicating the nature of the transaction as a loan, or advance.

387. One of the commonest phrases in the loan tablets is that which expresses the penalty for detention of the loan beyond the proper time. It is usually specified that if the loan be not returned at a fixed date, interest shall accrue at a fixed rate. When the date is not stated some customary term is probably implied. The words which express this stipulation are 'the money (or other loan) he shall give (back); if he do not give (it back),' so and so shall be the penalty.

The first verb, 'he shall give,' is frequently spelt *i-dan*, once *id-dan*; but most often written with the ideogram, *SE*=*nadânu*, followed by the phonetic suffix *-an*. Curious and exceptional spellings are *i-da-an*, *i-dan-(an)*, *id-dan-an*: and *SE-na*. The feminine *ta-dan* occurs once. The plural, 'they shall give,' is not found in the form *iddanu*, but as *i-du-nu*, *id-du-nu* and *SE-nu*. Still more irregular is the form *SE-ni* for 'he shall give' and it may be an error.

'If' is written *šum-ma* or *BE-ma* or *SE-ma*; occasionally *SE-mu*; the latter, no doubt, is to be read *šum-mu*.

'Not' is usually *la* or *la-a* and also ideographically expressed by *NU*. Occasionally the words *la* and *idin* are run together, and we get *la-din*.

In the second member of the clause, usually, the form *iddin* is used. It is often written *i-din*. A very frequent form is *id-di-ni*, or *SE-ni*, or *i-di-ni*; and even *SE* alone occurs. The plural is given as *i-din-nu*, *id-din-nu*, *i-du-nu* and *SE-nu*. On the other hand



*i-din-nu-u* is used as singular. In some cases *i-dan* or *SE-an* is used, whether in error, or because the form was really a matter of indifference is not for me to say. In one case *i-di-na* is found, and such forms as *id-da-nu-u-ni*, *i-din-u-ni* and *id-din-nu-ni* go to shew that the *-ni* in the form *idini*, or *SE-ni*, is the enclitic, and marks a dependent clause. In one case we have the form *i-ti-din*.

After this clause we get *iddan*, *išakkan* or *irabbi*, as the case may demand, to express the penalty, which usually was an increased amount. This was a sort of interest, that is to say, the advance was to be repaid with increment at some fixed rate.

388. The most usual rate of interest was 25 *per cent.*: expressed by *ana rebûtišu irabbi* 'it shall increase to a quarter of itself.' The way of expressing 'one quarter' is deserving of note. It is never phonetically written, but built up from the numeral four. 'Four' is expressed by *GAR* or *ŠA* or *TAB-TAB*. This is followed by phonetic suffixes, *-ut*, *utti*, or *ti* alone: so that we have *GAR* (= *IV*)-*ut-ti*, *GAR* (= *IV*)-*ut*, *GAR* (= *IV*)-*ti*, *ŠA* (= *IV*)-*ut*, *ŠA* (= *IV*)-*ti* and *TAB-TAB* (= *IV*)-*ut*. Those forms which end in *-ut* should properly be followed by *su*, but *šu* is invariably used. So we must read all these forms of writing simply *rebûti*. The *šu* used is Brunnow's no. 10818 and never *šû*. In no. 779, 6, one quarter is written *GAR-tu*; and, very oddly, three quarters appears to be written *GAR-tu ina libbi III*.

389. I think it is significant that we are not told whether this interest was *per month* or *per year*. As however the interest *per year* is never stated, and in the Babylonian contracts also the rate is so much *per month*, we may here assume that the rate was *per month*, and therefore would amount to 300 *per cent. per annum*. This need not startle us, because in all probability it was expected that the utmost delay would be a month or six weeks. The loan was not lent for the sake of the interest, that was a penalty, and the repayment being for the most part expected to follow harvest, the natural causes of delay could not exceed the month, or so. If a man neglected to harvest his own crop, by hiring himself out to another, the extra profit which he might gain would be discounted by the interest he had to pay for delay, even if he were personally to take the risk of his own crop spoiling. So too, if he were disposed to loiter over his harvest, or neglected to employ labour to save it promptly, the lender was secured by the interest. This served to secure strict attention to business.

390. Interest was sometimes 'one third,' that is  $33\frac{1}{3}$  *per cent.*: possibly 400 *per cent. per annum.* The way this was expressed was, *ana III-su-šu irabbi*, 'it shall increase to one third of itself.' A phonetic reading of *III-su* is not easy to devise. One third is *šalšātu* and we might suppose *šalšatsu* would express *a third of it*; but we should then have to account for the second *šu*. The truth appears to be that *III-su* is an ideographic writing of *šalšāti* and we are to read the whole expression as *ana šalšāti-šu irabbi*. Against this is to be placed the form *III-si-šu* which suggests that *-su* is phonetic. Another rate, mentioned once, is one eighth: or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  *per cent.*: possibly 150 *per cent. per annum.* In this case we have *ana VIII-su-šu irabbi* perhaps to be read *ana samnātišu irabbi*. From these two examples it looks as if fractions were named from their numerals by the addition of *-su* and we may perhaps suggest *šulsu* as 'one third,' and *sumunsu* as one eighth. Elsewhere we have *III-su* used to denote 'one third.'

391. Another expression, occupying the same position in its context as the above do in theirs, is *ana mithar irabbi*. *Mitharu* is usually derived from *maḥāru* and *ana mithar* would be equivalent to *mithariš*, which means 'completely,' so that we should conclude this meant that the interest was to equal the principal. If that be true we must have 100 *per cent.* as the contemplated rate: this seems very high indeed if it really be reckoned *per month*. The continually occurring *maḥīru* in the sense of 'market rate' suggests that *ana mithar* may merely mean 'what is proper' or 'usual' or 'customary,' and that *ana mithar irabbi* was the correct Assyrian expression for 'shall bear interest at customary rates.' If so it was probably identical with the 25 *per cent.* above.

That this is the real sense of the passage is rendered probable by the similar phrase *ana mithar ina āl Ninūa irabbi*; of which a variant has *idan*, for *irabbi*. This phrase at any rate can hardly mean anything else than 'according to the current rate in Nineveh it shall increase,' or, 'he shall pay.' With the exception of the city name the phrase is identical with the last: and forms a transition to the phrase *kī maḥīri šu āl Ninūa* 'according to the market rate in Nineveh.'

392. In a number of cases the interest is stated to be so much money per month and one might expect to get considerable help from these cases. It will be well to take the most definite examples first. Thus we have two shekels *per mina per month*, that is 40 *per*

*cent. per annum* (nos. 41, 7; 55, 5; 66, 6): four shekels *per month*, on a half mina, or 160 *per cent. per annum* (no. 51, 4): four shekels *per mina per month*, or 80 *per cent. per annum* (no. 32, 4): six shekels *per month* on three minas, or 40 *per cent. per annum* (no. 28, 4): five shekels *per month* on four minas, or 25 *per cent. per annum* (no. 27, 5): one mina five shekels *per month*, on five and a half minas, or over 200 *per cent. per annum* (no. 17, 6): half a mina, on one mina, in eight months, or 75 *per cent. per annum* (no. 41, 5): and one mina twelve shekels *per month*, on at least twelve minas, say 120 *per cent. per annum* (no. 78, 3, 4). These examples certainly go some way to establishing the conclusion that no customary rate of interest underlies their calculations. It is quite likely that they are so clearly specified because of their unusual amounts. Further it is very clear that usually the Assyrians reckoned interest at so much *per month*.

393. In a few other cases the phrase *per month* occurs, where, the amount of loan being lost, we have no means of deducing a per-centage. Thus we have two shekels *per month* (no. 30, 4) said to be *rubie* 'the interest.' In other cases the phrase *per month* is omitted, thus we have half a shekel on 30 shekels or 20 *per cent. per annum* (no. 34, 4): half a mina on seven minas, or nearly 90 *per cent. per annum* (no. 29, 4): half a shekel on ten shekels or 120 *per cent. per annum* (no. 103, R. 2): five shekels *per mina* or 100 *per cent. per annum* (no. 117, L. E. 2): half a shekel on four shekels or 150 *per cent. per annum* (no. 170, R. 2): half a shekel on eight shekels, or 75 *per cent. per annum* (no. 16, R. 1): half a shekel on three and a half minas, or only about 3 *per cent. per annum* (no. 15, 7): and half a shekel on eight and a third minas, or about one and a fifth *per cent. per annum* (no. 50, 5). In the cases of the very small interests one may suspect that the scribe either wrote shekel for mina, or meant half a shekel *per mina per month* which is 10 *per cent. per annum*.

394. The interest on corn is always the same, 30 *ka* per homer, or 50 *per cent.* It is never stated, however, whether this was *per month* or not, if so it amounted to 600 *per cent. per annum* (nos. 129, 6; 130, 9 prob.; 131, 5; 132, R. 1; 133, 6; 147, 6; 148, R. 3; 149, 5). In one case we have ten minas of silver and 120 homers of barley lent and the interest upon them is to be half a mina (no. 113, B. E. 1). It may be that ten minas is stated as the value of the corn, making the interest 5 *per cent. per month*. This would be a most valuable piece of information, making a homer of barley worth

five shekels of silver. This is, however, by no means certain; the money alone appears to bear interest and that is low compared with other cases: all of which speaks in favour of ten minas being the worth of the corn, but it may be quite different.

395. A few further remarks on the Assyrian modes of expression may be collected here. The Assyrian usually regarded the sum lent as one lump sum and spoke of it in the singular. Thus the interest is a fourth, a third or an eighth of 'it,' -*šū*; but occasionally he regarded the sum as a plural thing, using -*šunu* (nos. 40, B. E. 1; 147, 6). So while he usually said *irabbi* 'it shall increase' we sometimes have the plural *irabbiu* 'they shall increase.' The barley in the corn loans is regarded as a feminine singular, and *tarabbi* is used.

396. The scribe uses considerable licence in his writing of these words for 'increase.' Thus we have most commonly *i-rab-bi*, also *i-ra-bi*, *i-ra-ab-bi*, *i-ra-(bi)*, *e-ra-bi*, *e-rab-bi*, and with seemingly little change of meaning *uraba*, *urabba*. So we have *tar-rab-bi* as well as *tarabbi*.

The sign *GAL* = *rabû*, is used with, or without, suffix *-bi*: thus *GAL-bi*, or *GAL* alone. In the case *i-GAL-bi* we must either admit that *GAL* had also the value *rab*, or else we have both a phonetic prefix *i-* and a phonetic suffix *-bi*. A freely ideographic writing is *GAL-E*. The fact, that the interest was to be 'given,' led the scribe occasionally to write *iddan*, or *SE-an*, for *irabbi* (no. 45, R. 2). If we were to press this, we might argue that the real nominative to the verb *irabbi* was the borrower. Against this are the facts that when we have the plural *irabbiu* (nos. 29, 4; 31, 6) we have not more than one borrower; and that when we get the feminine forms (nos. 129, 7; 131, 6; 132, R. 2), the borrowers are men. On the other hand this shifting of the nominative from the money to its borrower may be the reason for *uraba* and *urabba*, the scribe may have meant 'he (the borrower) shall cause to increase.'

In place of *iddan*, in other cases of giving money, as a penalty, we often have *išakkan*, expressed by *GAR* = *šakânu*. When therefore, in no. 129, 6, we have *GAR* followed by *tarabbi*, I fancy the scribe meant us to read *išakkan tarabbi* 'he shall pay, it shall increase.' In no. 133, 6, *GAR* appears alone, and, if we do not read it as some part of *šakânu*, the sentence is without a verb. If we are to insist on the corn being nominative to both verbs, perhaps we should read *šaknat tarabbi* in the one case, and *šaknat* in the other. This would mean 'shall be placed,' that is, 'given.'

The scribe had also another verb in Assyrian meaning 'to increase' or 'bear interest': this verb, *ešēpu* or *ešēbu* (see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 308 f.; whence *šibtu*, 'increase,' in general, and interest in particular, is certainly derived), occurs (in nos. 53, 4 and 110, 5, R. 3) in the form *ēšip*, along with *iddan*, or alone.

397. Interest itself was called *rubû*: we have *rubiešu* 'its interest'; *adu rubie* 'with interest'; *kûm rubie ša kaspi* 'in lieu of the interest of the money'; *kûm rubie* 'in lieu of interest'; and *itti rubie ša ŠE-BAR*. These leave no doubt that *rubû* means 'interest,' pure and simple. For references see glossary under *rabû*.

Another name for interest was *habullu*, or, as it is more usually spelt, *habûlu*. This is certainly the same as *hubullu* (Del. *H. W. B.* p. 267 b) which Delitzsch does not connect with either of his verbs *habûlu*. In view of the ruinous effects of usury, at such rates as we have been considering, it may not be too fanciful to connect it with the verb *habûlu* 'to ruin.' At any rate the English use of the word 'damage,' for what is to be paid, shews a line of thought that may justify the derivation. The passages at our disposal are too few to shew any difference between this word and *rubû*; but we may suppose that this regards the interest rather from the borrower's point of view than the lender's, rather as 'damage' than 'profit.' In any case it is one name for 'interest.'

The term *šibtu* or *šiptu*, which in old Babylonian times, at any rate, meant interest on money, does not occur in our loan tablets. It does however occur in the sales in the phrase *šibtu bennu* &c., which is discussed later.

398. In some cases the rate of interest was so well understood that the scribe did not consider it needed specifying, thus he merely says the money shall be repaid, with interest (nos. 98, R. 2; 101, R. 3; 66, R. 7), *adi rubie*; or that the money shall bear interest, *ēšip* (no. 53, 4), *kaspu irabbi*. Both rate and amount are omitted, and often the information is not preserved, though probably originally specified.

399. Dr Bezold, in his *Literatur*, p. 156 ff. divides the *Darlehensurkunden* into three sorts: A. *Mit vertragsmässiger Zinsbestimmung*; B. *Ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung, dagegen mit der Vereinbarung, dass der (nach landesüblichem, gesetzlichem (?) Zinsfuss zu entrichtende) Zins nur bis zu einem bestimmten Vielfachen des Capitals ansteigen soll*; C. *Ohne näheren Angaben oder mit solchen, die wir bis jetzt noch nicht völlig zu verstehen in der Lage sind*. Of our

documents, Dr Bezold puts no. 27 in class A; nos. 2, 5, 19, 22, 38, 39, 40, 48 and 49 in class B, and nos. 16, 87, 88, 115 and 162 in class C. He adds that no. 115 '*scheint auf ein antichretische Verhältnis zu deuten*,' no. 16 '*eine Conventionalpön in Gestalt eines Zinses enthalten zu sein*': cf. Kohler, *A. B. R.* 209 f. These estimates appear to be based simply on the conclusions of Dr Oppert. There is nothing to mark off these documents from others of their class.

The conclusion to which these considerations leads is that there was nothing to prevent any rate of interest being set down: there was no law against exorbitant interest and no customary rate for loans proper. On the other hand these loans were usually meant to be without interest until such a time as they might reasonably be expected to be repaid. The interests set down as to be charged were rather to ensure attention to business, than a genuine business profit. They were a species of insurance against risk from negligence or incompetency.

*Abstracts of nos. 1—57.*

400. In the accounts of the separate tablets which follow, I have only recorded the size of a tablet, when in consequence of a 'join' having been made, the size given in the Catalogue is no longer correct. The number of lines can be readily gathered from the text as published, and is generally correctly given in the Catalogue. The colours of the tablets are given, more out of deference to a custom, than from any conviction of utility. The thickness of a tablet is only given, as a rule, in the case of fragments, in the hope of assisting future workers on the contracts to notice and detect 'joins.'

The discussion of the proper names seems best deferred to a later chapter, dealing with the proper names as a whole, but some noteworthy forms will be pointed out.

The personality of the parties involved will be more or less completely discussed in the belief that it will be helpful towards realising the part which each plays, and so understanding the real purpose of the documents. The occurrence of the same name elsewhere, is no guarantee of identity between the persons, but when the name is further associated with the same office, and occurs within a reasonable distance of time, there is a strong presumption in favour of that identity. Of course, it will not be desirable to load the notes with references to every occurrence, and the list of proper names in the indexes must be consulted. But I hope to render evident all

the more striking personalities and to assign them an approximately true position.

After giving, in each class, a transliteration and baldly literal translation of the first example, I shall, as a rule, content myself with simply giving an abstract of the document. In these earlier documents, this will often be almost as full as, though much more free than, a literal translation. In the longer deeds, I shall avail myself of a regular system of abbreviations to indicate the constituent parts of their formulae. Thus, at a glance, the student will be able to grasp the drift and contents of the document.

In the case of technical phrases, which admit of some doubt as to their meaning, I shall simply transliterate them, and leave them untranslated. Thus, in the group now before us, the phrase *ana pûhi* will not be translated. When the abstract states that 'an advance has been made *ana pûhi*,' that implies that the phrase *ana pûhi* occurs in the original.

Where necessary, the Aramaic names quoted, as also the other North Semitic, and Canaanite names, may be verified in Lidtzbarski's *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, quoted as *L. N. E.* The Biblical names, generally called Hebrew, may also be verified from G. B. Gray's *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, or, of course, from any of the Bible Dictionaries. But as most of this work was written before I had seen either of these works, and the quotations are taken from my own notes made from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, no error that I have made must be imputed to them. It has not been possible for me, in all cases, to compare these works, and they may have improved some readings or thrown doubts on others, in a way which will invalidate my results. But in cases, where a name written in cuneiform agrees letter for letter with the readings in the *Corpus* or the Old Testament, conjectural emendations must be received with caution.

401. No. 1. Almost complete. Red.

Kişir-Aşur advances sixteen shekels of silver to Abdi-Samsi, *ana pûhi*, to be repaid on the first of Du'ûzu. If not then repaid, the money shall bear interest at 25 *per cent.* Dated, the 11th (?) of Nisânu, B.C. 731 (?). Three witnesses.

The date is quoted by G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 84 and *S. A. V.* 4822.

Mr Pinches gave a translation, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 894: so also Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 245 f.

The date is not well preserved, it may be the 12th or 13th, just as well as the 11th. The year is also uncertain. The Bêl-ludâri of the Canon List, who is the most likely, was Eponym in B.C. 731. But Kišir-Ašur is a name that continually appears in these documents, and always in the Post Canon period, after B.C. 667. The only witness, whose name actually occurs again, is Nârgî, who appears as witness in B.C. 677, no. 576; as a witness in B.C. 644, no. 4; as a witness B.C. 648, no. 206; as a buyer B.C. 656, no. 152; and as a witness in Ep. Q and Ep. S, nos. 82 and 311. Consequently I incline to think this Bêl-ludâri was also a Post Canon Eponym. His name occurs as that of a witness B.C. 676, no. 175.

The term of the loan was about two months and a half, lent in April—May, to be repaid in June.

402. For form's sake, I append here a full transliteration and translation.

*Transliteration.*

- Obv. 1 XVI šiklê (GÊ-MEŠ) kaspi (KU-BABBAR)  
 2 šá Ki-šir-Ašur (ÁŠ-ŠUR)  
 3 ana pâni (ŠI) Ab-di-(AN)-Sam-si  
 4 ana pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši  
 5 ina ūmi I (KAN) šá arḫi Du'ûzu (ŠÚ)  
 6 kaspu (KU-BABBAR) iddan (SE-an) šum-ma la  
 iddini (SE-ni)
- Edge. 1 šum-ma la iddini (SE-ni) a-na rebu-(IV)-ut-ti-šu .
- Rev. 1 irabbi (GAL-bi). Arḫi Nisânu ūmi XI (KAN)  
 2 lim-me Bêl-lu-dà-ri  
 3 pâni (ŠI) Gi-rit-tú  
 4 pâni (ŠI) Nár-gi-i  
 5 pâni (ŠI) Ardi-(AN)-Ba-ni-tú.

*Translation.*

- Obv. 1 Sixteen shekels of silver,  
 2 from Kišir-Ašur,  
 3 to Abdi-Samsi.  
 4 As management expenses, he has taken.  
 5 On the first day of the month Du'ûzu,  
 6 the money he shall pay, if he do not pay,
- Edge. 1 (if he do not pay), to a fourth part of it,



- Rev. 1 it shall increase. Month Nisânu, day eleventh,  
 2 in the Eponymy of Bêl-ludâri.  
 3 In the presence of Girittu.  
 4 In the presence of Nargî.  
 5 In the presence of Ardi-Banitu.

403. As the beginner may desire to follow these renderings with the original texts, I will be very full and precise in the explanation of all the peculiarities which he is likely to notice. I read the cuneiform numbers by Roman numerals, rather than attempt to represent them by words. In fact, I do not know that the Assyrian for sixteen has yet been found phonetically written, probably it was something like *sissešrit*. On the numerals §§ 241—248 may be consulted. The sign *TU*, as an ideogram for shekel, has been usually read *GIN*, see § 310, but Rm. II. 588, Meissner, *Suppt.* p. 25, in line 26, shews, that when that sign was used to denote the shekel, it was pronounced *GÊ*. Hence the singular sequence of *GIN*, *GAN*, *GUN* no longer exists. At the time I wrote § 310, Rm. II. 588 was unknown to me. The same tablet gives another example of a phonetic spelling of shekel, viz. *ši-ik-li*. For the reading of *KU-BABBAR*, as *kaspu*, see § 315. For the view that *kaspu* originally had the sense of 'wealth,' see now Professor Jensen's note on 𐎧𐎶𐎵, in Brockelmann's *Syriac Lexicon*. The name of the god Ašur is indifferently written, *ÁŠ-ŠUR*, *A-ŠUR*, *HI*, *ÁŠ*, see Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 148 b, Jensen, *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1895, p. 248. The form Ašur seems to be an archaism, and, in the Cappadocian tablets and elsewhere, may belong to the time when consonants were not doubled. But we need some way of distinguishing Ašur, the god, from the Assyrian name of the country Assyria, and the city Aššur. Probably all three names were indistinguishable in pronunciation, but I have adopted the convenient form of transliteration: Ašur for the god, Aššur for the city and country. This does not imply any difference of spelling or pronunciation. The sign written *ÁŠ* when used as a preposition can be read either *ana* or *ina*. It is by no means clear that any real difference exists between *ana* and *ina*, but in our documents *ana* seems more to take the force of 'to,' Latin *in* with accusative, while *ina* has the force of 'in,' Latin *in* with the ablative. This is not strictly adhered to, but in the phrase *ana pâni*, we keep the sense 'to the presence of,' while *ina pâni*, or *pân* simply, is 'in the presence of.' Even if these distinctions are not adhered to by the Assyrian scribes, the opposite view has less

support, and all we can say is that *ĀŠ* can be indifferently read *ana* or *ina*. In that case, we shall do well to take this view, for the sake of uniformity in transliteration. Of course when a scribe takes the trouble to write *i-na*, or *a-na*, phonetically, we must accept his ruling, even if we doubt his correctness. In the case of *ana pūhi*, we follow the scribe's usage on nos. 6, 20, 39, 114. If we read *ina pūhi*, we might be tempted to think *pūhu* was some sort of 'bag' or 'purse,' 'in' which the money was carried away. But *ana pūhi* marks the purpose. On this see § 379 f.: on the verb *ittiši* see § 379.

404. In the case of the date for repayment, we read *ina ūmi I*, in accordance with our rule, as that should mean 'on the day I.' The phrase *ana ūmi I* probably would mean 'for one day,' as *a-na C ūmē* certainly means 'for a hundred days,' see no. 248, R. 7 and often. The addition of (*KAN*) to the cardinal *I* makes it an ordinal, 'the first,' perhaps read *reštu*, *D. A. G.* p. 207. In dating the day of repayment, it is usual to use the full form 'on such a day of the month,' *ša arhi*. On the other hand 'on the day that a thing happens' is written distinctly *i-na ūme*, nos. 646, R. 19; 647, R. 19, or *ina ūme*, no. 709, 5. The *ūmu* in no. 112, 6 is not decisive. On the other hand, *ina UD-MU ša* of no. 67, R. 2, and *UD-MU ša* of no. 65, B. E. 1, do not clearly shew that we are to read *ina ūmu ša* or *ūmu ša*, for 'the day that'; because *UD-MU* is also used in the phrase *ina arḫāt ūmē*, no. 468, 13, where we surely expect the plural: compare *arḫāt UD-MEŠ*, no. 652, R. 4, *arḫāt ūmē*, no. 293, 10. In fact *UD-MU* is the ideogram for *ūmu*, and, of itself, is either singular or plural. Now compare *ina ūme*, in nos. 63, 6; 68, R. 2; 102, R. 4; 160, 12; and the variant phrase *ina libbi ūme*, no. 98, 2. The verb *nadānu*, 'to give,' is used, of course, in connection with money, in the sense 'to pay,' and also 'to repay.' Its ideogram is *SE* and the phonetic suffixes settle for us the part of the verb used. Thus *SE-an* is to be read *iddan*, as the variants shew *idan* in no. 9, 4, and often; *id-dan* in no. 50, 4. The form *SE-ni* is to be read *iddini*, as the variants *idin*, in no. 9, 5, and often; *i-di-ni*, in no. 122, 6; *id-di-ni*, in no. 40, 6.

Other variants are used when there are more than one person to repay. Thus we get *iddunu*, in no. 17, 5; *i-du-nu*, in no. 13, 7; *id-da-nu-u-ni*, in no. 99, B. E. 1, for the plural of the present, 'they shall give.' Also we have *id-din-nu-ni* in no. 17, 6; *i-din-u-ni* in no. 101, 7; for 'they gave,' 'have given.' For other variants and fuller references, see glossary under *nadānu*.

But we are compelled to avoid unusual forms in our transliterations of ideograms, and should therefore write *iddinni* for the singular, *iddinûni* for the plural.

In our case it will be noted that the scribe repeated *šumma lâ iddini*, twice over, once at the end of line 6, once at the beginning of edge line 1. This of course was an error. We shall meet with several others as we go on.

The 'fourth part' is read *rebûti*, the scribe makes it needlessly long, by writing *IV-ut-ti*, as if it were *rebutti*. The *-šu*, 'its,' refers to the money, as is well shewn by the fact that when corn is spoken of we get *ša*.

The verb *rabû*, 'to increase,' is denoted by *GAL*, to which the phonetic suffix *bi* is added to shew that we are to read *irabbi*. We may compare the variants.

On the reading of the date see § 64-73. For the reading of *pân* before the names of witnesses see § 74.

405. The names deserve a passing notice. The lender, if we may call him so, *Kiṣir-Aṣur*, occurs no less than thirty times in our documents. He is a witness, in B.C. 656, on nos. 48, 49; a neighbour and witness, in Ep. A', on no. 414; he was then a *râb kiṣir*. As *râb kiṣir* of the *mutir pûti* of the Crown Prince he appears as a buyer, in Ep. B, no. 207. As *râb kiṣir* and witness, in Ep. A, on no. 325; *râb kiṣir* of the Crown Prince, neighbour and witness, in Ep. F, on no. 621; *râb kiṣir* and witness again, same date, on no. 361; *râb kiṣir* and lender, in Ep. Y, on no. 151. He is also a witness, in Ep. I, on no. 102, in Ep. S, on no. 619. He acts as lender, in Ep. F, on no. 23; again on no. 80. He is a principal on no. 110; *râb kiṣir* of the *mutir pûti* on no. 211; witness and *râb kiṣir* of the *mutir pûti* of the Crown Prince on no. 235; as lender, on no. 46, he is said to be of the city Ḥubabai. He is also a witness on nos. 503, 571. He is named in letters or writes them, K 596, 623, 764, 940, 1018, 1061, 1253, 7342, 83-1-18, 31. When Professor Harper has published the letters we shall doubtless know more about him. But from these notices we can learn much. His full title at last appears to have been *râb kiṣir* of the *mutir pûti*, or 'body-guard,' of the Crown Prince. When called only *râb kiṣir* he may not have attained this full dignity, but it is possible his title is given less fully. At any rate there can be little doubt we have to do with the same person, throughout most of these places. Hence we can hardly draw any other conclusion

than that the Eponyms A, A', B, F, I, S, Y, are not many years apart, nor too long after B.C. 656. It also seems likely that our document belongs to the same period. Hence the doubts expressed above as to the date, B.C. 731-0. By taking into account a large number of similar cases I believe it is possible to give a provisional order to the Post Canon Eponyms. This must be postponed to the Chapter on Chronology, but we may note such points as we go on. From K 1253, we learn that Kišir-Ašur became the *bêl paḥâti* of Dûr-Sargon: probably at a date later than the mentions made in our documents, perhaps when the Crown Prince became King. As the Crown Prince was evidently a son of *Ašur-bânipal*, K 1253 was probably written after B.C. 626, to which date that King is generally supposed to have survived.

406. The receiver of the advance was Abdi-Samsi. The names which have the element *abdi* are probably not Assyrian, as *abdu* does not occur in connected Assyrian prose. This view of the names is borne out by their second elements. Besides Abdâ, Abda', Abdabâni, Abda-ili, Abdûnu, Abdî, Abdîa, which prove nothing either way, we have the significant series, Abdi-Azuzi, Abdi-Bêl, Abdi-Ḥimûni, Abdi-idri, Abdi-ikrišu, Abdi-ili, Abdi-li'iti, Abdi-Kububi, Abdi-lîmu, Abdi-milkûti, Abdi-milki, Abdi-Siḥur, Abdi-ramâ, Abdi-šarri. These shew probably that Azuzi, Ḥimûni, Kububi, and Siḥur were divinities, like Bêl and Samsi. They are not Assyrian. Bêl is a divinity common to many lands, at any rate as the Assyrians counted. Samsu is the Aramaic form of Šamšu. The word *Abdu*, for 'servant' may be Aramaic also. Such forms as *idri*, *milki*, *ramâ*, are common in Mesopotamian names, see *A. D. B.* passim. Besides we have actually Aramaic parallels to several, עבדו, עבדבל, עבדא, עבדי; and compare עבדחמן, neopunic.

Hence we may feel fairly certain that Abdi-Samsi was a Syrian.

The name Girittu seems to be the same as *Gi-ri-tu*, mentioned by Dadî, on 83-1-18, 67, a letter; and as *Gi-rit-te*, a *šaknu*, on no. 771. The names Girtu, on nos. 151, 622, and Girtu on no. 50, all of them occurring at Post Canon dates are so similar that we may easily suppose the same person intended. If so, we have an additional argument for supposing our Eponym to be really later than B.C. 667.

The name Nargî will be discussed in no. 4, § 409.

The last witness was Ardi-Bânîtu. The reading Ardi, in place of

Arad, as has been common, was made clear to me by no. 7, 3, where we have *Ar-di-Ištar*: Delitzsch, *B. A. S.* III. p. 387, quotes from the later Babylonian contracts to prove the same thing. A parallel is *Išdi* in place of the form *Išid*, which used to be given in proper names. The goddess *Bânîtum* or *Bânîtu* is rare in the Assyrian documents, but we have the names, (*Ilu*) *Ba-ni-tum-bêl-ušur*, as the name of a woman, *S. A. V.* 1011, (*Ilu*) *Bânîtum-êreš*; *S. A. V.* 1012, (*Ilu*) *Bânîtum-lukin*, *S. A. V.* 1013; and (*Ilu*) *Bânîtum-tuklat*, *S. A. V.* 1014; in Babylonian contracts, as a certain witness to her existence.

407. No 2. Complete. Brown.

Ardiai lends ten shekels of silver to Kitinu, *ana pûhi*. Interest 25 *per cent*. Dated the 2nd (or 3rd?) of Aaru, Ep. A. Six witnesses.

Date quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 97, where read K 179 for K 173.

Transliteration and translation, *Doc. Jur.* p. 247 f.

Oppert's reading of line 2 gave him *Ardišu*, which he read *Zikarsu*. Whether we should take *A-a* as a divine name and read *Ardi-Aa* seems a little uncertain. *Ardiai* seems rather improbable.

In line 3, Oppert gives *Ki-an-an-u*, possibly the second *an* is a misprint, for the Latin rendering has *Kiannu* (?), and the French, *Kiannu*, without question. The last sign may be either *nu*, *BE*, or *PAP*.

In line 4, Oppert transliterates *ina bu-u-ḫi i-ti-si*, and renders *ad mutuum abstulit, pour faire un prêt*.

In line 5, the transliteration in *Doc. Jur.* is *ina IV ut an-še-bar-bi*: rendered by *usque ad quartum tantum fenerabitur, l'argent portera intérêt jusqu'au quadruple de la somme*. This clearly arose from a defective text. For *ina* we generally find *ana*: *IV-ut-ti-šu* is *rebûtišu*, 'its fourth part.' What looked like *bar* was the end of *GAL*, the ideogram for *rabû*, and *bi* is the phonetic complement to the part *irabbi*. It will be noted that *kaspu*, which is the nominative to *irabbi* is not written in the text.

The name of the Eponym in *Doc. Jur.* appears as *Sin-sar-u-si-lik*. The *si* is wrong, it is clearly *zu*: and we have the curious phonetic spelling *uzur*, in place of the usual *ušur*. Parallels could easily be collected from the Old Babylonian texts to shew that no distinction was observed between *z* and *š*, and the fact that the same sign always stood for both *za* and *ša* may shew that the Assyrian scribe was indifferent to the distinction in writing. But it is also possible that

*uzur* was heard alongside *uṣur*, and formed a step in the transition from *uṣur* to *ezzar*, as in Nabû-kudur-uṣur to Nebuchadrezzar.

In the names of the witnesses, R. 5, we have *Kan-nun-ai*, which *Doc. Jur.* leaves so, and I am inclined to think rightly. As, however, *KAN-NUN* is ideographic for *nuḥṣu*, Dr Peiser reads the name Nuḥṣai. Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 572, suggests Zazai or Zazaku as a likely reading. But כנן, the Aramaic, and possibly Assyrian, name of Araḥsamnu, would give Kannunai, like Tebêtai and others. We may also compare the proper names Kanunu, no. 166; Kaninu, K 8375, and the town name Kanûnu, K 13033.

The name of the witness in line 6, *Doc. Jur.* gives as *Sab-sa-na*, it is very clearly as I give it, and to be read Nûr-Šamaš, or Nûr-Šamši.

The last name was read in *Doc. Jur.* as *Kusai*, but it is more likely *Disai*.

Professor Oppert, *Doc. Jur.*, p. 248, says that ten 'drachmes,' of silver, *forment environ 37 fr. 50 de notre monnaie*. This is a mere estimate of the bullion weight of silver, and neglects all purchasing values.

There is no date fixed for repayment, but interest is stipulated for. If this case stood alone, we might regard it as an ordinary loan, and suppose that interest began to accrue from the date of the loan. But having regard to the customs shewn by the other documents in this group, it is more likely that the advance was to be repaid, without interest, at the autumn 'rent day,' and was only subject to interest if retained beyond that date.

In *Doc. Jur.* this transaction is called a *Prêt hypothécaire*. Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, B. 7, calls it a *Darlehensurkunde ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung*. In the index volume of the Catalogue, p. 2000 b., it is entered as 'an acknowledgement of debt.'

408. No. 3. Complete. Slate grey.

Šangu-Ištar lends Adunaiz, *ana pûhi*, one mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Interest 25 *per cent*. Dated, 21st of Tišrîtu, B.C. 680. Four witnesses.

It is important to notice that this tablet is probably a duplicate of no. 26, which gives some interesting additions. The lender is the same, the borrower the same, the date the same, and three witnesses are the same. The tablet now shews clearly that here also *GAR-GA-MIS* is to be read for *MAN*. Hence the sum also was the same. Here the money is advanced *ana pûhi*, there no mention is made of the purpose. But Adunaiz is said to be Šangû-

Ištar's *šākil eṣidi*, or 'superintendent of the harvest.' It is not clear whether *šākil* is from *šakālu*, 'to care for,' 'superintend,' or from *akālu*, 'to feed,' 'a caterer for,' or again from *kālu*, 'to grasp,' 'take in hand.' Also the *ŠE-KI-KUD* may be the 'harvest' or the 'harvesters.' But in any case, it is quite clear that Adunaiz was occupied about Šangû-Ištar's harvest, and the suggestion is obvious that the money was advanced for the purposes of the harvest.

Šangû-Ištar appears as a witness in B.C. 692, no. 440; as plaintiff, B.C. 679, no. 161; as witness and servant of the Crown Prince, in B.C. 670, no. 257, beside other undated passages. The other party, Adunaiz, may be the same as named on K 1595, R. 6, with Nêrgal-šarru-ušur. His name is clearly a compound of Adunu, seen also in Aduni-ba'al, Adunu-nâdin-aplu, no. 346; Adunu-mât-ušur, no. 513; Aduni-tûri, no. 240; Aduni-iḥa, no. 148. The termination *IS*, in proper names, is usually read *lišir*, but the variant in no. 26, Aduna-i-zi, compels us to read Aduna-iz. These Adôn compounds are characteristically Phoenician; compare אֲדֹנָשְׁמֶן, אֲדֹנָבֶל, אֲדֹנָפֶלֶט, אֲדֹנָשְׁמֶשׁ, and the Hebrew (Canaanite) Adoni-bezek, Adonikam, Adoniram, Adoni-zedek.

Arbailai, 'the Arbelite,' also a witness on no. 26, occurs as a name in our documents from B.C. 712 down to Post Canon times. He holds so many different offices, even appearing as Eponym in B.C. 661, that it is difficult not to suppose there were two or three of this name. Hence we can hardly say with which of the three we have to do here. He and Nabû-erba-aḥê, the next witness, occur together again on no. 115, where he is *šanû* of Bar-Ḥalzi; compare also no. 116. This was in B.C. 664. The next witness Aa-aḥê bears the name of a witness in B.C. 700, no. 294; and of the father of Aḥûa-erba, on no. 308. The name appears to contain the divine name Aa, and is probably shortened from Aa-aḥê-šallim or Aa-aḥê-erba, or some such fuller name. The name of the next witness, Išdi-Nabû, is common from B.C. 734 to Post Canon dates. He also witnessed no. 26.

Because of the difference in formula, no. 26 is placed later, as all the advances expressly said to be *ana pûhi* come together naturally, and the sum advanced seemed not to be the same; but the comparison needs to be carefully borne in mind.

409. No. 4. Complete. Brown.

Lûku lends ten shekels of silver to Diḥai and Rîmût-

ilâni, *ana pûhi*. Interest 25 *per cent*. Dated the 5th of Ulûlu, B.C. 644. Seven witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 97, and assigned to B.C. 644, which I follow.

The Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery describes it, p. 177, no. 57.

Extracts are given *S. A. V.* 4822, 4905, 5070, 7904, where in the Eponym's name the wrong *dan* is given.

Transliteration and translation are given by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 148 f.

In line 3, Peiser reads the name *TE-a-a* as Dihai, which I follow.

In line 4, he gives a name *LID-KU-ilâ-ni*, where the *KU* should be *UT*, and then we have the name Rîm-ut-ilâni, a common form. Dihai occurs as the name of a witness, from B.C. 717, no. 391, twice in B.C. 670, nos. 42, 257; as a seller, in B.C. 663, no. 309; as a witness in *Ep. O.* no. 16; as a witness in *Ep. S.* no. 311, and without date in nos. 419, 429. Rîmût-ili is the name of a witness, B.C. 710, no. 416; again B.C. 682, nos. 122, 123; again in B.C. 679-8, no. 462; and in *Ep. Z.* no. 340; usually without title of office, without date in nos. 410, 356. In the latter case he is a *šâkû* of the *šakintu*. Variants of this name are Rîmti-ili, Ri-mut-ti-ili, and in later Babylonian contracts Ri-mut-ili. It is possible that Rîmût-ili is not the same name as Rîmût-ilâni. The latter was the name of a slave, sold B.C. 683, no. 447; of a witness in *Ep. O.*, no. 16; *Ep. S.*, no. 311; *Ep. T.*, no. 45, and occurs also in later Babylonian times. Variants are Rim-ut-ilâni, Rîm-mu-ut-ilâni, Ri-mut-ilâni.

In line 5, Peiser renders '*Auf Quittung werden sie herausgeben.*' He gives the date as B.C. 643 (?).

Rev. line 2, Peiser read *NI-A*, which of course he left untranslated, in place of *amêl GAR*, which I take to be *šaknu*. In line 3, Peiser reads the name Šadû-Malik. I doubt if (*ilu*)-*A-a* is ever to be read Malik, see *O. L. Z.*, 1899, p. 315. But here there is a much more likely reading, Matilai; compare the names Mat'îlu, Mattallai, Matalli. For Matalli see no. 296, 3: for Mat'îlu see Peiser *M. V. A. G.* '98, 6, 2, p. 228, *Lay.* p. 17, 20, *T. Pl.* III. A. 20, *K. B.* II. p. 16: for Mattallai, no. 5, R. 2; 296, R. 1. Our form occurs as the name of a witness in *Ep. D.*, no. 622, and again no. 574. It is surely the same name as *Mati-la-a-a*, the seller on nos. 270, 271, in *Ep. D.* It might also be read Matanai and



compared with the name Matan-Ba'al, III. R. 16, V. 17, of which variants are Matan-Bi'il and Matinu-Ba'li.

In line 7, Peiser reads the name Mûdî-Bêl; Mušallim-Adadî has more parallels. The same name occurs as that of the buyer in no. 195, B.C. 730 (?).

Dr Peiser calls this transaction a *Bestimmung, dass gegen Quittung zu zahlen ist*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls it 'an acknowledgement of debt.'

It will be noted that *ittiši*, of the last three texts, is now replaced by *ittasu*.

The name of the witness in rev. l. 1, Mannu-kî-Ašur, 'who is like (the god) Ašur?' occurs often. There was a *mukîl apâti* of the Crown Prince, called by this name, who appears as witness in B.C. 660, on no. 444, cf. no. 445; a *mutîr pûti*, who appears on K 622, K 1260, in connection with the uprising in Armenia, in the last days of Sargon II.; a *tukultu* on K 919, and others, of unnamed title, at various times. Whether the name is the same as Mannu-kî-Ašur-li, 'who is strong as Ašur?' may be doubted. This was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 710-9, *šaknu* of Tile, and is also found as the name of a witness on no. 782, in B.C. 661. Further it may be doubted whether it is the same name as Mannu-kî-Aššur, 'who is like the land of Assyria?', though it is hard to see how it could be distinguished in pronunciation. This was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 795-4, *šaknu* of Guzana, named on no. 1077. The name occurs on the letter K 2908, and on no. 102, in *Ep. I*. There is another Mannu-kî-Aššur, where the name of the town Aššur is involved. This occurs in B.C. 670, as the name of a scribe and witness, on no. 625, on K 662 and K 671 as writer to the king, and elsewhere as witness. Perhaps the same name is meant, and the different forms are only refinements of the scribes.

This witness was an *amêl ša šépâ*, a title which suggests many readings. The *ša* here might be an ideogram for *šaknu* and the *šépâ* referred to may be the 'infantry,' see § 217. The probability is that *ša* is part of the title, and a *ša šépâ* was simply a foot-soldier: a really decisive passage has yet to be found.

The next witness was called Ẹurdi-Šarri, or 'warrior of the king.' Dr Bezold, throughout the Fifth Volume of the Catalogue, regards *šarru* as a by name of Šamaš, the Sun-god, which is undoubtedly the case; but it by no means follows that we are to

read this name as Ķurdi-Šamši. I believe that except in such terms as *šar-ilāni*, the *šarru* intended was the earthly monarch. My reading and rendering does not prejudice the question, the King may still be the Sun-god, all I plead for is that in this case he is known as the King, and we may only transliterate a name, not half translate it. Ķurdi-Šarri, so far as I know, at present, only occurs here. The third witness Matilai, was a *tamkaru*, or 'merchant,' see § 165.

The name of the fourth witness Takilāti was also borne by a witness on no. 311, in *Ep. S.* How we are to read the name of the next witness is open to question. Names beginning with *U-GUR* have generally been read *Akar*: and many names begin with *Akar*. But we could also read *Ukur*, and unless *UG-GUR*, is held to be an ideogram for *Akar* also, we are most likely to be correct in reading both as *Ukur*. We have then the name *Ukur-aḥē*. Whether this is to be taken as a complete name or not, seems to me doubtful. *Ukur-Adadi* is the only close parallel I know, see no. 354. Our name, in the form *U-GUR-aḥē* occurs as that of a witness in no. 105, *Ep. Z.*, where he is said to be an *amēl ša šēpā*.

The name in rev. l. 6, I read Nirgî; compare the witness Ni-ir-gi-i, no. 498. The name seems to me a variant of Nargî, which could also be read Lipgî, Lulgî. The name Nargî is borne by a witness, on no. 1; again by a borrower, on no. 152, in B.C. 656; on no. 311, in *Ep. S.*; on no. 23, in *Ep. F.*; on no. 82, in *Ep. Q.*; on no. 206, in B.C. 648, and on nos. 209, 318, 538. Our form of the name is that of a witness on no. 576, B.C. 677, and occurs also on no. 899. The form Naragê, is used by Ašur-rišûa in his letter K 194, to Sennacherib about affairs in Armenia, at the end of Sargon's reign. He was a *râb kišir*; see *H. A. B. L.* p. 139. The last witness, Mušallim-Adadi, here probably the scribe of the tablet, is called the *aba*.

The name of the lender, Lûku, is written more fully, *Lu-u-ku*, on no. 678. He may be the same man as was *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince in B.C. 659, no. 233, and as the witness, of *Ep. S.*, no. 311. The name also occurs as that of a witness in no. 267; as a neighbour, in no. 348; as father of a witness, no. 438; and as resident in Nuniba, no. 899.

410. No. 5. Complete. Dark brown.

Zazî lends twenty minas of silver to five men, Šulmu-Bel, Šulmu-Šarri, Pappû, Ašur-mutakkil-Šarri, and Kakkîa,

*ana pûhi*. The money to bear interest at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. Dated the 21st of Nisan, B.C. 712. Seven witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 85.

Extracts are given *S. A. V.*, 4202, 4822.

The text was published *III. R.* 47, No. 10.

A transliteration and translation were given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 162 ff.: and again by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 110.

In line 1, Oppert took the *ina I* or *ina išten* before *MANA*, to be *bar*, read it *paras*, and rendered it 'dimidium,' 'et demie.' In my text I have omitted the vertical wedge before *MA-NA*, *III. R.* gives it correctly.

In line 2, he renders *šá* by *quas* and by 'forment le montant de la créance de'; the latter rendering expresses the sense accurately, but is rather free. The *šá*, as shewn by the other similar documents, is simply = 'belonging to.' In the same line *III. R.*, and of course Oppert and Peiser following, have omitted all after the name *Zazî*. Probably the editors thought the words had been erased, and perhaps they were, but I think it rather a later injury to the tablet.

In line 7, Oppert renders by *ad mutuū deprompsit, qu'il leur a donnée en prêt*; thus he takes *itaşu* as singular. I see no reason against that.

*B. E.* 1, *ana salsu* (*III. šu*)-*su irabbi* is Oppert's reading; he renders by *usque ad tertium tantum fenerabitur*, and *L'intérêt pourra s'accroître jusqu'au triple de la somme*. I should prefer to read *ana šalsâtsu-šu*, to its third part, or *ana šalsu-šu* as Peiser reads it.

*B. E.* 2. The first witness appears to bear the name of *Ginil-ilu*, written *ŠÚ-il-ilu*. *III. R.* did not give the traces of *il*, and neither Oppert nor Peiser do more than leave the space for another character, or two, after *šú*. The office of this witness is *bél kâtâti*, which often occurs. *III. R.* gave a doubtful indication, Oppert left it alone, Peiser made *Bél-kâtâ* a proper name, or part of one.

Rev. 2, Oppert appears to take *mat* as a determinative and gives the name as *Tallai* only. Peiser gives *Kurtallai*. I think the name is simply *Mattallai* and a variant of *Matilai*: see no. 4.

Rev. 3, Oppert has *Ninip-aḫi-uşur*; Peiser rightly *Ninip-aḫi-iddin*: but after *ékalli* Peiser reads *labiri*. That is because on the tablet *be* appears to be written after *GAL*. It may be an error, or the 'old palace' was so called to distinguish it from the *bit ešši*, 'new palace,' so often mentioned.

In line 4, III. R. has *ŠI* for *SI* and the other *amêl*. Oppert read the sign at end of the line by *kablu*, Peiser rightly by *nappahu*.

In line 5, the office is given as *nappahu siparri*: so Peiser rightly. Oppert has *kabli ud-ka-bar*, and renders *vir praepositus ponderando aere*, or *préposé au pesage (?) des métaux*.

R. E. 2. Oppert read the name Nabu-munazziz; Peiser acutely suggested Nabû-šûm-kêniš-lîšîr, which I follow.

In his remarks, Oppert says the 20 minas of silver would be about 4612 fr. 50 cent. He says the money may be either a loan *prêt*, or a *hypothèque*, '*nous disons hypothèque pour indiquer que le prêteur n'a pas besoin de détenir réellement le gage, et que, suivant la loi assyrienne, le droit pouvait s'attacher, comme chez les Romains à une chose mobilière comme à un immeuble.*'

He further remarks: '*Le prix devra porter intérêt jusqu'à concurrence du triple de la somme prêtée.*'

Peiser makes most of the corrections and some important suggestions.

In line 3, on *ina pân*, which he renders *im Besitze des*, he remarks '*Das Geld, welches das Eigenthum des Zazî ist, ist dem Šulmu-šarri und den andern geborgt und somit nun in ihrem Besitze.*'

In line 7, on *ana pûhi itašu*, which he renders '*Gegen Quittung (?) werden sie (es) herausgeben.*' In a note to '*Quittung*' he says '*Wenn pûhu etymologisch mit puhâtu in den altbabylonischen Contracten verwandt sein sollte, so würde die Bedeutungsentwicklung sich daraus erklären, dass das Geld im Austausch gegen die Empfangsquittung zurückgegeben wurde.*'

Meissner, however, to whom the idea that *pâhu* means to exchange is due, in a review of *K. B.* iv., in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1896, p. 264 says of this point: '*Die Bedeutung Quittung für pûhu scheint mir sehr unwahrscheinlich zu sein, ebenso die Fassung von itašu & itteši als Prs. vielmehr wird ina pûhi itašu (itteši) zum vorigen Satze zu ziehen sein: 20 Minen Geld, gehörend dem Zazi, sind zur Verjüngung des Šulmu-šarri &c. als Tauschobject herausgegangen (d. h. sind entlehnt).*'

It is possible that the name in line 2, afterwards erased, was Šulmu-ilu, *bêl kâtâti* but I do not think so. Also in *B. E.* 2 the name may be Šu-lum-ilu, but I think Gimil-ilu is better.

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, B. 6, calls this a *Darlehensurkunde*, *ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b calls it an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

411. No. 6. Complete. Red brown.

Mudabirai lends three minas of silver, *misû*, to Si-'kitri and another, *ana pûhi*. Interest to be at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Dated the 18th of Simânu, the Eponymy being omitted.

The tablet seems to have been carelessly written and is now badly defaced.

The Eponymy is omitted unless we are to reckon what appears as the first witness as his name. That name is certainly not the name of an Eponym in the lists.

The names are all unfamiliar and hardly any certain.

In line 1, we have a compound of Si', the Mesopotamian form of Sin, and a comparison with the names in the Census of Ḥarran shews that we are probably to read Si'-kitri.

In line 2, the first sign may be *AN*, *ba*, *la*, or *na*, then comes *šur-šû*, or *šuḥ*. Hence I think we may read Našuh, a divinity common in Ḥarran names. But after the *šû* the tablet clearly has two small verticals. Why they are here, unless to mark off *šuḥ* from the next sign, I cannot tell. The *lu* is very doubtful; it may be *ku*, *ki*, or *kil*, and there may have been more signs on the edge.

Mudabirai may be a gentilic name and is fairly certain.

Zubi-šidki is clearly a compound of the name of Šedek, or the Aramaic צדק, with the element Zubi. For Zubi compare ζαββαλος, in the Palmyrene inscriptions. Is it possible to compare the Hebrew, זוכה?

The next witness may have been called Balâtia, but that is an unusual name.

The name Sara-ili, or Sarân is curious: but on K 947 we also have Sarâni, the name of an Erechite, and in 83-1-18, 695, App. 3, III. 15, a specimen name is given as Sarâ-an.

In the next line, we may again read Našuh, followed by two small verticals, the meaning of which is not clear. In place of *amêl* we may read *i* or *tur*. After the doubtful *ba* may be another *ba*; on the whole I am inclined to think the name was Našuh-iababa. The element *iababa* occurs in the Ḥarran names.

In the last name, *Al* is certain, *ilu* or *AN* may be *na*, and we have *šuḥ* again, with its two little verticals. The *da* may be *iš*, *mil*. Now the names Al-Našhu-milki, and Al-Si'-milki occur in the Ḥarran Census, and I therefore incline to think this name is really Al-Našhu-milki.

The Catalogue, p. 2001, merely put this among the 'private contracts.'

412. No. 7. Complete. Brown.

Ardi-Marduk lends Ardi-Ištar half a mina of silver, *ana pûhi*. Interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated the 22nd or 23rd of Ulûlu B.C. 648 (?). Five witnesses.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 96.

The tablet was crumpled up after being inscribed, so that the wedges are distorted and bent in all directions. I give what seem to me the most likely readings.

The name Bašadu, in reverse, line 3, can hardly be right. Baša may be read Ikiša, but what the sign like *du* was meant for, I am not able to decide.

The Catalogue p. 2001, simply puts this among the 'private contracts.'

413. No. 8. The reverse is lost: otherwise complete. Brown.

Mannuki-Arbaili lends Aḥûni, of Kar-Bêlit, twenty shekels of silver. In Aaru, in the midst of the month Aaru, he shall give the money in full (*ana kaḫḫadišu*); if he do not give it (back then), it shall bear interest at 25 *per cent*.

Dated the first of Aaru, B.C. 673. Two witnesses preserved.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this 'an acknowledgement of debt.'

The lender is the same as in no. 40: where he also lends money belonging to Ištar.

Some account of this frequently occurring personage may be given here.

A slave of this name, son of Aḥu-iau, was sold, by Zakuri and another, to Baḥiânu who appears so often as advancing corn, no. 176. In K 7334 M is connected with corn.

It appears that Baḥiânu at once freed M; no. 176. This was B.C. 700. In B.C. 693 he witnessed a sale of some property of Baḥiânu's; no. 491. In B.C. 687, in Addaru, he witnessed a loan by Dûmuḫa, no. 17; on the 18th of Têšrîtu, he lent one mina twenty shekels of silver to Ardiarkîa; no. 100. On the 20th of the same month he borrowed a sum of bronze from Šêpâ-Adadi, no. 43; and, in Têbêtu, he sold some fields to Ribâte, no. 624. In B.C. 680, as *râb kišir*, he bought a vineyard for thirty-one shekels of silver; in Aaru, no. 360, in Simânu, witnessed a loan, and in Du'ûzu, bought another vineyard; no. 359. Next year, in Šabâtu, he lent some

grain (?), no. 150; in Simânu, appears as a witness, nos. 83, 84; and, in Tišritu, bought a garden in Nineveh, no. 364. In B.C. 675, he lent Šamaš-aḥê-šallim, two talents of bronze, no. 40. Next year he obtained a legal decision against Bêlnâsir and Gabbu-Adadi, no. 167. In B.C. 673, he lent Aḥûni, as above, twenty shekels of silver, no. 8. In B.C. 668, he sold his sister Bilikutu, for a mina and a half of silver, to Šarpi the *šakintu*, no. 208. Next year as *amêl ša šî...* he appears as a witness, no. 204. Here the Eponym Canon deserts us. In B.C. 663 (?), as a *rakbu*, he is one of the sellers of the 'city' Dannai, to Rîmâni-Adadi, no. 470. In Ep. B, as *rakbu ša šêpâ*, he appears as witness, no. 207. In Ep. D, he borrows ten shekels of silver of Bêl-lubalât, nos. 38, 39. The *rakbu* of these last dates may be another person: but M. was already a *mâr šîpri* in B.C. 679, no. 83. It is difficult to doubt that we are dealing with the same man all through. He appears as a seller, in no. 493, and as a witness in nos. 406, 590, 602, at dates which probably lie within the limits B.C. 700—660. He is named in letters also; K 1953, in connection with Kalah, 81-2-4, 50 by Nabû-bâni-aḥê, writing to the King along with Ardi-Nabû, and in K 13006 appears as writer to the King himself. His period of active business life seems to be about five and thirty years, and if Ep. B and Ep. D are put soon after the close of Canon we need not exceed that figure.

The money was lent in Tebêtu and was to be returned in the 'midst' of Aaru, that is, four whole months were allowed. The phrase *ina libbi* may mean simply 'in' Aaru: it is hardly likely to mean 'by the middle of.' So perhaps the loan was for five months.

Aḥûni is a very common name and calls for no remark. The name of the Eponym is probably to be read Adar-ili, where Adru is a by-form of *idru*, 'help,' an element common especially in the Aramaic names. That *adru* is the same as *idru* is shewn by the name Adria, of which a variant is Idria. Adar would be the construct case of *adru*, and the name would mean 'the help of God.'

Meli-Zaza seems to contain the Kassite element Meli, seen in Meli-Šiḥu, and perhaps shews Zaza to have been a Kassite divinity.

414. No. 9. Complete. Slate grey.

Bel-lâmur lends a mina and a half, royal standard, to Sukkai. He shall return the money in Tebêtu (two months' time), or pay interest at 25 *per cent.* Dated the 20th of Araḥ-samna B.C. 686. Seven witnesses.

Published by Bezold, Cat. p. 1715.

In line 1, Bezold gives *bar* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  in place of *ina I* as it must be read.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

415. No. 10. The left half perhaps. A pinkish drab.

Še... lends fifteen minas to Še... and Ki... *ana pûhi*. Interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated in Šabâtu, limmu Ki... Five witnesses.

Too little is preserved for any successful restorations to be made.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts it among the 'private contracts.'

416. No. 11. Nearly complete. Brown.

Dannai lends, perhaps thirty-eight shekels of silver, to Laḫipu. He shall repay it on the 20th of Du'ûzu, or pay interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated the 4th of Simânu B.C. 676. Six witnesses.

The loan was for one month and sixteen days.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 92.

Extracts are given *S. A. V.* 8499.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts it among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

The name of the lender Dannai could also be read Labnai. He appears again, as a lender, on no. 118, in B.C. 673; as witness and *mukîl apâti*, on no. 284, in B.C. 668; as a buyer, on no. 178, in Ep. H'; and as neighbour, on no. 439. Perhaps he is the same as Dannîa, a lender, on no. 117, in B.C. 674.

417. No. 12 is considerably damaged and not enough is left to determine its nature exactly.

Some one, possibly a *bêl paḫâti*, lends money, to ...upaḫḫiri perhaps. It is to be repaid, in the month of Tišrîtu: if not paid then, interest will be charged at 25 *per cent*. Dated perhaps in B.C. 660. Three witnesses preserved.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts it simply among the 'private contracts.'

The colour is chocolate brown, shading off to a slate grey.

The name in line 3, may end in *ihu-nûri*, but it is impossible to say how it may read. What the names on the reverse involve it is hard to see. Possibly we have there to do with persons who acted as guarantees. The name Bidada is not otherwise known to me. I think the preposition, in line 4, may be *ina*, but *PAP* is possible.



Possibly the edge line contains the remains of the Eponym's name, Gir-Zapunu.

418. No. 13. Only pieces preserved. Pink to buff.

Ištar-Bâbi-erba lends ten shekels to Ištar-tariba, Šummu-ili, and Rimût-Ištar, on the first of Tišrîtu they shall repay the money in full, *ana kaḫḫadišu*. If not, interest is to be charged at 25 *per cent*. Date gone. Perhaps five witnesses.

What the beginning of reverse was about I cannot see. From line 4 one may perhaps gather that the scribe repeated part of obverse and then erased it. This part is all but illegible. In line 5 of obverse, in place of *Rim-ut* perhaps *NIGIN* (Brünnow's no. 10328) is meant.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, enters it as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

419. No. 14. Lower portion. Grey colour.

A sum of money is lent, on condition that if not repaid at a specified time, interest shall accrue at 25 *per cent*. Dated the 26th of Nisan B.C. 672. Two witnesses preserved.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 b, puts it among the 'private contracts.'

420. No. 15. Complete. Light brown.

Silim-Ašur lends three minas and a half of silver, Carchemish standard, to Marduk-erba. On the first of Âbu he shall repay the loan, if not his debt shall increase by half a shekel. Dated the 29th of Simânu B.C. 672. Five witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93, and Budge, *H. E.* p. 13.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 608, 1139, 1558, 4011, 5040, 5151, 5730, 5764, 5909, 6675, 7442.

The loan was for a full month. The interest was probably to be half a shekel per mina per month.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

The personality of Silim-Ašur is very distinct. In B.C. 680 he lent ten minas of silver and 120 homers of barley to two men, no. 113. Next year, in Simânu, he lent a mina of silver, Carchemish, to Ardi-Ištar, taking six homers of land in *âl Hatai*, in exchange as a pledge, nos. 83, 84; and, in Addaru, he bought a slave of Bêl-êreš for thirty shekels of silver, no. 186. In B.C. 674, in Aaru, he lent

five homers of wine, no. 126; in Addaru, again, he lent five homers of wine, no. 124. In B.C. 672, as above. In B.C. 671, he advanced one mina of silver, Carchemish, the capital of Ištar of Arbela, no. 41. Next year he appears as a creditor, no. 99, in Aaru; in Tišrîtu, he advances twelve minas of silver, property of Ištar of Arbela, no. 44; and, in Addaru, appears as witness to one of Rîmâni-Adadi's purchases. He is now probably *sukallu dannu*. As a witness, in B.C. 663, no. 470, as *sukallu dannu*; in B.C. 660 (?), probably with same title, nos. 444, 445; in Ep. Y, as witness and *rakbu* (no. 151). At other times he appears as buyer and *šaknu*, no. 629; as witness and *sukallu dannu*, no. 433; as buyer, no. 227; and, as Eponym, perhaps B.C. 659. In Ep. W his sons appear to take up his rôle of advancing money, on behalf of Ištar of Arbela, no. 88. Of course there is no proof whatever that all these references belong to the same Silim-Ašur: but it is likely enough they do. The same names occur as his witnesses from time to time, or as co-witnesses with him. Thus, for example, in Ep. Y a co-witness is Kurdi-Adadi, who witnessed for him in B.C. 679. See further in Tables of Witnesses under Silim-Ašur and Rîmâni-Adadi.

If we conclude it is the same person all through, Ep. Y must come before B.C. 659.

The name of the witness, in line 1 of reverse, Kadamu, is a peculiar one.

In line 5, the name spelt Tab-IR-a-a, is of course to be read Tabalai, 'the man from Tabal:' but the use is rare. Compare, however, *A. L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 29, note 22.

421. No. 16. Complete. Red brown.

Ḳitrî lends eight shekels of silver to Šarru-nâ'id, son of Nêrgal-nâšir. He shall pay the money on the first of Simânu, or shall be charged half a shekel more. Dated the 11th of Aaru, Ep. O. Four witnesses.

The text is published III. R. 47, no. 4.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 6342, 7379, 7442, 8083.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

It is described in the *Guide to Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 177, no. 55.

A transliteration and translation of the text are given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 231.

In line 2, Oppert reads the name Ḳi-sa-ri-i; I read Ḳitrî, with Strassmaier.

In rev. 4, he reads the name Amar-yum-ili; I prefer Rimût-ilâni.

Oppert observes that this is a debt, payable after twenty days, 11th Aaru to 1st Simānu, with a fine in case of non-payment. I entirely agree with that estimate. He notes that the signature of the debtor is not sufficient, it is authenticated by the witnesses; this however was always the case, even when the debtor affixed his seal, which here he has not done. I rather question what the Professor meant by 'signature.' As there is not a seal, does he think Šarrunā'id wrote his name? He certainly did not, unless he wrote the whole document. No one wrote anything here, nor on any Assyrian contract, save the scribe who wrote it all.

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, C. 3 f., calls this a *Darlehensurkunde*, *ohne nähere Angaben*. On p. 158 *Anm.* he says that there seems to be 'eine Conventionalpön in Gestalt eines Zinses': and refers to Kohler, *A. B. R.* p. 209 f.

In the Catalogue, p. 2000 b, this is entered as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

The witness, whose name appears, on the edge line, as Ĥubašâte, is the same as Aĥu-bašte in no. 115, Aĥu-basate, in no. 150, Aĥi-baštu, in no. 52, and Ĥabašte in no. 425.

422. No. 17. Complete. Red-brown.

Dûmuḡai lends five and a half minas of silver, to Balasû, Šilai, Atgi-ilu, Nabû-šêzib, Tamdi-ilu and Ia-akie. They shall repay it in Aaru, if not they shall pay interest at the rate of five shekels per mina per month. Dated, the 25th of Addaru, B.C. 687. Five witnesses.

The loan was for a little over a month: say a month to five weeks. The interest amounts to 100 *per cent. per annum*.

The name of the witness, in rev. line 2, is best read Addi-idrî, 'Addu is my help.' The sign on the original looks more like *ad* than *ab*, though it is not easy to be certain. A name Abdi-idri is perhaps possible, but less likely. The name is probably the same as Hadad-ezer.

In the Catalogue, p. 2000 b, this is entered among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

423. No. 18. Left-hand portion. Light brown.

Mannukî...lends twelve and a half minas of silver, to Bêl...He shall repay it in Tišrîtu, or interest will be charged. Dated the 9th of Ulûlu, in the Eponymy of Nêrgal...Five witnesses.

Here no rate of interest is named; the interest was probably a threat.

Entered in the Catalogue, p. 2000 b, as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

The name in line 3, begins with *NUN*, not *ilu*, and was therefore Šilli-Bêl and there was no more written on this line, for a space of at least three characters.

In the date, the number of the day is certainly 12, not 6, as I give. The date was given as 3, in the Catalogue. The name of the Eponym probably began with *U-GUR*, i.e. Nêrgal, and the only likely date therefore is B.C. 678.

424. No. 19. Complete. Black to grey.

Šummu-ilâni lends six (?) minas and ten shekels of silver to Bêl-ašarid. It shall bear interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated the 10th of Nisânu, B.C. 684. Five witnesses.

The text is published III. R. 47, no. 7.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 91, and *Hist. Sennacherib*, p. 20.

Extracts are given in *S. A. V.* 4944, 5058.

It is transliterated and translated by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 181: and again by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 118.

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, B. 5, calls it a *Darlehensurkunde, ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung*.

In line 2, Oppert reads Sum-mu-elani: Peiser has rightly Šummu-ilâ-ni.

In line 3, Oppert reads the name Bêl-ris-tan, Peiser rightly Bêl-ašaridu.

In line 4, Oppert reads *IV-su*, Peiser rightly *ribû-tu-šu*.

In line 5, Oppert reads the name Sin-zir-bani, Peiser rightly Sin-zêr-ibni.

In line 6, Oppert reads *gur-bu-ti*; Peiser adopts as I do, Delitzsch's reading *mutîr pûti*.

In line 7, Oppert reads *ABA* as *milu* and renders by 'magister': Peiser reads it *aba*, as I do, and renders 'Secretär.' I should prefer 'scribe' or 'notary.'

In line 9, Oppert reads Nabu-ilmad-a-ni, Peiser rightly Nabû-ili'-a-ni. Oppert sees nothing to remark except the amount of the loan, which he reckons to be 1387 fr. 50. He adds that the name of the lender may be read Nabaš-sum-ilani.

In line 2, for *ma* III. R. has *mu* rightly. I now see that it is *mu* clearly.

In line 4, in place of *ša* = *IV*, III. R. has *ša* = *IV*: I cannot feel certain which it is, there seem to be two wedges below but also three

above. Either the scribe's style slipped down, or up, and we must neglect one of the five apparent wedges, unless we are ready to admit interest at 20 *per cent.* here. It would be unique in these documents. The form of *ub* or *ar* in the Eponym's name, which Bezold gives *Cat.* p. 86, is not so pronounced. The vertical wedge which he omits is there.

In the Catalogue, this is entered as 'an acknowledgement of debt,' p. 2000 b.

425. No. 20. Nearly complete. Brown.

A duplicate of last save that the scribe appears to have written three minas in place of six. Perhaps one is an error. The principals are the same and the wording is exactly the same: except certain small additions. The witnesses are the same, with one addition.

Šummu-ilâni lends three minas and ten shekels of silver (*kaḫḫadu*) to Bêl-ašarid *ana pûḫi*. Interest at 25 *per cent.* Dated, probably same time. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 91 and *Hist. Sennach.* p. 20. G. Smith evidently recognised this as a duplicate of no. 19.

Peiser published a transliteration and translation *K. B.* iv. p. 118.

In line 1, he restores [*di-n*]i(?) at beginning of line. Such a beginning is without parallel. If it were a legal decision it would begin with *dienu* not *dini*: and the diction is entirely unlike a legal decision: see nos. 160 ff.

In line 8, Peiser gives Nabû-bêl-ušur, for Nabû-aḫu-ušur of line 6 in no. 19. In his note 7 there he questioned his reading *BAB* and suggested it should be *BÍ* to agree with his reading here. I think it is *BAB*, in both places.

A comparison of these duplicates gives some interesting results. Line 1 shews that *kaḫḫadu* may be meant, when it is not expressed: this is in favour of its meaning nothing more than 'capital,' as opposed to interest. Line 3 shews that the phrase *ana pûḫi ittiši* may be omitted without loss of meaning to Assyrian lawyers. Hence it must denote a form of loan, which would be understood, even when not expressly defined. Line 4 compared with line 5 of no. 19 shews that the *amêl III šu* is the same as *amêl III ḪU-SI*. There is therefore no necessity to leave this latter as an ideogram, but we may read both *amêl šalšu*. Line 5 compared with line 6 of no. 19 shews that the *amêl GUR-ZAK* is the same as the *amêl GUR-pu-ti* as was suggested by Delitzsch, *B. A. S.* i. p. 203. Bezold, *Cata.* p. 1429, thinks a sort of 'priest' was meant: but Delitzsch decides

for an official whose original office was that of 'sentinel' or 'body-guard.' He seems, however, to have had other functions.

In my edition I have given *SE-ma* in line 2, for *TAK-mu*, probably through a reminiscence of the duplicate. In line 3, the tablet has clearly *BAR* in place of *ŠAK-DAN*, of course also to be read *ašarid*. At the end of line 5, the scribe has written clearly *A-ZU*, instead of the *aba*, of line 7 in no. 19. Whether this was a slip of his, or whether the same man was both 'scribe' and 'physician,' is not easy to decide.

In the Catalogue, this is entered as a 'legal decision,' p. 2001 a.

426. No. 21. Complete. Light brown.

Nabû-rîmâni lends five shekels of silver to Nadinu. Interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated, the 5th of Tišrîtu, B.C. 682. Four witnesses.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 91 and *Hist. Sennacherib*, p. 21.

Perhaps the whole of the line on bottom edge was meant to be erased, or the erasure of the first words is an accidental injury to the tablet.

The reading of the name in rev. 3, I take to be Nabû-ṭuršâni. The sign *LAL* is an ideogram for *tarâṣu*, and its compounds. The next name is puzzling, Kinti-Bêl is possible, Ẹitibe very unlikely. The *ẸI* here, as in rev. 2 of no. 22, is very like *KAB*, and Kabti-Bêl would be a very usual form.

In the Catalogue, p. 2001 b, this is entered as a 'private contract.'

427. No. 22. Complete. Black.

Ulûlai and Au-ba'di lend Šanšuru, the son of Sin-nâ'id, fifteen shekels of silver. Interest 25 *per cent*. Dated in Simânu, Ep. a. Four witnesses.

The text is published III. R. 47, no. 3.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 100.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 6710, 7181: Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 109 footnote.

A transliteration and translation are given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 239 f.: and by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 156.

In line 3, Oppert reads the name Ilu-na'di, Peiser rightly Au-ba'di. That *Au* is to be read *Ilu* is not known to me from any source: but Oppert probably considered *Au* as the equivalent of *El*. According to my collation it is *ba*, not *na*: *ba'di* I consider is to be compared with *bidi* in the name Ilu-bidi &c. In my edition, I omitted *AN* before *A-u*, which is now clear on the tablet. On lower edge 3, the

name of the Eponym is either Bar-ku-rîm-an-ni or *AN-KU*-rîm-an-ni. Oppert gives Ninip-takkil-ani. Peiser reads as I do. *AN-KU* is given by Brûnnow, Sign List, as = Marduk. The name Marduk-rîmanni does very well: on the other hand Barku-rîmanni would give us an otherwise unknown god Barku. He is said to be *šakku* of *ál KAK-ZI*: this I believe to be the same place as Têzi, which I take to be its phonetic spelling. It was near Nineveh.

In rev. 2, Oppert reads *Ḳi-bi-ilâni*, following III. R. Peiser very plausibly emends to *Ḳiṣur-ilâni*. I read *Kab-ti-ilâni*: but the sign is very likely *ḲI*.

In rev. 3, Oppert reads *Sa-ka-ya-an*, Peiser *Sa-ka-a-ilu*: a comparison of other places leads me to read it *Sakân*.

In rev. 5, both Oppert and Peiser have *Bêl-Malik*, I do not think this *ilu-a-a* is ever to be read *Malik* but simply *ilâi*: as it changes with *ili* and *ilâni*. The *BE* which they have read *Bêl* may be *Ea* as Hilprecht maintains.

In obv. 5, I have omitted *AN* before *XXX*, the tablet now shews it clearly.

Oppert calls the transaction: '*Créance portant intérêt.*'

Peiser calls it '*Schuldschein mit Zinszahlung.*'

It is noticeable that the money lent was the property of two men.

In the Catalogue, this is entered as an 'acknowledgement of debt,' p. 2000 b.

**428.** No. 23. Complete. Brown.

*Kiṣir-Aṣur* lends eight shekels of silver to *Nargî*, son of *Šamaš-nâ'id*, from the city *Anatu*. Interest 25 *per cent.* Dated, the 21st of *Tiṣrîtu*, Ep. F. Four witnesses.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

In line 3, the name has been read *Lip-gi-i* but I prefer *Nargî*. The sign *LIP* has the value *NAR*: and I compare the names *Nergî* and *Naragî* which I believe to be the same. The reading of the city name as *Anatu* is quite conjectural, it is spelt *TIŠ-UD*; but as *anaku* is often written *TIŠ-KU* I think this is admissible. The city *Anat* occurs I. R. 23, 15 as situated on the river *Euphrates*. It occurs again in no. 385 as near the town *Ša-ṣillai*.

In the Catalogue, p. 2001 b, this is entered as a 'private contract.'

**429.** No. 24. Complete. Dark brown.

*Imṣai* lends *Zabinu*, the *rakbu* of the *rab mugi*, a mina of silver, *Carchemish* standard. Interest 25 *per cent.* Dated, the 9th of *Du'ûzu*, B.C. 645? Five witnesses.

This is the inner tablet of which the next number is the envelope. In rev. 4, there are two signs at the end of the line, clearly *amêl* ŠAK, and more may have been written, see the duplicate. On the edge, line 2, as in the duplicate, *LUH* is written like *NUN-U*, which can hardly be intended.

In the Catalogue, p. 2001 b, this tablet and its duplicate are entered as 'acknowledgements of debt.'

430. No. 25. The upper right-hand portion of an outer tablet or envelope. Light brown.

The same text as the preceding with slight changes.

The text of this tablet is published *C. I. S. Pars II. t. 1. p. 35 f.*: with restorations from the last. The date is lost. There were five witnesses.

This text adds the title *šaķu* of Kumuḥ to the name of the third witness: the names of the first two witnesses on the last tablet are lost here. The last tablet gives Našḥu-aali and Aḥulî as *LUH-MEŠ* or *sukallê*, this gives them as *sukallê* of *Niribi*.

This text adds two more names, Ḥarranai and Nabû-riḫtu-uṣur, the *aba*.

It is noteworthy that names compounded with Našḥu are common in the neighbourhood of Ḥarran. The name is written *Na-aš-ḥu*: or Na-ṣuḥ. The text as given by Pinches in *C. I. S.* has *ḥu* and I read it so in every case. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 897, Mr Pinches says "My copy has Našri": a very tempting reading, but never I think on the documents: compare the names in no. 6.

Mr Pinches' restorations of this text I adopt as a whole. Between lines 1 and 2 of rev. may have been the names of Iṣtar-dûri and Indû omitted in my text. In line 2, I do not think anything followed *šaķ*: but in line 4 there was room for more. *C. I. S.* reads *Bab-li-i* for Aḥu-lî; it is possible, but not likely.

In line 6 of rev. *C. I. S.* gives an unknown sign for *LUH*: and omits to render the *sukallê ša niribi* altogether. The *aba* is again rendered by *praeses*.

The Aramaic inscription is very perfect and reads אגרת כספה זי על זבן, that is, 'the acknowledgement of the money lent to Zabinu.' This leaves no doubt whatever that Zabinu was the borrower. Further it excludes the possible reading of the cuneiform spelling of the name as Šabinu.

431. No. 26. Complete. Light brown.

Šangû-Iṣtar lends one mina of silver, Carchemish, to



Adunaizi, who is in charge of his reapers. The money shall bear interest at 25 *per cent.* Dated, the 21st of Tišrîtu, B.C. 680. Six witnesses.

This is a duplicate of no. 3, and would have been placed next it, but for its variations in style being greater than others which are numbered before it. The persons named as parties are the same, the amount is the same, the rate of interest the same, the date the same and three witnesses are common. The tablets are as much duplicates as most inner tablets are of their envelope. There are however noteworthy differences.

In no. 3 the money was lent *ana pûhi*: this is omitted in no. 26: but here the specification of the borrower as *šâkil ešidâni-šu*, 'the one who has charge of his reapers,' offers us some food for reflection. *His* reapers, a man would not be represented as 'caring for his own reapers': they must be the reapers of Šangû-Ištar. He then paid out this mina of silver to Adunaizi, who was his bailiff, or at any rate in charge of the harvest operations. This was lent at the beginning of October: perhaps the harvest was got in and he had to pay hire for the labourers. Even if we have the courage to assert that Adunaizi borrowed the money to take care of his own reapers, the phrase *šâkil ešidâni-šu* could not so be rendered: and would be an unneeded and awkward way of expressing the fact. We must I think admit that to pay hired labourers was one of the purposes covered by *ana pûhi*. That is why I render it 'for administration': what we should call 'management expenses.'

The name of the borrower in no. 3 is Adunaiz: and here it is given as Adunaizi, variant of Adunaiz. Mr Pinches, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 896, thinks that one part of this name is Adonai, the well-known Hebrew word for 'lord.' According to Moore's rule that 'in names compounded with Adôn the second name is uniformly the name of a god,' we should find a god Izi or Izu here. The names compounded with Adunu in Assyrian do not all support the rule: for example we have Adunu-apla-iddin, 'Adunai has given a son'; Aduni-tûri, 'A. is my fortress'; Aduniḫa, 'A. is alive (?).'

These shew that Adunu is the proper name of a god: and does not simply mean 'lord.' The compounds of Adunu are probably Phoenician names: and in Phoenicia we may seek for the name Aduna-izi. It is scarcely likely to be a Semitic rendering of the Greek Adonis, pointing to a Greek already in service in Nineveh.

I do not think, with Mr Pinches, that *Bêl-iz* is the same name: *IS* at the end of names is very commonly read *lišir*, and I have never found an instance where it may not be so read. So I read *Bêl-IS* as *Bêl-lišir*.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, enters this as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

In line 4, the name of the office seems at first to be written *ša MUT-KIN-TI-šu*, but that is quite unknown to me, though some one else may make something of it. I believe the signs were meant for what I give.

432. No. 27. Complete. Red-brown.

Nêgal-šar-ušur lends five minas of silver, Carchemish standard, to Nabû-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-râim-napišti, the *aba* of the *bêl paḥâti* of Dûr-Sargon. Interest five shekels (per mina) per month. Dated, the 26th of Aaru, B.C. 667. Eight witnesses.

The text is published, III. R. 47, no. 9.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 7927, 8080.

A translation by Sayce was given, *Rec. Past*, I. p. 138 f.

A transliteration and translation was given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 193 ff.: and by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 134 f.

In line 1, the first sign is best read 5.

In line 2, Oppert renders *šá* by *quas*, but he has no verb to govern the accusative. I take it *šá* is here to be rendered 'of,' 'belonging to': so Peiser, *gehörig*.

In line 3, Oppert reads the second name as Nabu-madid-napsat, Peiser has Nabû-râm-napišti. *RAM* is better read *râim*.

In line 4, Oppert has *milu* for *aba* and renders *magistri*, Peiser as usual *Secretär*.

In rev. 4, Oppert has *milu* for *aba* again, but now renders 'doctor' and 'chef.'

In rev. 5, Oppert read the office *gur(zak)*, but gave no rendering. Peiser rightly *mutîr pûti*, and *Thürsteher*.

In rev. line 6, III. R. gives *amêl gab* which Oppert left untranslated, Peiser rightly gives *amêl MU* but leaves untranslated. It probably denotes a 'baker.'

On the whole text Oppert merely remarks the high rate of interest: he makes this 25 *per cent*. I think however that the rate is 5 shekels *per mina* per month or 100 *per cent. per annum*. Oppert

reckons the four minas as worth 900 fr. and the five shekels as worth 19 fr. nearly.

On line 1 of reverse, Peiser has the note 2 *pâti* *abgekürzt für SU-pâti*: which is clearly correct. It is one of the ways of writing *apâti*: on the tablet the II is not very clear and Strassmair, 7297, seems to have thought it might be *a*. The balance of evidence makes for the II which III. R., Peiser and I give. R. E. 1 Peiser read *šar* for *mat*.

Oppert calls the transaction *Créance portant intérêt*, Peiser calls it *Schuldschein mit Zinszahlung*. Bezold, *Lit.* p. 156, II. A. 1, calls this *Darlehensurkunde mit vertragsmässiger Zinsbestimmung*. The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

The father of our borrower was a witness B.C. 700; this is probably the son's first appearance in business matters. It is not likely he was the often occurring writer about horses.

In line 4 before *âl* and after *bêl paḥâti* read *šá*.

In rev. 3, *šarru* is written exactly like the *in* before it.

In lower edge of rev. read *šarru*, i.e. *MAN* in place of *MAT*: i.e. *Sin-šarr-ibni*.

433. No. 28. Complete. Red-brown.

Aplîa lends Sukai three minas of silver, Carchemish standard. The interest shall be six shekels per month (on a mina). Dated, the 2nd of Abû, B.C. 686. Five witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90, and *Hist. Sennacherib*, p. 18.

It is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 177, no. 56.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 6802, 9064.

The rate of interest is 120 *per cent. per annum*: unless the six shekels are the full interest per month, when it would be only 20 *per cent.*

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

434. No. 29. Complete. Brown.

Baḥiânu lends Kabti-ilâni seven minas of bronze. It shall increase one half mina. Dated in the Eponymy of Iddinaḥê, B.C. 693 or B.C. 688. Three witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89, and *Hist. Sennacherib*, p. 16.

It is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 178, no. 61.

The lender Baḫiānu is a most interesting person. He was for a long time concerned with advances of corn to various parties under conditions which will be considered later in dealing with the corn tablets. The name occurs in Ašurnāṣirpal's account of his conquests of the Ḫatti. He may therefore have been a Hittite. On the contrary a name ending in *-anu* points by analogy to some place Baḫi or Baḫia. The Hittite king Baḫiānu may not have been a real Hittite. The name strikes me as having a Semitic or Semitised style about it. The Baḫiānu who figures so largely on the corn tablets was active in business from B.C. 704 to B.C. 667.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

The name of the borrower, in line 3, is what I believe to be intended also in no. 22, rev. 2, and here the *Kab* is quite plain.

435. No. 30. Complete. Slate grey.

Šummu-ilāni lends some money to Ninūai. The interest is to be two shekels per month. Dated, the 4th of Tišritu, B.C. 681. Five witnesses.

The tablet is partly defaced. Nothing legible is left of the first line.

Line 4, now that the tablet is clean, shews no sign of *šū* after *arḫi*.

Line 2 of B. E. The signs look like Ḫa-lal-lal-ba-ia: perhaps to be read Ḫalabaia.

Line 2 of Rev. the name may be Ḫu-za-nu, but the sign *za* looks like *a*. After repeated collation, I am of opinion that the two signs given doubtfully as *A-nu*, are really the remains of *gu*. The name therefore must be Baggubašu.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

The name in line 1, of reverse, reads Illu-uknu, which suggests 'bright gem,' *uknu* being the Assyrian name for the *lapis lazuli*. But it is more likely to be an attempt to give a significant form to a foreign name, possibly Illugnu. We may compare the name Apli-uknu, which might mean, 'my son is a gem,' but of which the variant Abalu-kunu points to an attempt to render a foreign name. The owner of the latter name was an Armenian, or Gimirrai (?), and perhaps was really called Ablugnu. Our name may point to the same nationality. See *H. A. B. L.* p. 139, cp. p. 395.

436. No. 31. Complete. Brown.

Baḫiānu lends ten minas of bronze to Bêl-lîšir. He is to repay it on the twenty-first of Nisan. If not, it shall increase at the rate of 100 *per cent. per annum*. Dated, the 3rd of Kislimu, B.C. 695. Four witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Hist. of Sennacherib*, p. 15. Bezold gives the date B.C. 773 (?) but that cannot be right. Baḫiānu, as we shall see later, lived B.C. 707—667. Bêl-lîšir the borrower occurs also in B.C. 688. The sign which I read Nisānu is very oddly made, and may really be *KAN*, i.e. Kislimu, written over another sign. There is certainly one vertical, but also four horizontals at the beginning of the sign.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 5076, 5389, 8499.

In the sign given as *KAN*, on the edge line, there is certainly one vertical.

*Mithar* in line 6 means 'all,' *ana mithar* means *to its entirety*. It has been suggested above that it could mean *at market rate*: but this is only a guess. No certainty, however, can be reached till we find some receipt for a sum with its interest, which had been lent on this condition.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 a, calls this simply a 'private contract.'

437. No. 32. Complete. Slate grey.

Sinšarušur, the *šanû*, lends two minas of silver (*kaḫ-ḫadu*) to Aḫûsu. Four shekels per mina, per month, shall be the interest on one mina, the second shall not bear interest. Dated, the 12th or 22nd of some month B.C. 693 or 688. Six witnesses.

The peculiarity about this seems to be that one half the sum bears interest at 80 *per cent.*, the other half bears none. It seems impossible to take *šanû* as meaning anything else than 'second,' 'other one.'

If this be so, then in some sense the lender was bound to advance one mina for some time, not specified, without interest, but apparently he was not bound to advance more than one. As I maintain, he advanced a mina to meet expenses for which he was ultimately responsible, but which Aḫûsu was to disburse for him, as some sort of steward. Then when the business was at an end, the steward would render his account and, after repaying the cash advanced as capital, would proceed to the agreed division of profits; or payment of rent, or whatever his actual position demanded. In addition to what he was fairly entitled by custom to demand, as an advance for expenses of management; he borrowed, in the ordinary way of business, as much again, for which he paid interest. The exorbitant rate of that interest may be due to his subordinate position. His credit may not have been good.

In line 2, the title at the end of the line, instead of *šanû*, we should read *ŠA* or *GAR*, followed by *nu*, i.e. *šaknu*.

In line 6, there is space for one or two characters before *I manû*, and perhaps the text read *ša 2 manê šaniu*, i.e. 'of the two minas the second.'

In reverse 2, the sign *ER* is now completely clear, and of *Išdi*, three horizontals are quite certain.

In reverse 4, the name began with *AŠ-ŠUR*, there are no longer any traces of *MAS*, nor of *ŠI*. The name may have been Ašur-ušabši. In the same line, the title is now clearly the same as in line 2 of obverse, i.e. *šaknu*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.' 438. No. 33. Complete. Light brown, or drab.

Nabû-tak-lak lends one mina of silver, royal standard, said to be *iškar* of the Queen Mother, to Nêrgal-ilai. In Tišrîtu he shall pay the money to its full amount; if not, the money shall increase a half mina. Dated, the 28th of Ulûlu, B.C. 692. Six witnesses.

The money is said to be the *iškar* of the king's mother. In no. 2 of the 'Inscribed Babylonian tablets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.' we have a number of clothes, or cloth material, described as the '*iškari* of the 14th or 13th years.' Mr Pinches renders by 'presents' and compares the Hebrew אֶשְׁכָּר, 'a gift.' In our case, it must mean money belonging to the Queen Mother; in all probability some 'income' or allowance of hers. It can hardly have anything to do with *iškaru*, 'a fetter.'

On the edge line, the last sign is very likely *e*, there seem to be two verticals.

In reverse 4, the second *za* is oddly written, one short vertical over three short verticals.

In line 5, there was space for *ER* before *Arba*, and the *AN* is exactly like *ba*. The name may be read Arbailu-bêl-iddin, but is of course very doubtful.

In line 6, what I took for *li* is now clearly *ri*, spaced somewhat widely.

On the left-hand edge, line 1, the last sign may be *ilu*. The name Šalame is a singular one, Šala-ili is distinctly more likely, and there may have been more originally, perhaps Šala-ilai.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

439. No. 34. Complete. Slatey black.

Šumma-ilâni lends thirty shekels of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, to Ašur-ittîa. The money shall increase half a shekel. Dated, the 13th of Nisânu, B.C. 695. Five witnesses.

The date (which Bezold gives without question) B.C. 773 is very unlikely.

In line 7, the title of the witness is now clearly *amêl III-šu*, i.e. *šašû*.

On line 2 of the lower edge, the form of *tir* is unusual, it seems to be Babylonian, but even more shortened. The title of course is *mutîr tême*, 'a bringer back of news.'

In the date, 12 is probably better than 13.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

440. No. 35. Nearly complete. Brown.

Rîmâni-Adadi, the *mukîl apâte dannu*, lends ten minas of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, Carchemish standard, to Mannu-kî-aḫi, the *šanû* of Arbaḫa, and Nabû-ašarid. They shall repay the full sum (*kaḫḫadu*) in Nisânu, or interest will be charged at 25 per cent. Dated, the 22nd of Têbêtu, B.C. 665. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 5080.

Two clear months and perhaps a fortnight is the period for which the sum was lent.

In line 1 of lower edge the lost name was very likely Sa-kan who often occurs with Barrukḫu as witness and *mukîl apâti* on Rîmâni-Adadi's deeds.

In line 4, of obverse, in Rîmâni-Adadi's name, for *a* read *an*: and for *IM*, *U* is possible, though not quite certain.

In line 7, of the name *Bar-ru-ku*, only part of *ku* is now left.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this simply a 'private contract.'

441. No. 36. A small fragment only. Brown to dark grey.

Mušallim-Ilu lends four minas (of silver?), *kaḫḫadu*, to Daiadi-Ilu. The rest of the body of the document is lost. Dated, the 8th, 18th, or 28th of some month in B.C. 685. No names of witnesses are preserved.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90, and *Hist. of Sennacherib*, p. 19.

In line 1, what looked like the remains of *da* is now represented

by only one vertical. That makes me doubtful, if *da* was really written. Daiadi-ilu is a curious name. Baiadi-ilu is much more likely.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

442. No. 37. Complete. Grey.

Šêpit-Ištar lends four (?) minas less six shekels, Car-chemish standard, to Šêpâ-Ašur. Dated, the 1st of Tišrîtu, B.C. 676. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92.

The amount lent is not fully preserved: the number of minas ended in four or five. The use of *LAL* = *maṭu* = 'less by,' is rather rare in Assyrian documents; see § 244.

Instead of Ištar Ninûa, in line 1, may now be clearly read *ša Gar-ga-miš*.

In line 2, instead of *Še*, seems to be *hi*, but *Hi-pit-Ištar* seems a curious name.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

443. Nos. 38 and 39 are the inner and outer tablets of a well preserved case tablet. Only a piece of the outer tablet is gone, but it does not affect the text.

Bêl-lubalaṭ lends ten shekels of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of Ištar of Nineveh, to Mannu-kî-Arbaili *ana pûhi*. The silver shall bear interest at 25 *per cent*. On the 3rd of Šabâtu he shall repay the money. Dated the 3rd day of Šabâtu, Ep. D. Nine witnesses on the outer, five on the inner tablet.

It was translated by Sayce, in *Rec. Past*, 1. p. 138.

The text was published, from the outer tablet, with some variants from the inner tablet, III. R. 46, no. 8.

The text is also given, *C. I. S.* p. 22: with transliteration and translation (by Oppert?).

It was transliterated and translated by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 226 f.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 97, and the tablet is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 174, no. 41.

In line 1, of lower edge of no. 39, III. R. puts *kaspu* in brackets apparently by way of indicating that it is not on the duplicate.

*C. I. S.* combines the texts, without any indication of the separate sources.

Oppert, in *Doc. Jur.*, renders *kaḫḫadu* by *verticis*, and by *de première qualité*.

In line 2, he has for *ŠAK-MEŠ* only *ris*, and no Latin rendering:



it is uncertain whether *au titre* is to be taken as a rendering, or only a gloss. The *ša* of line 3 he renders *quas* and *sont la créance de*. In line 4, *ina pân* is rendered *in facie* and *sur*. In line 7, he reads *SE-AN* by *id-din-na*. In rev. line 7 the office (or is it nationality?) of the witness is given as *se-riṣ-pa-ai*. In view of the *še-la-pa-a-a* of no. 125, R. 3, I read it here as *še-lap-pa-a-a*. The name of the last witness, Oppert reads Bêl-sad-ilu, I prefer Bêl-nat-an.

Oppert calls the transaction '*Créance avec constitution hypothèque.*' He also points out that the Aramaic docket in rendering Mannu-kî-Arbaili gives *g* for *kî*: as in the Biblical rendering of Tukulti-apil-ešarra by Tiglath-Pileser: and Šarrukin by Sargon. He points out that Hatpimunu and Ra'u are Egyptian names.

The translator in *C.I.S.* also gives *ris...* for *ŠAK-MEŠ*, but reads *kaḫḫadu* or rather *qaqqadu*: he seems to render *kaḫḫadu ŠAK-MEŠ* by *caput principale praesidium* (?), evidently taking *ŠAK-MEŠ* as *šaḫê*, 'chiefs.' He takes *ša* as *quas* but renders the whole passage as *quas Bel-lubalat a Mannuki-Arbailo pro mutuo abstulit*. That seems to be reversing the order of things, Mannu-kî-Arbaili is certainly the borrower. In the rendering of the name Mannu-kî-Arbaili, he suggests that Arbaili means Ištar of Arbela, which is probably right.

I have little to remark. The variants are of small importance, *i-rab-bi* for *GAL-BI* is clear from many other places, and *a-na* for *ana* is common. The loan was for a year, from the 3rd of Šabātu to the same date next year. Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, B. 1, calls this a *Darlehensurkunde, ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung*.

The Aramaic docket reads למננארבל To Mannu-kî-Arbaili  
זיקדםבית who is before the  
היכלא palace.

On the left-hand edge of no. 38 are three lines, omitted in my edition, which read Zêr-ukîn, Nêrgal-šar-ušur, Ḥannî.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, reckons this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

444. No. 40. Complete. Brown.

Mannu-kî-Arbaili lends two talents of bronze, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of Ištar of Arbela, to Šamaš-aḫê-šallim. In Abu he shall return it, if not it shall increase by one-third part. Dated the 11th of Simânu, B.C. 676. Four witnesses.

The text was published, III. R. 47, no. 2.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92, and Budge, *Hist. Esarhaddon*, p. 13.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 5909, 7442, 8499.

It was translated by Sayce, *Rec. Past*, I. p. 138.

Oppert gave a transliteration and translation, *Doc. Jur.* p. 187 f.

In line 1, he already gave *bilat* for 'talent': but now he takes *ŠAK-MEŠ* quite differently from p. 226 f.; he reads it *šagrute (ris)* and renders *puri, pure*.

In line 2, III. R. gave wrongly the sign *TIŠ* before Ištar: so Oppert read it *ana* and made Istar-sa-(alu)-Arba-ilu a proper name apparently; at any rate, he renders *ana* by *d'*.

In line 3, *ša* he renders by *quod*.

In line 4, he completed the name *e-riḫ* in place of *e-DI*: but as *DI*=*šalāmu*, I read *e* as phonetic complement to *aḫē*, and take the whole name to be Šamaš-aḫē-šallim.

In line 5, he reads *id-dan-an* and renders *debebit*. Of course the *an* is only a phonetic complement to *dan*, and the verb is *iddan*, 'he shall give,' not 'he will owe.'

In rev. line 6, Oppert reads the name *Damiḫ-eni-sar*: taking *KA-MES*=*eni*. But as *KA*=*rigmu* we may compare the name Ṭāb-rigimatu-Adadi, and read perhaps better, *Damiḫ-rigmati-šarri*.

In rev. line 7, he reads the name *Nabu-bel-ya*; why, unless for variety, it is hard to see. Nabûa is common enough in all sorts of spellings.

Oppert calls the transaction '*Créance portant intérêt*.' He says two talents would weigh about 60 kilogrammes, but declines rightly to fix a value.

The loan was for about two months.

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, B. 3, calls this a *Darlehensurkunde, ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this 'an acknowledgement of debt.'

445. No. 41. Complete. Greeny grey.

Silim-Ašur lends one mina of silver, Carchemish standard, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of Ištar of Arbela, to Zabinai. In Addaru he shall return one mina and a half. If not, interest shall be at the rate of two shekels per mina per month. Dated the 29th of Araḫsamna, B.C. 671. Five witnesses.

As Ṭebētai seems to have been Eponym also in B.C. 666, there seems no reason to prefer the date B.C. 671.

I have wrongly given the day in line 8 as 26, it should be 29 as Bezold gave, *Cata.* p. 1590.

Oppert has given a rendering of this in *Z. A.* XIII. p. 247. He remarks that Zabina, as he reads the borrower's name, is that of a Syrian king, Alexander Zebina B.C. 95. Hence Zabinai is probably an Aramaic name. On p. 248, Oppert comments on the high rate of interest, this seems to me superfluous. It was only a penalty, the likelihood of its ever being exacted was remote.

On reverse, line 3, there seems to have been something written between *Ašur* and *I*, but whether it was afterwards erased, or not, seems very uncertain. The remains look like *KAK*, or *ni*. In any case, it would make the name unusual, while *Ašur-nâ'id*, is perfectly regular.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, reckons this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

446. No. 42. Complete. Slate grey.

Erba-Adadi lends half a mina of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, of Ištār of Arbela, to Mannu-kî-Ašur, *ana pûhi*. Interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated, perhaps the 21st of some month in B.C. 670. Seven witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93. It may be the 12th, or 11th.

A transliteration and translation was given by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 130 f.

In line 2, he seems to have read *GAŠAN*, Brünnow's 6983, in place of *šá*. The character is so rubbed as not to be certain: his *belit* is without parallel in these tablets, while my *šá* occurs uniformly in this connection.

In line 3, he did not read *su* before *ilu IM*: the character appears to be certain.

In line 4, he omits all the name, which, though defaced, seems to me quite sure.

He omits all line 5 and only gives *bi* at end of line 6.

The Catalogue gives the wrong number of lines: there are 8 on obverse, not 7 only.

In line 2 of edge, Peiser read Arad-Ištār, I believe this should be Ardi-Ištār.

In rev. line 2, the name of the witness I read as Akakua. Peiser reads II for *a* and takes it to be *šanû*. Against his reading is the fact that no other witness has his office given, by itself this is not of much weight: but the traces look to me more like *a*.

In rev. line 4, Peiser reads Ašur-šilim-amur. That seems to me

very questionable. Pân-Ašur-amur, Šulmu-Ašur-amur, appear to give sense. But what could Ašur-šilim-amur mean? Surely *amur* is 'I have seen.' Ašur-šilim conveys no meaning to me; I do not know what *šilim* could be. *DI*=*šalāmu* and its derivatives: perhaps *šalmiṣ* would suit here. Ašur-šalmiṣ-amur is a reading that appears to give sense.

In line 5, Nabû-kibsi, which Peiser gives, is all that is now on the tablet, but I suspect the name ended in *uṣur*.

In line 2 of the lower edge, instead of *ARAD*, the tablet has clearly *ITU*, but Arḫu-Ištar, 'the month of Ištar,' seems an unlikely name. In obverse line 4, in place of *kī*, perhaps the tablet had *lu*, Mannu-lu-Ašur is very unusual.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

447. No. 43. Left-hand portion. Chocolate brown.

Šêpâ-Adadi borrows of Mannu-kî-(âl Arbaili?), *ana pûḫi*, eleven or more minas of bronze, *kaḫḫadu*, of Ištar of Arbela. He shall repay it on the 1st of..... If not, interest will be charged at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. Dated, the 20th of Tišrîtu, B.C. 687. Seven witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90, and *Hist. Sennacherib*, p. 18.

In line 1, the number at the beginning may be 12, as well as 11, or some number ending in 1 or 2.

In line 6, after *KAN*, read *ša*, it is now clear on the tablet.

On reverse, line 4, the name of the witness is Abu-larim, read *AD* for *I*.

In the next line, *Ia* is better than *Ši*, and there was room for more at the end of the name. If Iada were a divine name, compare Mannu-kî-Iada, then the name here may be Iada-ukîn. As it stands Iadadu does not seem likely.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

448. No. 44. Complete. Red brown.

Silim-Ašur lends twelve minas of silver, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of Ištar of Arbela, belonging to the *GAR-MEŠ* of the temple, to Zarutî son of Gugî. Interest at 25 per cent. Dated, the 11th (or before the 20th) of Tišrîtu, B.C. 670 probably.

The Eponym was probably Šulmu-bêl-lašme; but what came after *bêl* is illegible.

It is clear that *ŠA-MEŠ* or *GAR-MEŠ* is not the same as *ŠAK-MEŠ*. The usual meaning of *GAR-MEŠ* appears to be *šaknūti*, plu. of *šaknu*, 'the chief officers.' This money then belonged to Ištar of Arbela, that is to the officials of her temple or *bīt-ili*: see further, § 366.

Rev. line 2, the name is nearly illegible now, and I can make nothing of it.

In line 4, what I have given as *bu* may be *te*.

The edge line now reads clearly *Ha-nu-nu* followed by traces of *amêl* instead of *AN*.

The left-hand edge has also another line before the date, which clearly reads *amêl a-ba*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, recognises this as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

449. No. 45. Complete. Drab or buff.

Rîmût-ilâni lends Ulûlai, Sin-šar-aḫêšu, Šarru-êmurâni, and four others whose names are destroyed, one mina of silver, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of the lender(?). In Nisânu they shall return the money in full: if not, interest will be at 25 *per cent*. Dated, the 20th of Du'ûzu, Ep. T. Seven witnesses.

It is very likely that, if *ŠAK-MEŠ* be the right reading in line 1, the name of Ištar at least followed it. It must have been written on the edge of the tablet.

In line 3, the signs now read clearly *Su-lu-ma-a-a*, a rare name.

On reverse, line 2 reads best *SE-ni*, though the *ni* is not very clear.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, gives this as a 'private contract.'

450. No. 46. A fragment only, of the right hand. Brown.

Kiřir-Ařur lends some silver, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of Iřtar of Arbela, to Ḫubabai (?). Interest to be charged. Dated, the 16th or 26th of some month.

This is very difficult to follow because the same name Kiřir-Ařur seems to occur also as a witness, and the names of the first and fourth witnesses seem the same.

In rev. 3, at the end, *LAL*, here probably read *utarriř*, is written over *tar*; perhaps the scribe wrote *matu-tar* and meant to end with *iř*, but changed his mind and wrote *LAL* instead.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

451. No. 47. A fragment of an inner tablet. Light brown.

Sin-rîmni lends two minas of silver, Carchemish stan-

dard, to Mannu-kî-Rabu, the *šanû*(?) of the *sukallê*. It shall bear interest. Dated in B.C. 683.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91, and *Hist. of Sennacherib*, p. 20.

In line 5, the traces are now somewhat clearer and in place of 2-*û*, we may read *ŠI-UM*, but there is no *amêl*. If this is so, Mannu-kî-Rabu was the *tukultu*, not *šanû*, of the *sukallê*.

The four or five lines lost include those of which I give the ends, in reverse 1, 2, 3.

The whole of the last line is now legible, and reads *pân* (*TIS*) *MAN amêl LUL*. As a name *MAN* can only be read *šarru*, but that is a very singular name. The scribe must surely have omitted something.

On the line, last but one, nothing more was written than I give.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

452. Nos. 48 and 49 are a well preserved pair of case tablets.

The outer case, no. 48, is practically complete, the inner tablet, no. 49, quite so.

Ašur-reš-iši lends nine minas fifteen shekels of silver, Carchemish standard, the *ginû* of Ašur, to Zêrutî, the *râb-karâni* of the New Palace and Ulûlai his *šanû*. The money shall bear interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated, the 16th of Simânu B.C. 656. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 95.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4202, 4822, 5139.

It is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 177, no. 56.

The text is published III. R. 47 no. 6 from the outer tablet. This is transliterated and translated by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 232 ff.: and by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 140.

III. R. gives, at the end of line 1, what appears to be traces of *ku*: Peiser saw it was the ideogram for *karânu* 'wine.' The *râb karâni* was the cellarer.

In line 3, III. R. omits the first vertical of *tu*, both Oppert and Peiser read rightly. It is noteworthy that while the outer tablet gives 15 shekels clearly, the inner, as Peiser remarked, appears to give 16.

In line 4, III. R. inserts *e* after *MA-NA*, a common enough reading, but, as Peiser rightly saw, not on the tablet.

On lower edge, III. R. inserts *u* after *Zêr*, which is only on the inner tablet, and gives traces like *râb ku* again, for *râb karâni*.

In rev. 4, III. R. omits both *amêl* before *ŠAK* and *šarri* after it : and for *êli* gives *lam*. Peiser corrected these errors.

In rev. edge 1, at end III. R. gives the last character as *bi-šun*, Peiser omits it altogether. It is Brünnow's no. 5205, but no reading nor meaning is known to me : I have conjectured *raṭbu*.

Peiser omits the next two lines, and III. R. omits the left-hand edge.

Oppert could not be expected to divine the true readings from the text of III. R. He reads however *ḥa* in place of *II-u* in line 2 : although in line 2 of lower edge *II-u*, i.e. *šanû*, occurs again, where he reads *sansu* (*u*). In line 5, he leaves *ginû* unrendered, and takes Ašur to be Assyria.

On lower edge, line 1, he takes *bit essu* to be *templi novi*, or *temple nouveau*.

Rev. 5 he reads *II sik* for *A-SIK*, i.e. *mâr-šipri*.

Oppert considers the transaction a *Créance avec intérêt*.

On page 234, Oppert considers that *ginû ša Ašur* is some way modifies the standard of the *mina* employed ; and must mean ' *Telle qu'elle est usitée en Assyrie.*' The frequent mention in Babylonian documents of a *MANA GINA* lends some countenance to this idea, if only it had been Aššur in place of Ašur. Peiser renders the phrase by ' *Gerechtsame Ašur's.*'

In other respects the renderings leave little to be desired. Peiser, with a better text, also corrects the little slips in Oppert's work. He takes the whole transaction to be a ' *Schuldschein mit Zinszahlung und Benennung der Schuldsomme.*' Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, B. 4, calls this a *Darlehensurkunde, ohne vertragsmässige Zinsbestimmung*.

I imagine, that like the rest of these 'loans,' the money was advanced to the grand cellarer and his deputy to purchase wine or other goods for the king's household : and would be repaid when the allowance for their purchase was due to them.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

In lines 3 and 4 of rev. the scribe seems to repeat himself, he has *amêl šaku* at end of line 3, but begins line 4 with the same words *amêl šak šarri*. In line 2 of lower edge he has placed the statement of the rate of interest after the date, instead of before it, as is usual.

Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 248, gives a fresh rendering of this

document. He renders *ginû* by *Geldbusse*. He takes the occasion to severely condemn Peiser for his renderings of *ina pâni*, by *im Besitz des*; but surely Peiser is right in thinking the borrower is actually 'in possession' of the money although it belongs still to the lender.

453. No. 50. Complete.

Turşu-êreš, the *nappahu*, lends eight and a third minas, ŠAK-MEŠ of Istar of Arbela, to Girte, the *dammugiri*, *ana pûhi*. In Arahšamna he shall repay the money or the money shall increase by a half shekel (per mina). Dated, the 20th of Aaru, Ep. H. Seventeen witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

Reference is made by Schrader, *K. G.* p. 543.

It is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, p. 173, no. 35.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 6079, 6342, 7441.

A reference is made to it by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 128.

Although very well preserved, the writing is very close and in places the scribe has written one sign upon another in a way that is extremely puzzling.

At the beginning the word *kiširti* occurs. If this means a sum of wages or hire one can understand its being advanced to carry on work. It is advanced by a 'smith.' The office of the borrower is a curious one: the sign I give as ŠAL may be *GU* or even *UŠ* with the vertical omitted. I take it and the following *PIN* to make *DAM*, but what *dam-mu-gir-ri* is I do not know: can it be a spelling of the ordinary *tamgaru*?

The sum lent could hardly be meant to bear only half a shekel interest altogether. I take it to be half a shekel per mina per month, or 10 *per cent. per annum*. What the sign, third from the end of line 11, may be I cannot tell, perhaps *ba-šu*, I cannot read the characters then.

In reverse 2, what I give as ŠAL looks like *uš* without its vertical: *raksu dalâni* conveys some sense, would *ussu dalâni*?

In rev. line 6, the signs after *amêl* I read *šakin šarri*, but the *šarru* may be a scribal error.

In rev. line 11, the scribe seems to have begun *hal-zu*, a by-form of *halšu*, then made *zu* do duty for *âl* and left the *hal* unerased.

The name of the Eponym appears to me to be meant for Mannu-ki-aḥê.



The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, recognises this as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

**454.** No. 51. Complete. Brown.

Aplîa lends a half mina of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, to Ašur-êreš. It is to bear four shekels per month. Dated, the 25th of Nisânu, B.C. 683. Six witnesses.

Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 247, gives a rendering of this text. He renders *kiširtu* by '*Forderung*.' Of course that reading *kiširtu*, being only a restoration, cannot be pressed.

In line 2, at the end of the line, what I took for *LUGAL* turns out to be *e ša* and there was therefore more on the edge, after this.

The name of the witness, at the end of reverse, now reads clearly *Hal-zu* followed by *pi* or *ut-i*. A name *Halzupi* would be new, but *Halzuti* would be more likely spelt *Hal-zu-u-ti*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, recognises this as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

**455.** No. 52. Only part of tablet is left, and some has been burnt to a cinder. The rest is a greeny grey to drab colour.

Ten minas of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, of Carchemish standard, said to be a *kiširte*, is lent, but the names of the principals are entirely gone. If it is not paid at the date named, the money shall bear interest at 25 *per cent*. Dated, the 10th of Tebêtu, the name of the Eponym being lost. Four witnesses.

In line 6, for 1 read *u*, that is 10, as the number of the day.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

**456.** No. 53. Lower half of a tablet. Black.

Some money was lent to Didî, *ana kaḫḫadi Bêl ša* .... If it is not paid it shall increase (*ešip*). Dated, the 21st of Addaru maḥru, B.C. 672. Four witnesses.

The fragmentary condition of this tablet renders the nature of the transaction uncertain.

Professor Oppert in *Le Droit* has a long discussion of the meaning and value of the date: see § 66.

In line 1, after *du* may plainly be seen another *du*, followed by two horizontals.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

**457.** No. 54. The lower half. Drab.

Money probably was lent to Dûr-ḫali: which he had to repay in

Tebêtu. The date is gone: but the names of four witnesses are preserved.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

**458.** No. 55. Complete but badly vitrified. Greeny grey.

Aplîa lends some Carchemish minas to Bêl-aplu...and another. The interest shall be two shekels per mina per month. Dated in Tišrîtu, B.C. 690. Four or five witnesses.

Much of this tablet is really illegible. In line 2, there is nothing legible after *ŠI*.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

**459.** No. 56. About half the tablet is gone and only the right hand is left. Brown.

Some money seems to have been lent, for in line 2, we have *summa lâ idin*, and, in the next line, the word *irabbi*, 'it shall bear interest.' It seems to be dated the 18th of Ulûlu, B.C. 663. Four witnesses.

There does not seem enough left to classify the transaction by.

In line 5, the tablet seems to read Ištar, i.e. 15, before *TA*: and on reverse, line 6 has clearly the end of *ŠI* and *TIŠ*, before *Še'ilu* which therefore was all the name.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

**460.** No. 57. Right-hand portion of inner tablet. Light brown.

The first three lines are covered by a piece of the outer tablet and it does not quite clearly appear what part each person named played in the transaction.

The first line informs us that some shekels of silver are in question.

The second line defies my powers of decipherment. The last sign may be *PIŠ*.

The third may contain part of a name: perhaps Gir-lul(?). He may be either lender to the next named, or with him borrower from someone named in line 2.

The money was to be paid(?) *ana kaḫḫadi ilu Bêl*, 'on some festival(?) of Bêl.' It is to be repaid in Tišrîtu, if not then it shall increase by a third, i.e.  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. Dated, the first of Nisânu, B.C. 644(?). Six witnesses.

The same name appears in line 3 of rev. (as a witness), as in line 4 of obverse, apparently as principal. This is very unusual in cases

where we have the whole text and may go to throw suspicion on this being a money 'loan.' On the whole however I put it here.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 97, where however K 1378 is given for K 1379.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

The name, in line 4, and reverse, line 3, must be read Išdi-Ištar. The first sign, though not clear, is certainly more like *ÚR*, Br. no. 4828, than *ŠIM*. Also, in line 4 of reverse, insert *a* after *LAL*, reading the name Nabû-turšâni.

### *Loans on security.*

461. The assignment of profitable property, in lieu of debt, was clearly conceived and often practised. In documents dealing with this kind of transaction no stereotyped formula can be expected, but some general features may be gathered up here. The characteristic phrase is *kûm kaspi*, 'in lieu of money,' *kûm rubie* or *kûm ḥabulli*, 'in lieu of interest.' Usually the debt is specified as a sum of money; and the term for which the creditor shall enjoy the usufruct of the property is stated. In one case this is for life; a slave being assigned. But more generally, it was estate that was made over. The value of the crops for a number of years was enjoyed by the creditor, on some basis of calculation as to the time in which the debt would be so paid off. Then the property returned to the original owner; who however had always the option of redeeming his property by payment of his debt.

Although to our eyes this may differ, in some respects, from a loan on security: the form which the document took was very similar. The money and the property balance one another in both cases. The profits are a set-off against interest, and the resumption of the property on payment of the money forms a strong likeness between the cases.

The discussion of the technical terms which each document supplies is to be looked for in the commentary on each. I do not pretend to know the finer shades of difference, but I have put together what seem to me related in purpose though differing in details.

Along with these assignments of property in lieu of debt, or interest, we may class the deposit of a pledge for the money borrowed. This is not exactly the same thing, but both in shape of

tablet and in characteristic formula the documents concerned with such loans are identical.

462. In the case of advances, or loans, without interest, we may suspect that the borrower was in some way the dependent of the lender, and that the latter was bound to lend by some undisclosed relationship. Otherwise the lender could have no security for his money. True, he held the debtor's acknowledgement and it is possible the law-courts of Assyria would support his claim: but there was always danger of something occurring to defraud him. When the lender had not the security involved in being the borrower's landlord, he naturally desired some pledge on which he might lay hands in default of repayment.

That money was advanced on security, against property pledged, we know to have been the case both in old and new Babylonian times. The name for a pledge, in Babylonia, was *maškânu*, whether a derivative of *šakânu* 'to place,' or not, does not affect its meaning. This term does not however occur anywhere in our documents. To 'deposit as a pledge' is expressed in the Babylonian documents by *ana maškânu šakânu*. When then, in our nos. 58 to 72, we read that some property, *ana šabarti šakin*, it is natural to conclude *šabartu* to be the Assyrian equivalent of the Babylonian *maškânu*. The things which seem to be pledged, on this supposition, are such as were pledged in the Babylonian transactions: and, so far as we can judge, were of a value fairly equivalent to the money lent on them. The word seems to come from *šabâru*, which may also be found in Heb. with the sense 'to appoint, assign.' We may compare *našpartu*, *šipru*, *šibirtu*, words that occur in lists of legal phrases.

I am not concerned to maintain that *šabartu*, in all its senses, is a synonym of *maškanu*, nor *šabâru* of *šakânu*; but the sense is pretty clear.

Take no. 58 for example. Two minas of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, according to the mina of Carchemish, belonging to Addati the *šakintu*, were lent to M. the *šanû* of the *rab alâni*. In lieu of these two minas of silver, a parcel of twelve homers of land, on the outskirts of the city Aššur, and seven slaves were deposited in the presence of Addati, as pledge, *ana šabarti šaknu*. Here *kum II manê kaspi* can only mean 'in place of two minas of silver': *šaknu* can only mean 'were deposited,' the *ana šabarti* can hardly mean anything else than 'as a pledge.' For the text goes on *ina libbi umê*, 'on the day that,' *ḫaspu iddanûni*, 'the money is repaid,' the slaves and the

field 'shall be released,' *ušêza*. In other words, when the loan is repaid the pledge shall be returned. Here it must be noted that the literal meaning of *iddanûni* is 'they shall return'; but as it was lent to only one man, the 'they' must be an impersonal pronoun here. So too the field and slaves are not nominative to *ušêza* which means 'he shall set free.' The person to set them free, of course, was the lady Addati, who held them as pledge: she cannot be the nominative to the verb for it is not feminine. Here, as often, we must recognise an impersonal use of the verb, and in English shall best render it by the passive. The scribe, however, often ignores the actual personalities concerned and violates strict concords.

No. 60 bears out this view. Here Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi pledges two or more slaves, *ana šabarti šaknu*, to Rîmâni-Adadi for half a mina of silver. The text goes on, 'whoever shall pay the half mina of silver to Rîmâni-Adadi he shall set free the slaves.' Here all the concords are correct, but the same words *iddanûni* and *ušêza* are used.

No. 59 is a little differently treated, it starts off exactly like a sale. Milkîa, the *bêl-paḥâti* of the city Rimusi, the owner of the fields, houses, gardens and people transferred, is said to have sealed the document. There, as in a sale, the property is specified fully; in all twenty-seven souls with their lands, houses, gardens, oxen, sheep, and property, in the district of Rimusi, are made over to the lady who was then the *šâb-êkalli* (unless this was her proper name, Nûr-êkalli, 'Light of the Palace'). But, instead of the price being stated in the way usual in sales, our document goes on, *kûm XX manê kaspi*, 'in lieu of twenty minas of silver,' Carchemish standard, *ana šabarti šakin*, 'it is pledged.' The document then continued with the ordinary sale clauses against breach of contract; and the mention of return has not been preserved. Here it seems that a governor of a distant province, being in Nineveh, and in want of cash, pledges his estate at home, for what was surely much below its value, to a princess (probably).

No. 61 brings up another point of view. It begins: 'fifty minas of bronze, (*šak*) from Ibni-aḥê, to (*ina êli*) Tabalai,' clearly then a loan. It goes on: 'Karitti-Arbaili' (a female slave), *ana šabarti kammusat*, 'shall remain as pledge.' After some obscure lines, which seem to guarantee the depositor, against liability for the death or flight of his pledge, accident by lightning(?) or water; the text continues 'on the day that he, the borrower, shall repay the bronze, he, the lender, will cause the woman to go free.'

No. 62 is mutilated, both at the beginning and end. Some agreement about an estate had been come to, and the penalty for repudiation is laid down and duly witnessed. Then a fresh paragraph starts, in line 2 of the lower edge. 'The field belonging to the *šakintu*, the field which Inibi-Ašur, *ana šabarte ikkalûni*, is enjoying as security, the messenger of the house of its owners came, the field, the house of its owners he resumed, its crops etc. he paid a price for, the field, the house of its owners'...Then comes a break. All this may be very obscure, but, as far as it goes, it shews that *ana šabarte* can bear the same meaning here also. 'It probably relates to a pledge deposited with the *šakintu*, by her farmed out to Inibi-Ašur, and reclaimed ultimately by the legal representative of the man who had deposited it. The holder was apparently compensated for his loss. The first part of the document may rehearse part of the old agreement between the depositor and the *šakintu*, or between her and the man to whom she let it.

No. 63 deals with a loan of silver. In lieu of the silver, the borrower pledged a slave, *ana šabarte šakin*. The next words are a little obscure, *ana šanâti* may mean 'for years' or merely 'in future.' However the text goes on clearly 'the day that he shall pay the money he shall go free,' *uša*. Then follows a clause guaranteeing against the death or flight of the pledged slave.

No. 64, again, begins like a sale. The borrower, the owner of the fields and people transferred, seals the document. The situation and extent of the field are set forth, and with it six persons, two oxen, ten homers of arable land are 'pledged,' *ana šibirti šaknu*, 'in lieu of fifteen minas of silver.' Then 'whoever shall pay the money, the people and field shall go free.'

No. 65 begins exactly like an ordinary loan. Three minas of silver, *kaḫḫadu*, belonging to Rîmâni-Adadi are lent to two borrowers. A slave, or two, is pledged, *ana šabarte šakin*. The money shall not bear interest, the services of the slave being of course a set-off against it. The day they repay the money, he will release the slaves.

No. 66 states the sum lent and its rate of interest, if not repaid to date. A plantation of vines, its attendants, slaves or serfs, etc., *ana šabirti šakin*. The lender is guaranteed against the death or flight of the slaves. The day that the money with its interest shall be returned, the plantation and slaves shall be released. It seems strange that interest should be expected under such circumstances.

The money however may have been the full value of the estate or more.

No. 67. A sum of money, belonging to the *šakintu* of ẖabal-âli, was lent to Ardi-Ištar on security of his son as pledge. Išdi-aḥêšu, the son of Ardi-Ištar, therefore, *išakkin* 'he deposited as a pledge,' *ana šabirti*, in the presence of the *šakintu*. Bêl-êreš intervenes as an agent, *bêl-ḫâtâ*. If the pledge die or flee, the *šakintu* shall pay double the money. On the day that he repays the money, the pledge shall go free. If the *šakintu* do not give up the pledge, she shall give the money to the pledged man himself. Here it is clear that a fresh contingency comes in. The pledged person being the son of the depositor, his father stipulates that his son shall either be returned, on the repayment of the loan, or if the lady wish to keep him as her servant still, she shall pay to the son the loan which has been repaid to her.

No. 68 states that Ubbuku and another lent Turšu-Ištar thirty shekels of silver; and Nabû-nâdin-aḥi his slave was pledged for it, *ana šabirti šakin*. The day the money is paid, the slave shall be set free.

No. 69 deals with an estate, *ana šabirti šakin*, 'pledged,' the usufruct to be enjoyed for six years, and when the value of the produce amounted to the equivalent of the sum lent, the lender had to release the estate. This is more like a lease for a lump sum instead of a yearly rent. But the important phrase *ana šabirti šakin* decided me to class it here.

No. 70 opens like a sale to the sister of the Queen Mother, aunt of Esarhaddon, named Abîramî. Then we read *kûm ½ mani kaspi ana ša(birti šakin)* 'pledged for half a mina of silver.' As in the last case the estate was to be enjoyed six years, in which time the loan would be held cancelled by the value of the produce and the estate was to be restored to its original owner.

No. 71 seems similar, it contains the characteristic phrases *šabirti*, *uṣerabâni* and *uṣeša*. It therefore was a pledge of some sort apparently for a term of years.

No. 72 takes an unusual form. As far as we can judge from what is left, the reverse repeated the obverse. A female slave is here said to remain pledged, *ana šabri kammusat* (cf. no. 61), for ten days, when the borrower is to repay the money. If then he do not repay the loan, the slave is to be reckoned sold and given up: *zarpat, našiat*.

Looking back over these cases, nos. 58—72, there seems no doubt that *šabartu*, *šibirtu* or *šabirtu* must mean a 'pledge,' and that *šabru* is its equivalent. In each case we may read *p* for *b*, but I do not think the word is connected with *šapâru* 'to send.' It is tempting to connect it with the Babylonian term *našpartu*, which is usually connected with *šapâru* and taken to mean an 'order.'

463. When a sum of money is lent 'on' a pledge, the word 'on' is represented in the text by *ina eli*. Thus in no. 67, Ardi-Ištar borrowed money *ina eli mâr-šu*, and in no. 63, Mannu-kî-nûri borrowed money *ina eli šâbi*, 'on his slave.'

I have sketched the character of each transaction briefly in order to bring out clearly and without complications the force of the phrase *ana šabarte šakin*, but I must now give a more detailed account of each tablet and its peculiarities from other points of view. It is impossible however to deny the title of loans on security to other documents, where this special phrase does not occur, and an exact line of demarcation is hard to draw.

464. A few other peculiarities of these advances may be noted here.

When a loan of money is made to several persons, no hint is given as to how it was distributed among them, one may perhaps assume in equal shares, but it is the merest assumption. Often in the corn loans, it is stated how much was lent to each, but rarely, if ever, in the case of money.

The persons who borrow are rarely named again; they are only found as parties to one transaction. There are conspicuous exceptions, but this is the rule. This subordinate position would account for both peculiarities, in the one case their obscurity would account for their not being mentioned again, in the other their being royal servants would lead to a frequent mention.

On the other hand the lenders are well-known persons, their names recur again and again. For example Kišir-Ašur who lends in no. 1 occurs again no less than thirty times: see the account of him p. 33.

#### *Abstracts of nos. 58—72.*

465. No. 58. Nearly complete. Red.

The lady Addati, the *šakintu*, lends two minas of silver, Carchemish standard, *kaḫkadu*, to ...ia, the *šanû* of the *râb-alâni*. In lieu of the two minas of silver a plot of twelve



homers of land *ina eli kâbli Ninûa*, Kurdi-Adadi, his wife and three sons, Kandilânu and his wife, in all seven people, and twelve homers of land, are pledged. On the day that one returns the money the other shall release the people and land. Dated, the first of Araḥsamna, B.C. 694. Ten witnesses.

The date is given, *Cat.* p. 1733, but with the wrong form of *KAN*.

On the status of the *šakintu*, see § 179.

The first witness, Nabû-šum-lîšir, is noted here as scribe, *aba*, and Ninevite, *mâr Ninûa*. In B.C. 698, a scribe of the same name appears on no. 191. The writer to the king, of K 509, 562, 563, 607, 825, 1045, 13100, 82-5-22, 100; 83-1-18, 29; Bu. 89-4-26, 63; may well be the same person.

The second witness bears the name (Ilu) Šuriḥa-ilai, not otherwise known, whence we may deduce the existence of a divinity Šuriḥa.

The next witness, Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, here an *âsû*, or 'physician,' is a witness also on nos. 180, 532, 536, and is named on no. 852, K 4287 and Rm. II. 130.

Dâri-Bêl was the name of a witness, on no. 294, as an *irrišu*, B.C. 700; as a slave pledged, B.C. 693, on no. 66; as a serf 'with his people,' on no. 661, and no. 742. For Dabî, or Tâbî, compare Tâbîa in the later Babylonian tablets, e.g. *S. A. V.* 1768. Here he is an *amêl* ŠA, perhaps 'cook.'

The next witness, here a *kâšir*, see § 167 f., may be a domestic connected with the preparation of food, if *KU-KA-SAR* be a 'confectioner.' The name Zâbinu occurs again as that of a servant and 'gardener,' B.C. 683, on no. 447; as seller and *mukil apâte*, of Laḥiri, B.C. 670, on no. 625; as borrower and *rakbu* of *râb MU-GI*, B.C. 645 (?), on no. 24; and as witness on no. 586, B.C. 642 (?); on no. 619, in Ep. S; on no. 329, in Ep. K; a slave sold on no. 252, as borrower, no. 25. The name is the same as Zâbini, father of Ardi-Ištar, on no. 311; and the resident in Nineveh (?), a neighbour, on no. 391, B.C. 717; no. 392, B.C. 710; nos. 393, 394; as seller, on no. 336. The name was borne by an Assyrian, taken captive in Elam, K 974; and occurs in the letter K 1247. The name was also borne by the king of Kiširtu, in the time of Ašur-nâšir-aplu, 1. R. 21, 58. It is probably Aramaic, compare Zabinâ, 𐤆𐤁𐤏𐤍.

The name of the next witness, Andarânu, is that of a neighbour on no. 515. It recalls the name of the city Andaria.

The name Šamaš-aḥ-ušur, here a *rêû iššurâte*, or 'keeper of birds,' is also that of a borrower on no. 141, B.C. 704; and of a seller on no. 477.

The name of the next witness is probably to be read *Sa-gib-i*, in view of such names as Sagibu, in *A. D. B.*, and of *Sa-gi-bi-i*, a witness, B.C. 677, on no. 72; a weaver sold on no. 268; a witness and *kêpu* of the palace on no. 244, and a witness on no. 573. The same root appears in Sagibi-šarru, in *A. D. B.*, and perhaps in Sagabbu. I consider it Aramaic, שגבי, the root seems to mean to 'protect.' Sâgibî, 'my protector.' For the reading of *NI-GAB*, see § 127.

The witness, Nabû-šallim, very likely here the scribe of the tablet, is also witness and scribe on no. 244; witness, and *mukîl apâti ša apil šarri Bâbili*, on no. 477; a witness on nos. 254, 503, 511. He appears as a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661; on no. 675, his house is named. The same name was borne by a *mâr Dakkûri*, *D. T.* 301. Also the name was borne by a scribe, or official of Esarhaddon's, in the enquiries of the Šamaš oracle, see *G. A. S.* nos. 48, 118, 120, and occurs often elsewhere. On K 3788, the Aramaic docket renders it נבוישלם; and it is clearly the same name as *AN-PA-DI-im*, a witness and *aba*, B.C. 694, on no. 281.

The lady Addati, who appears here as *šakintu*, is probably named also on no. 223.

466. No. 59. Part only is left, both end of obverse and beginning of reverse are lost. Brown to black.

The deed starts exactly like a sale—stating in its preamble 'this is the seal of Milkîa, the *bêl-paḥâti* of Rimusi, owner of the fields, houses, plantations, and people transferred,' that is, in this case, 'pledged.'

Then it specifies the property made over. 'Eḥîa, his wife, three sons and two daughters; Ispala (or Pilaḫḫia), his wife and two sons; Ṭâb-ruḫite, his wife and son; Naptê, his wife, mother and brother; Tillai-kanûn, his wife, mother, son and brother; Urîâ, his wife, mother and brother: in all twenty-seven souls, together with their fields, their houses, their plantations, their sheep, and family possessions in the city Šadi-Samalla, in the *paḥâtu* of Rimusi.'

All this property is acquired by the lady Nûr-Êkalli ('Light of the Palace') 'in lieu of twenty minas of silver, Carchemish standard, it is pledged.'

Then it goes on quite like a deed of sale, 'whoever hereafter, at

any time, either Milkîa, the *bêl pahâti*, or his *šanû*, or his *râb-alâni*, or the *hazânu* of his city, or his son, or his grandson, shall set up a plea of nullity of contract, etc.; shall pay so many minas of silver to the treasury, etc.'

Here the obverse breaks off. Clearly the remaining clauses provided for a restoration of the mortgage on repayment of the loan.

The reverse now preserves the traces of four witnesses. Dated, the 27th of Ulûlu, B.C. 681.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91, and *Hist. of Sennacherib*, p. 22.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4282, 5147, 5701, 7839.

The name of the city, in line 10, is doubtful, for *ši* we may read *di* and for *hu* perhaps *al*; in that case we should have the name Šadi-Samalla or Šadi-Ūalla. The *hu* is very like the *al* at end of line 6 of rev. and so pretty certainly *al*. Also for *ša* we could read *Da*, and then the name is Dadi-ualla.

In line 3, there is now clearly no *a* in *tadâni*. In line 6, several characters, about which I had considerable doubt in 1898, are now clear: thus for *ia*, *nap* seems certain; and for *Ki*, *tul* should be read.

In line 13, there is no *ina* before *urkiš* and before *matema* is only *u*.

In line 17, *ina purki* is now represented only by the tops of the characters. There are no longer any traces of *MA-NA*, but the beginning of line 18 is visible, below *kaspu*. Probably about eight lines are lost.

On the reverse, both *sar* and *bît*, in line 2, are very badly damaged, but can hardly be anything else. The name Amramu is unique, we may compare the Hebrew Amram, the Aramaic seems to be עמרן. He was a 'confectioner,' a *KU-KA-SAR*, *kâšir kurmâti*.

The name of the witness in line 3, Nabûtî, is singular. It may be a shortened form, like Tabnî for Sin-tabni-usur, but Nabûtî may mean 'my prophecy,' a not impossible name for a child. Here he is a *râb kišir išparê*, or chief of the *kišru* (guild?) of weavers: in B.C. 683, as a witness and simple weaver we find him on no. 447. Nabûtê is a witness on no. 358, Nabûtî, on no. 287, is a seller. We may compare Nabûtu on K 4285, and Nabuttu, a witness on Rm. 157, in B.C. 659.

In line 4, the witness Nabû-rîmâni bears a common name. In B.C. 694, as witness on no. 440; in B.C. 686, as witness and goldsmith

on no. 453; in B.C. 682, as lender on no. 21; in B.C. 663 (?), as seller and *râb kišir* of Dannai on no. 470; of Ša-šillai, witness, on no. 385; on no. 62 as witness and *aba*, as here; on no. 446, brother of Nabû-ašarid, servant of the Crown Prince and witness in Ep. Q; possibly on no. 368 and K 5446 b. He occurs in letters, K 146, 497, 671 and Bu. 89-4-26, 71.

The lender, a lady whose name I read Nûr-êkalli, occurs as a buyer on no. 316, in B.C. 686. The name may however be a title, 'maid of the palace,' but the many masculine names beginning with Nûr incline me to think a proper name is meant.

The borrower, Milkîa, *bêl paḥâti* of Rimusi, bears a name which from its related names Milkâ, Milkî, Milkai, Milkiai, Milki-uri, Milki-idri, Milki-ilu, Milki-larim, Milki-nûri, Milki-ramu, may very well be Aramaic or Hebrew, compare Melchior, Milkiašapa, king of Gebal, III. R. 16, v. 16. Compounds of *milki* are common in the Harrân names, see *A. D. B.*: and Rimusi was in Mesopotamia.

The names of the slaves are worth noting. Eḥîa is unique, but compare Eḥi, 𐎶𐎵, if that name in Gen. xlv. 21, is genuine. Ispala is not impossible as a name, but as (*IS*) *BAL* is the ideogram for *pilaḫḫu* an 'axe,' it seems best to read *Pilaḫḫia*, even if it did not really mean 'my axe.' There was a bird called *pilaḫḫi Istar*. The curious name, in no. 150, *Ispal-su-pi-nun-e* may be compared. What was the true reading of this I do not know. The name Tâb-ruḫite may mean something like 'good is the apparition'; but the reading Tâb is open to doubt, and *ruḫite* may be from a root not found in Assyrian. Iatê would be like Iata', in K 525; Naptê may be connected with Nubtâ, a female name generally considered to mean 'Bee.' The name Tillai-ḫanun may be connected with Ḫanun as the name of a month, but it seems to me altogether foreign. Urîâ is temptingly like Uriah, the more so, on account of the long *â* at the end.

For a discussion of the clauses relating to repudiation of contract and penalty clauses in lines 11 to 17 of obverse, see later under the deeds of sale.

467. No. 60. Portions of a tablet only. Red.

It begins like an ordinary sale. '(The seal) of Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi...'; then follows another name ending in 'Ninip'; whether another borrower, or, as I fancy, the slave pledged. He is said to be a *dagil*..., perhaps 'bird keeper.' Then, line 3 begins with perhaps the end of *ardâni*, it goes on 'of Šalmu-šarr(-iḫbi).' Then, as I restore

it, line 4 goes on—'in lieu of one-and-a-half mina of silver is pledged.' The name of Rîmâni-Adadi must have been written over the edge, for his title follows in line 5: *mukîl apâti dannu ša šarri*.

Then the deed lays down 'whoever shall pay one and a half mina of silver to Rîmâni-Adadi, the slaves shall be released.'

Owing to the fragmentary condition of the tablet we may fill up the blanks a little differently, but the general result will be the same.

This can hardly then be a 'sale of slaves,' as *Cata*. p. 1917 gives, but is 'a loan on security of some slaves': compare *Cata*. p. 2000 a.

It is dated in the year B.C. 671—670, and had apparently thirteen witnesses.

The probable lender of this sum was the great Rîmâni-Adadi, whose career may be briefly sketched here. He first appears in our documents in B.C. 676, as witness and *tamkaru*, on no. 256. In B.C. 671, as *mukîl apâti dannu ša šarri*, i.e. of Ašurbânipal, he is a lender as above; and again on no. 121. In B.C. 670, in the same office, he is a buyer on nos. 172 and 266. In B.C. 668, he is a lender on no. 65. Then in B.C. 667, in the same office, he is a buyer on no. 200. In B.C. 666, in the same office, he is a buyer on nos. 258, 420. Next year probably, still in the same office, he is a lender on no. 35, a buyer on nos. 237, 331. The next year, in the same office, he is a lender on no. 115. Then probably, in B.C. 663, he is a buyer on no. 470. Still in the same office, he is a buyer on no. 44. The full title of his office meets us first, in B.C. 665, on no. 331, where he is styled, *mukîl apâti dannu ša Ašur-bâni-aplu šar (mât) Aššur*; i.e. 'chief charioteer of Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria.' In this office he appears, as a buyer, on nos. 174, 183, 187, 203, 260, 270, 271, 322, 418, 419, 424, 448, 451, 471, without this title on nos. 247, 477, 503. The same name is borne in Ep. R by an *aba* of the *râb êkalli* on no. 642; by a witness and *šalšu* on no. 244; by a witness and *râb bît ilâni* of Aššur on no. 261; by a *mutîr pûti* on no. 860, II. 25; by a *mušarkis* on K 655. These may be different persons: but our Rîmâni-Adadi is probably principal also on nos. 116, 571, 596, 599, 605, 611. Compare also nos. 170, 857. For a discussion of his office, see § 124. He seems to have been able to command the services of the same set of witnesses almost all the time. From this fact certain important conclusions may be drawn as to the sequence of the Post Canon Eponyms, which must be postponed to the Chapter on Chronology.

The reading of the borrower's name, as Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi, is based

partly on the fact that in the list of specimen names, App. 3, Rev. Col. XII. 1, *ilu ŠALAM* is followed by *ilu NU*. The reading there *ilu ŠALAM* is certain now that the tablet has been cleaned. But the same might be concluded from the variants of the Eponym's name, *AN-NU-MAN-E* on no. 81, *NU-MAN-E* on no. 441, *NU-MAN-iḫ-bi* on no. 308. We have the same name as that of a borrower on no. 85; a witness on no. 332; a seller, living in Narkabâte, on no. 396; a witness and *ša šépâ*, in Ep. Z, on no. 105; a witness, B.C. 667, on no. 200; a witness and *râb kišir* on no. 344. The same name occurs on no. 844, and on no. 164, we have *Šal-mu-MAN-iḫ-bi* as a witness, in B.C. 679. Hence we have here a compound of the divine name Šalmu, doubtless the well known Aramaic god ܫܠܡ. The Eponym was Tartan of 𐤔ܡܡܘܗ and also Tartan *šumêli*.

The list of witnesses starts in rev. l. 8, with Šamaš-šarr-ušur, the *mukîl apâti*. The name first appears as that of a neighbour, in B.C. 674, on no. 383; as a witness in B.C. 671, on no. 60; as witness also on nos. 433, 448, 471, 503, 571, always without statement of office. On no. 599, as a witness he is only *šalsu*, a lower office than that of *mukîl apâti*, see § 159. We may therefore date no. 599, before B.C. 670, when he is already *mukîl apâti* of the Crown Prince, on no. 266, as on nos. 174, 477 which are undated. This title may really have been inscribed on our tablet, as the end of the line is lost, and was probably shortened to simple *mukîl apâti*, a title which he bears as witness, in B.C. 670, on no. 421; in B.C. 666, on no. 185; in B.C. 664, on no. 115; in B.C. 663, on no. 470; and at unknown dates on nos. 247 and 408. He is named also on no. 880. A comparison with the above sketch of Rîmâni-Adadi's occurrences in our documents will shew that this man usually occurs as Rîmâni-Adadi's witness.

The next witness, Šumma-ilâni, also a *mukîl apâti*, bears a name which occurs without title as that of a witness, B.C. 710, on no. 392; as a principal, B.C. 700, on no. 112; a lender, B.C. 695, on no. 34; a buyer, B.C. 694, on no. 427; a buyer, B.C. 688 (?), on no. 239; a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 335; a buyer, the same year, on no. 212; probably as witness, in same year, on no. 624; as lender, in B.C. 684, on nos. 19, 20; a lender, in B.C. 681, on no. 127; again as lender, same year, on no. 30; as witness, in B.C. 668, on no. 65; as witness, in Ep. Q, on no. 165; as neighbour, in Irbûai, same year, on no. 446; as buyer, without title or date, on nos. 236, 319, 196,

226, 422, 246, 423, 508; as witness, without title or date, on nos. 464, 477. It is of course possible, but not likely that all these references are to the same person. The name was borne also by the *mukîl apâti* of Kasarin, a buyer, in B.C. 710, on no. 234; by a *mukîl apâti*, as buyer, in B.C. 688, on no. 238; as witness, in B.C. 671, here; as witness, in B.C. 670, on no. 421; as witness, in B.C. 664, on no. 115; as *mukîl apâti ša amêli ša eli bîtâni*, and buyer, in Ep. 1, on no. 326; as *mukîl apâti*, and witness without date, on no. 174. The general aspect of these references confirms the idea that we have at most two persons to deal with, and that Ep. Q and Ep. 1 are not long after B.C. 664. As will be seen he is not a frequent witness for Rîmâni-Adadi; only four times. But he is continually associated with one or other of this group of witnesses, one or other of whom often witnessed for him. I am therefore inclined to think he at one time held the same office as Rîmâni-Adadi, and, in old age, retired in his favour, acting as his witness afterwards.

The witness in line 10 presents us with the full name *Bar-ruk-ku*, of which variants are *Bar-ru-ku* and *Bar-ruk*. The name occurs as that of a witness, without title, in B.C. 688, on no. 264; in B.C. 687, on no. 17; in B.C. 681, on no. 213; and in B.C. 664, on no. 115; also without date, on nos. 174, 228, 471, 571, 611. As *mukîl apâti* and witness in B.C. 671, as here; in B.C. 670, on no. 421; in B.C. 665, on no. 35; in B.C. 663, on no. 470; without date on nos. 408, 418. The name is borne, in B.C. 677, by a witness and *aba*, on no. 72; and by a witness and *amêl DIN ša êkalli šani*, on no. 481. He does not appear as a principal in our documents, and as will be seen he usually witnesses Rîmâni-Adadi's deeds. The name Barûku presents a different form from the Barak, Barkâ, Baric, Baricas, Baricio, which appear as renderings of the Punic בַּרְק; and the form *Ba-ri-ki*, in no. 448, more closely represents them. Hence I should rather compare the Palmyrene בַּרְק, without necessarily excluding the other names as more distant relations.

Sâkânu, here written *Sa-ak-kan*, on *B. E.* 1, occurs first in B.C. 671, as witness and *mukîl apâti* here; with same title as witness in B.C. 670, on no. 421; in B.C. 666, on no. 185; in B.C. 665, on no. 35; in B.C. 664, on no. 115; in B.C. 663, on no. 470; without date, on nos. 116, 529. Also as witness, without title, in Ep. a, on no. 22; without date, on nos. 174, 332, 433, 571, 611. The name

is very variously spelt, *Sa-ka-nu*, *Sa-kan-nu*, *Sa-ak-kan*, *Sa-ka-a-an*, *Sak-ka-a-an*, on App. 3, III. 21, *Sa-kan*, *Sak-kan*, *Sa-ak-kan-nu*, *Sa-ka'*. The word seems to be the same as seen in *Sa-kan-da-da*, on K 1572, cf. the Phoenician *Gir-sakon*. A divine name *Sakon* is evident in *Sakan-dada*, *Gir-Sakon*, *Sakon-iaton*; and 𐎲𐎶 appears to mean a 'prefect,' see *L. N. E.* p. 329. He is usually one of *Rîmâni-Adadi's* witnesses.

The fourth witness, *Nabû-šum-iddin*, the last of the 'charioteers,' occurs first, in that office, in B.C. 671, here; and later is *rakbu* and witness, B.C. 667, on no. 57. As an *aba*, the name appears as that of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 447; again as witness, in B.C. 676, on nos. 330, 502; as witness also, without date, on nos. 52 and 225. A witness, son of *Im...*, occurs B.C. 670, on no. 499; a buyer, *aba* of the *bêl paḥâti* of *Dûr-Sargon*, and son of *Nabû-râ'im-napišti*, in B.C. 667, on no. 27; a witness, without title, in B.C. 644, on no. 57; and without date, on nos. 85, 577. A certain *Nabû-šum-iddin* was a continual writer to the King about sundry movements of horses, K 487, 529, 549, 550, 1069; 82-5-22, 172, 83-1-18, 41, 42, 113; compare K 1113, 80-7-19, 37, 82-5-22, 99. Other letters to the *irrišu*, *aba mâti*, *sukallu*, or the King, from a writer of this name, are K 88, 531, 547, 1017, 1053, 1070, 1272, 5509, 13000, Rm. 550, Rm. II. 8; 83-1-18, 43; K 1050, 629, 10991, 80-7-19, 26; 81-2-4, 96. The name is mentioned in other letters K 504, 671, 893, 7403, 13018, 1898, 3034, Rm. 215, K 8392, and on K 8134, as well as no. 851, as *aba*, no. 857, as *rakbu GAB-MEŠ*. One may suppose him to be a sort of Master of the Horse.

The first witness on the reverse bears the name *Sin-ašarid*, he is the *šalšu dannu* of the Crown Prince. On the title, see §§ 155 ff. He is named as *šalšu* of the Crown Prince, B.C. 663, on no. 470; as *šalšu*, in B.C. 664, on no. 377; without title, in B.C. 677, on no. 701; as brother of witness on no. 224; as buyer on no. 478.

The next witness, *Aḫu-lamašši*, occurs first at *Dûr-Sargon*, as a slave of *Nadbani*, B.C. 709, on no. 1141; without title as witness, in B.C. 687-6, on no. 624; in B.C. 686, on no. 374; in B.C. 670, on no. 420; and on nos. 433, 471. As *šalšu* he is also witness, in B.C. 670, on no. 421; as witness and *naggaru rabû*, in B.C. 668, on no. 472; as *mukil apâti* and witness, in B.C. 663, on no. 470. The witness, who is probably *râb HAL* on both nos. 387 and 429, in B.C. 651 and at unknown date, may be a different person. The *irrišu*, who appears as a defendant, son of *Dilil-Ištar*, in Ep. G,



on no. 160, may be the serf who appears, 'with his people,' on no. 465. A neighbour and *rakbu* of this name occurs on no. 520; an *amêl LUL* on no. 761. He is a frequent witness for Rîmâni-Adadi.

Nabû-erba, the next witness, here *šanû ša rāb urâte*, occurs with the same title, as witness, in B.C. 670, on nos. 172, 420, 421; in B.C. 667, on no. 200; in B.C. 666, on no. 185; in B.C. 664, on no. 377; in B.C. 663, on no. 470; in B.C. 660, on nos. 444, 445; as well as on the undated nos. 174, 247, 408, 433, 439, 529; and as a witness, without title, on nos. 342, 448, 633. At earlier dates as witness, in B.C. 686, on no. 9; witness and *aba*, in B.C. 686, on no. 453; as buyer, B.C. 684, on no. 230; later as witness, *gallabu*, son of Ištar-šum-iddin, in Ep. G, on no. 160; as witness and *mutîr pûti*, in Ep. Q, on no. 446, the name occurs but may well refer to other persons. In the letters the name occurs on K 17, 504, an *âsû*, 579, 1252 a, Sm. 1685, 83-1-18, 13, an *ušku*, but it is difficult to identify the persons. On nos. 843, 883, 912, the name also occurs. He usually witnesses for Rîmâni-Adadi.

Nabû-zêr-iddin, here said to be *rakbu GAB-MEŠ*, bears a name difficult to distinguish from that of Nabû-šum-iddin, on badly written tablets. Consequently some of the places assigned to him may belong to the fourth witness above and *vice versâ*. As I read them he may be the seller, B.C. 687, on no. 212, the witness and *aba* on no. 612, B.C. 686. As witness and *mukîl apâti* of the Crown Prince, in B.C. 676, on no. 256; in B.C. 660, on no. 444; and without date on no. 477, as well as on no. 444, in B.C. 660, without title; we may consider his personality the same. Without title, as witness, in B.C. 670, on nos. 202, 266; in Ep. Q, on no. 165; and without date on nos. 170, 503, 571; also as seller, without title or date, on no. 226, we have little to identify him by. On no. 851, we meet with an *ušku* of this name. The name occurs also on K 4277. The name Nabû-zêr-iddina occurs as that of a witness, in B.C. 688, on no. 264; and is frequent in letters as K 5457, 12947, Sm. 80, 80-7-19, 34; 81-2-4, 76; 82-5-22, 131; 83-1-18, 193, but there seems to belong to one of the Babylonian nobles, or officials, at the time of Ašurbânipal's troubles with his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn.

The next witness, Nâ'id-Adadi, also a *rakbu GAB-MEŠ*, is also a witness, with same office, in B.C. 670, on no. 421; and as *rakbu* is witness at same date, on no. 420. There is nothing left to

identify the next witness, and his name may never have been filled in, or afterwards erased. The traces are now illegible.

Bâni is almost certainly the name of the next witness and *aba* of the tablet. As witness and *aba*, we find him in B.C. 698, on no. 328; in B.C. 683, on no. 447; as witness and *šanû* of the *râb âsû*, in B.C. 664, on no. 377; again in same capacities, in B.C. 663, on no. 470; without title, as witness in B.C. 664, on no. 398; in B.C. 651, on no. 387; and without date on no. 605. A witness of this name, from Hîrâna, in Ep. W, on no. 210; another in Ep. α, on no. 22; another, *šaķû* of the Crown Prince, on no. 261; another, on no. 439; another, a slave, in B.C. 698, on no. 475; a *bârû* on no. 851; a gardener on no. 811; a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661; the father of Aḥêia on no. 880; the writer of the letter K 512; the scribe of Esarhaddon on K 11437, and 83-1-18, 544 (see *G. A. S.* nos. 108, 119); the person named in Sm. 346, shew how widely spread the name was, and make us chary of attempting their identification with our scribe.

We may remark the use of *egirtu* here to denote the document as a 'note.'

The reader may now perceive something of the nature of the problem to be dealt with in the Chapter on Chronology, and the sort of evidence which we have in general by which to fix the order of the Post Canon Eponyms. The list of Rîmâni-Adadi's witnesses is so constant that, while one or other name may disappear, and fresh names occur, we are fairly warranted in dating a large number of our texts within narrow limits, and may also fix some of the letters within a year or two.

468. No. 61. Complete. Red.

Ibni-aḥûa advances fifty minas of bronze, *ŠAK*, to Taballûa, on security of the slave girl Eṭillit-Arbaili, who shall remain as pledge. He takes all risks. The day that the money is repaid the slave shall be released. Dated, the 4th (or 5th?) of Aaru, Ep. L. Seven witnesses.

The Catalogue, p. 1884, gives the date, and p. 2000 b, puts it among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

In lines 6 and 7, we meet with a clause, in which the lender guarantees the borrower against accident to the slave. The clause is ideographically written, and badly preserved. Whether anything was written at the beginning of line 6, before *BE*, cannot now be decided. Nothing seems to be required, but a parallel to *kammusat*,

perhaps *šaknat*, may have been written. At any rate, a fresh sentence begins with *BE*. This has to be read *enuma*, 'when,' or, as I prefer, *šumma*, 'if.' The second *BE* is the ideogram for *mîtu*, 'to die'; compare no. 66, R 5, no. 67, *B. E.* 2. Hence in the case of a male slave we might read *imtûtu*, or *mîtu*, here in the feminine *mîtat*. The *HA-A* is the ideogram for *halâku*, 'to perish,' also 'to flee,' for a male slave read *hal-ka*, in no. 63, R 1; *hal-ku* in no. 66, R 5; for a female here perhaps *hal-ka-tu*. Then we may read the line, *šumma mîtat-ma hal-ka-tu*, or we may suppose the first *šumma* now lost, and read *šumma mîtat šumma hal-ka-tu*. This would mean 'if she be dead or fled.' Then the next line begins with a broken space, the first character legible being *GIR*, followed by *tap*. Now *GIR-TAB* is an ideogram for *aḫrabu*, 'scorpion,' and for 'Ištar.' Either of these meanings would seem very unsuitable, unless death or disablement by scorpion bite was intended. I rather think it the end of some word for wages, *i-gir*?, or of an ideogram. The *tap* is faintly impressed and may not be intended, or erased. The signs which follow are badly preserved but seem to me to read *PAT-MEŠ A-MEŠ*, i.e. *kurmâte mê*, 'food and drink.' We know that in later Babylonian times, when a slave was apprenticed, the owner had to find food and drink for that slave, and if the slave was not properly taught, the craftsman had to pay for this expense on the part of the owner. So here it seems to me that the borrower if he lost his slave through the carelessness of the lender had a claim for the expense he had been put to for the time. But the clause must remain obscure, until a complete text is available, or until we find a parallel case. In line 8, we read *eli bêliša...*, but I am unable even now to say what was meant by the last sign. In the parallel text, no. 63, R 1, we read *mîtu hal-ka ina eli bêlišu* followed by no verb; in no. 66, R 5, 6, *mêtu hal-ku ina eli bêlišunu*; in no. 67, *B. E.* 2, 3, *mîtu hal-ka ina bêli ina šattišu hal-lik ina eli Išdi-aḫêšu, šakintu kaspu šaniu*. At first sight, some one may be tempted to think that *hal-ka* is to be taken with *ina eli bêlišu*, 'fled back to his old master.' But that would be more likely to be expressed by *ana* than *ina eli*. It seems to mean that these things, the death or flight of the slave, should be 'on his owner,' i.e. at his cost. If the slave died or ran away, his owner would surely have to supply another slave to take his place as pledge. But it is a difficult question how far the guarantee extended. In the later Babylonian documents, e.g. *Nbkd.* 346, when a slave was

sold, the sellers were guarantee, *pût ḫiliḫu ū mītūtu ša A*, where *A* is the slave. Therefore they were to make him good to the buyer. In our case, it is possible that when the borrower offered his slave in pledge, he had to guarantee that the slave was not a fiction, that he was not already dead or fled. But it is not likely the words mean that. In the later Babylonian case the sellers actually had the slave, but he was a well known runaway. It was surely a contingency against which they guaranteed the buyer. In the case of a pledge, the slave had to be returned; if he was a known runaway, the lender would not accept the risk of taking him, as he could not insist on the return of the money, without being prepared to produce the pledge. He naturally bargained for a healthy, docile slave, who would cause him no special anxiety. Hence if the pledge turned out badly, he stipulates that the loss shall fall on the owner. If the slave die or run away, the borrower must find another, or return the loan. The stipulation about the keep of the slave remains obscure. The borrower could hardly have to pay for what had been consumed by the dead or fugitive slave, for the lender had had his work out of him, as long as he remained. But if the borrower had to pay for his keep all the time, then on returning the money he might set up a claim on account of his expense, or more likely have to pay for the keep of a substitute. We may, however, continue to speculate at large, until more information is procurable. At any rate, it is clear, that in case of death, or flight, the holder of the pledge had not to make it good, the loss was on the owner of the pledge.

In reverse, l. 1, we have the verb *uṣerabâni*, evidently from *erêbu* 'to enter.' On the day that the money he shall cause to come in, i.e. 'repay,' is parallel to the *iddanûni* of no. 58. Then the lender shall release the pledge.

The first witness, Iṣtar-šum-iddin, occurs as witness and *aba*, in B.C. 671, on no. 40; as witness without date on no. 448; and as father of Nabû-erba, on no. 160, in Ep. G. Also the name occurs on no. 860.

The next witness, Nabû-šum-uṣur, whose name could also be read Nabû-nâdin-aḫi, was a witness, in B.C. 692, on no. 324; a witness and priest of Nabû, in Kalah, Ep. C, on no. 641; in same office, place, and capacity, in Ep. O, on no. 640; again in Ep. R, on no. 641. Without title he was a witness on nos. 79, 630, and neighbour on no. 346. He is named in the letters, K 5420 b, 7403.

On no. 860 a *ḫēpu* bears the name; on 79-7-8, 190, he is the father of Nabû-šarrâni; on K 8868, he is the owner of the tablet and an *amêl NIR-ME-ME-ni*.

Šulmu-Ištar only occurs here, so far as I know. The next name I read Rimût-Bêl. The same name was borne by a *mašmašu*, on no. 851. In the next name I have omitted *ir* after *KAR*. The name is Nabû-eṭirâni. The name was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 741; by a witness, in B.C. 680, on no. 359; by a witness, B.C. 675, on no. 167; by a witness, B.C. 673, on no. 8; and by a witness, without date, on no. 255.

Saklu, the name of the witness in rev. line 8, occurs here only. We may seek an Assyrian meaning in *saklu*, 'fool,' 'simpleton,' but I am more inclined to read Saglu and compare the Palmyrene, ܣܓܠܐ. With the name of the next witness, Ḥazianu, we may compare the name Ḥazian, father of the sellers in no. 233.

The Eponym, Nabû-danan, only occurs here, unless we are to identify him with the Nabû-daninâni, Eponym K, *šaknu* of Kue, on nos. 329 and 593; or less likely, with the Nabû-daninâni, Tartan, in B.C. 743-2.

469. No. 62. Nearly complete. Brown.

The exact purport of the transaction here is very uncertain, but, as I take it an estate has been pledged. In such cases, as in the leases, *q.v.*, a common stipulation is that certain government officials shall have no claim to exact anything from the estate. Also the creditor was expected to retain the estate until the value of the crops should have sufficed to liquidate the debt. At any time, if the debtor and mortgagor, or his executors, wished to redeem the property, they had to pay for the standing crop. This is expressed by saying *kaspušu ina eli šê tarâme išakkan*, 'its price for the standing crop he shall deposit.' The *šê tarâme* is here the ungathered crop of any sort. The *šê nusâḫi* was the crop that could be gathered, or 'plucked': *nasâḫu* is to 'pluck up.' The *šê šibšu* is that which could be trodden down, if *šabâšu* means to 'tread down' in this connection. A frequent substitute for *šê šibšu* is *šê IN-NU*, i.e. *tibnu*, grass, or 'fodder,' the crop specially liable to injury by treading down. The stipulation therefore usually takes the form, *šê nusâḫišu lâ innasuḫu, šê IN-NU-šu lâ išabbaš*, 'its crop he shall not pluck, its grass he shall not tread down.' The 'he,' or 'they,' may here be taken impersonally as 'one,' i.e. an official on behalf of the government, or less probably, the debtor or mortgagor, bound to respect the well being of the crops on the land he has pledged.

This document opens with the remains of some such stipulation. If the mortgagor shall desire to redeem the estate, he shall pay for the crop, *kaspušu eli šê nusâhi išakkan*. Instead of *kaspu išakkan*, we have here the word *usanilum*, perhaps III. 3, from *šalâmu*, for *uštanallum*. The verb *šalâmu*, 'to be at peace,' often takes the sense of 'to pay' in our documents. In line 2, after *ša* there was perhaps room for *eḫlu*: 'the crop of this field.' Then we read, 'the field the portion of its owners.' This can hardly be the object of the verb *usanilum*. I regard it as a statement, 'the field is still the property of its owners,' they have pledged it, but not alienated it. This ended the body of the contract, or agreement. In the next line, we meet with the usual pains and penalties for breach or repudiation of the agreement. 'Whoever shall dispute,' 'raise an exception,' *mannu ša ipariḫûni*, 'shall deposit two white horses as penalty to Ašur,' *II KUR-MEŠ UD-MEŠ ana AŠ-ŠUR ŠA-an*, or, *II sisê piṣûti ana Ašur išakkan*. Further, 'he shall pay one mina of gold to Beltis,' *I MA-NA hurâši ana Bêlit SE-an*. Also, 'he shall seek the decision of the king,' *adê ša šarri šû ubta*. These pains and penalties will be discussed more fully, with their many parallels, in the introduction to the deeds of sale, later.

Then follow, very oddly, the names of some witness. This I can only explain by supposing that the first eight lines of this tablet are a quotation or rehearsal of a former agreement. The name of the first witness is apparently Kîbit-Ištar, 'the command of Ištar.' The name occurs as that of the seller, on no. 173, in Ep. G. We may compare Kîbit-Ašur, in no. 37, and no. 363; also, Kîbit-Ninip, in no. 37. Our witness was an *amêl râb KAK-MEŠ*, perhaps *râb bânê*, or 'chief of the workmen,' or 'builders,' see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 178 b. The name of the next witness is only partly preserved, and the sign *BAR* is not certain. The third witness was called Sanân, compare Sanânu, witness on nos. 122, 123, in B.C. 682. Here he is the 'messenger,' *mâr šîpri*, of the majordomo. The next witness, the scribe, *aba*, of the original document was Nabû-rîmâni, see § 464.

Now this tablet states the present state of affairs. 'The field of the *šakintu*, the field which Inibi-Ašur was enjoying as a mortgage, the messenger of the house of its owners, came, the field, the portion of its owners he resumed, its grass, its crop, etc., its price he paid, the field the portion of its owners, etc.' Defective as the passage is, it can hardly be misunderstood. The case was this. The *šakintu* had pledged a field, which from the expression 'house or portion of

its owners' was probably her family estate, under an agreement of which the first eight lines rehearse the terms. Now a messenger, on behalf of the family, arrives and redeems the estate. The mortgagee was called Inibi-Ašur, 'fruit of Ašur.' For the first element compare names like Inbâ, no. 590, Imbu-ia, no. 677, Imbu-pânia, in *P. A. S.* Sarg. St. III. 24, and Imbî, Del. *H. W. B.* p. 97 b. In line 6, Nabû-salim may be the name of the witness to this new agreement, a quittance for the sum lent and for the price of the crops. The name occurs, no. 857, II. 30, as that of a *mutir pûti*, and on the inscriptions K 11289, and III. R. 33, VI. 57, 62, as son of Marduk-aplu-iddin and father of Aplîa. In the next line, the sign *ub* may be *ip*, and after *ta* may have been *me*. Perhaps we have the remains of *šê nusâhi urtame*, but all is very doubtful. The last line seems to have the end of a proper name, *aḥ-erba*.

The verb *akâlu*, ideogram *KÛ*, literally 'to eat,' is often used in our documents in the sense of 'to enjoy the usufruct,' of an estate. As I suppose Inibi-Ašur was actually in the possession of the estate, I read *ikkâlûni*, 'is enjoying,' but *êkulûni* is also possible. The phrase *ana šabarti* points to a pledge, as we have seen. Hence, I placed the text here, although in other respects it is unlike those we have hitherto discussed. It is clear that the contingency contemplated in the original agreement, line 2, occurred. The verb *urtame* is used in the sense of 'to loosen,' see *ramû*, *H. W. B.* p. 623 a. Here it clearly means 'to redeem,' 'to set free.'

The Catalogue puts this among the 'private contracts,' p. 2001 b. 470. No. 63. A very damaged tablet. Dark red.

Aḥu-dûri lends some minas of silver to Mannu-kî-nûri, on a slave, or his own person, as pledge, for years. On the day that the money is returned, Mannu-kî-nûri shall go free. If he die or flee it shall be at his owner's risk. Dated, the 5th of Ulûlu, Ep. V. Eight witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 100.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

It is certain that Mannu-kî-nûri is the borrower as he seals the document. The name occurs as that of a witness on no. 391, in B.C. 717; also on K 5823. One would expect that line 3 should read *ina elî amêl šâbi*, 'on a slave.' But lower down we see that when the money is repaid, Mannu-kî-nûri, not his slave, is to be released. That may mean that he is to be released from obligation, but usually it means that the pledge is set free. We cannot read

'Mannu-kî-nûri shall release,' for it was Aḥu-dûri who held the pledge. Hence I fancy Mannu-kî-nûri pledged himself.

Note that *iddanûni* and *uša* are actives, and the former is plural. Hence they are used impersonally. Aḥu-dûri may be taken as the nominative to the latter verb: or more likely Mannu-kî-nûri is the nominative, and the verb is to be taken in its usual sense, 'go out,' i.e. 'be free.'

On the clause, *mîtu ḥalka ina eli bêlišu*, see § 468. We may read *šumma ḥalka*, 'if he flee,' and then the contingency of death is not contemplated. What was expected to take place then is obvious. The borrower was still in debt, and he must either find a fresh pledge or return the money. We have the phrase *kaspu ana bêlišu utar*, which of course may be what is meant here, for the debtor's risk. If it be the case that Mannu-kî-nûri is his own security, then if he fled, of course he was still indebted.

The lender, Aḥu-dûri, bears the same name as the seller, on no. 453, of B.C. 686; the witness, on nos. 83, 84, of B.C. 679; the witness, on no. 516, of B.C. 676; on no. 53, of B.C. 672; and on no. 128, of B.C. 665. As seller, on no. 490; as witness, on nos. 168, 268, 448, 633; as resident in *âl Ban...*, no. 675; as grantee, on no. 661; as *râb daninâte*, on no. 857, II. 5; as *râb kišir mâr šarri* in the next line of no. 857, on K 916, K 8134, the same name meets us, but with little to fix identity.

The Eponym, Nabû-nâdin-aḥi, Ep. V, is only known as such on this tablet. On no. 120, as a borrower in B.C. 693; on Rm. 157, as witness, in B.C. 679; on no. 68, as slave pledged, B.C. 645; as witness, and *aba*, in Ep. N. The name is not likely to be the same as Nabû-nâdin-aḥê, *aba* and witness, on no. 176, B.C. 700; as *aba*, witness, son of Nabû-šallimšunu, of *âl Tâb-Bêl*, on no. 172, B.C. 670; witness on no. 310, B.C. 669; witness, no. 128, B.C. 655; *aba*, witness, on no. 307, Ep. F; witness, on no. 102, Ep. I; witness, on nos. 260, 536; principal and *šakû ša apil šarri*, on no. 334; father of Ša-Marduk-zaḥup, on no. 351. The attempt to place this Eponym among those Post Canon, must be attended with great uncertainty on account of the paucity of names on this tablet.

The first witness, Šulmu-aḥê, bears the same name as the witness and *šêpâ*, of B.C. 680, on no. 631; the witness, of B.C. 670, on no. 99; the witness and *bêl kâtâti* of Šu'i, B.C. 648, on no. 147; the witness and *mutir pûti* of Ep. Q, on no. 349; the witness and *raṭbu* of no. 357; the seller of no. 454; the serfs of nos. 661, 742, and the



Ḥarran Census. Here it seems from my text that he was the son of Ištar-dûri, but a closer examination makes it quite likely that for *a* we should read *ŠI*. Hence, I take it, Ištar-dûri was also a witness. The name was borne by the Eponyms of B.C. 775 and of B.C. 715. A witness in B.C. 707, on no. 292; another on no. 281, in B.C. 694; the son of Adšêki, in B.C. 670, on no. 331; the witness and *aba*, B.C. 666, on no. 185; a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 28; the father of Šala-bêlitsunu, on no. 160; the buyer, on no. 507; the witness, on no. 638; the writers of K 1068, 80-7-19, 67, 81-2-4, 87, cf. *H. A. B. L.* p. 101, bear the same name spelt *AN-XV-BÁD*. With the same spelling as here, *XV-BÁD*, the name is that of a neighbour, on no. 379, in B.C. 651; of a witness, on no. 24, in B.C. 645; of a witness, on no. 329, Ep. K, and again on no. 334; of the father of the borrower, on no. 80; of a *mutir pûti*, on no. 857, III. 21; and of the writer of the letters to the King, K 1896, compare *H. A. B. L.* pp. 152-157. To these letters will be added later Sm. 1212, 82-3-23, 142. The name was also that of a serf, 'with his people,' at the Nineveh gate of Arbela, no. 742, 9.

The witness, *Didi*, bears a name with which we may compare the Palmyrene, 𐤃𐤁𐤕 Δάδος, and the Aramaic ܕܕܥܠܐ. The Assyrian form of the word *dādu*, appears in Dadâ, Dadai, Daddî, Dadî, Dadîa, and we may perhaps compare Dido and David. This was also the name of a borrower, B.C. 672, on no. 53; of a slave, B.C. 668, on no. 65; of a witness, B.C. 671, on no. 121; of a witness, on no. 245; of a serf, with his people, in *âl Darraska*, on no. 742.

The next witness appears to bear the name Uginê, or Samginê, but the readings are too uncertain to be of any value. So the next name, perhaps, is Iakite, as some horizontal traces precede *a*, but nothing is clear except the *ti-e*. A name ending in *ka-a*, recalls Si'-sakâ, but no restoration is advisable. In line 9, either *te* or *tu* is sure. The name Lategi-Ištar is clearly the same in type, as the Latagi-ana-ilu, of App. 1, XII. 18, where *gi* is certainly meant, though *dar* has been written on the tablet. Lategi-ana-Ištar was the name of the witness, *šalšu* of Aššur, on no. 50, Ep. H; of the witness, on no. 105, Ep. Z; and of the witness, on no. 111. Compare also Latugi-Nanâ, the seller, on no. 173, Ep. G. The same verb occurs in Atgi-ilu, and I think in the *taḫû*, used in the sense of 'to entrust,' in the Ḥarran Census. Lategi is 'Verily I will trust,' Atgi, 'I have trusted.' To this root I am inclined to refer also Takâ-šarri, and Takûni.

The name of the last witness may be Nabû-aḥ-iddin, but the readings are too uncertain to be of any value.

471. No. 64. Nearly complete. Light red.

The text begins exactly like an estate sale. The name of the borrower is mutilated, all one can see is that it ended in *ga*. He was the *šanû* of Raṣappa, and legitimate owner of a field and some slaves pledged. These are then further specified: two hundred (at least) homers of land in the city of ẖupalate (or ẖupalabu), bordering on the city Biraḥaiate, on the city of Bit-Ramannu, on the city of the *amêl šâ eli âli*, i.e. probably the governor of Raṣappa, and on the city of Dûr-Nanâ. The slaves were Tâb-rigimatu-Adadi, his wife and two daughters, Nabû-šar-ilâni his wife, two oxen, ten homers of seed land, *âršu*. All this was, in lieu of fifteen minas of silver, Carchemish standard, deposited as security. When the money is repaid to Ilu-šarr-uṣur, the land and people shall be released. Dated, the 4th of Addaru, B.C. 672. Six witnesses.

Bezold, *Cata.* p. 89, queries the date B.C. 695-4, apparently because he did not know in which of two years the 4th of Addaru then fell. G. Smith, *Hist. of Sennacherib*, p. 15, gives B.C. 695, without question. He must have overlooked the mention of Esarhaddon, as reigning monarch, in the next two lines. In my headline I hesitated to do more than query the date: as I felt there must be some superior knowledge underlying these assertions.

The date is also quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89, and by Gutschmid, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 46.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 5068, 7489.

In the text I have omitted the last line of reverse and the lower edge which reads *ki-šir Ašur-aḥê-iddin, šar mât Aššur*. This implies that the money was needed for the *kišru* or levy of Esarhaddon, or that the Eponym was perhaps *râb kišir* of that king.

The name of the city, in line 5, is difficult to read. After *ẖu*, which seems certain, *ba* may be meant, followed by a small inserted *UD*, or these may form the sign *URU*, Brünnow's no. 909, then we have *a* certain, followed by *mat*, or *še*, and by *me* or *lal* or even *a*. The reading seems therefore very doubtful. The city, *Be-ra-ḥa-ia-te*, seems clearly written. The reading *Mit*, for *Be*, would give *Mitra-ḥaiate*. The name Bît-Ramânu shews that Ramânu was the name of a god, note the determinative *AN*, but it does not prove that *AN-IM* was read Ramman. The city Dûr-Nanâ is named on no. 742, R 24, between the cities of Irinniḥ and Bêl-iḫbi. The

latter, according to no. 774, 8, was in the *paḥāti* of Laḥiri. Hence, perhaps, we may assume our estate to be in the same district.

The name Ṭāb-rigimatu-Adadi is a singular one, and suggests that the ideograms for speech, *KA*, *PI*, etc., which occur in proper names may be rendered *rigmu*, *rigimatu*.

In line 11, in place of *aḥušu*, *ŠAL-šu*, i.e. *aššatušu*, is now quite plain. The name of the second serf, Nabû-šar-ilâni is not common, see App. I, I. 46.

The *alpu ardu* was the trained ox, probably for driving the watering machines or the plough. The *šê zêr*, if so read, denotes land used for corn growing, *aršu*, here spelt *a-ar-šu*, is the land which could be watered, *erêšu*.

In *B. E.* I, *ku-mu* is a variant of the commoner *ku-um*.

In rev. 1, the name of the lender is very badly written, or else much damaged, the first sign must be *Na*, then for *AN* read *šur*, which with *šû* forms the sign *šuh*, *ša* being the ideogram for *šakânu*, we finally have Našuh-aplu-iškun, 'Našuh has established the son.' In the next line for *pir*, we can now read clearly *UD*, i.e. *pir* or *bir* also. Here again we have *ana šabirti šaknu*. What was the function of *Ilu-šar-ušur* is not easy to discern, because of the ruined condition of line 4, the restoration of which, although according to analogy, is quite conjectural. Perhaps he witnessed the actual loan, as the others below witnessed the document. The verb *ušerabani* seems to have been written *u-še-ra-ba-'ni*, in other words, for *an* read 'a. This points to the use of the sign 'a to denote *an*. In line 6, *ušêši* is used for the more usual *ušêša*.

The first witness, Nabû-šêzib, or more fully, Nabû-ušêzib, is the name of a witness, B.C. 688, on no. 264; of a borrower, B.C. 687, on no. 17; a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 28; a slave sold, B.C. 681, on no. 269; a witness, B.C. 680, on K 3790; a witness, B.C. 679, on Rm. 157; a witness and *šanû*, B.C. 673, on no. 431; witness and *mukîl apâti*, B.C. 670, on no. 421; same year, witness and *šalšu*, on no. 202; in B.C. 668, on no. 472; witness and *mukîl apâti*, B.C. 667, on no. 27; same also in B.C. 666, on no. 185; in B.C. 664, on no. 115; in B.C. 663, on no. 470; same on nos. 116, 174, 247, 296, 408, 448, 579; a buyer on no. 411; a principal and *dupšar* on no. 12, B.C. 660. The same name occurs as that of a seller on K 12960, in the letters, K 1202, 3024, 5457, 5461, 81-7-27, 68; 83-1-18, 260; Bu. 91-5-9, 113; also K 832 b, 995, 13139, *D. T.* 224, and as a serf, 'with his people,' in *âl Lukummai*, on no. 742; on no. 858.

The name in line 8, *Da-ru-ra-a-(te)* is like the *Da-ra-ra-a-te*, witness of B.C. 692, on no. 440. The name *Hâra-MAN*, I read *Hâra-šarru*, because of *Ha-ri-LUGAL*, in no. 356, *Har-MAN*, witness, in B.C. 651, on no. 387. Our name is also that of a witness and *mukîl apâti*, Ep. H', on no. 178. For the first element compare *Harê*, and the Aramaic name ܠܪܝ.

Mannu-kî-aḥê, the witness of line 10, occurs as a seller, B.C. 698, on no. 328; a neighbour in Nineveh, B.C. 692, on no. 324; a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 277; a witness and *rakasu*, B.C. 676, on no. 330; a witness, same date, on no. 502; a witness, B.C. 661, on no. 586; a witness, B.C. 648, on no. 333; a slave sold on no. 251; a neighbour on no. 425; a *šaknu* on no. 857, II. 35; on no. 852; as in *âl Takku*, on no. 899. The name is borne by the Ep. H, *šaknu* of Šimir. A variant form Mannu-kim-aḥê is the name of the seller, in B.C. 698, on no. 475. Another form Mannu-ka-aḥê, was the name of the witness, and *hazânu* of Tursana, B.C. 686, on no. 363. The ally of Dunânu, in Gambûli, had the same name, III. R. 33, v. 71. A similar name, Mannu-kî-aḥi, is borne by the borrower, *šanû* of Nineveh, B.C. 665, on no. 35; by a seller, B.C. 680, on K 3790; a witness on no. 291, and in the letter K 4306.

On the witness *Ḥabasite*, see next no. p. 99. The name *Za-ib-da-a-ni* seems to me to be meant for *Zabdâni*, or *Šabdâni*.

Having regard to the facts recorded of the witnesses above and the mention of Esarhaddon in the next line, I have now no hesitation in assigning our Eponym, *Nabû-bêl-ušur*, to B.C. 672.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 a, regards this a 'sale of land, etc.'

472. No. 65. Part of a tablet. Light red.

Rîmâni-Adadi lends three minas of silver, *kaḫḫadu* (or perhaps *ŠAK-MEŠ*), Carchemish standard, to . . . -nâ'id, the *šanû*, and *Ṭusû*, another official. Didî, the *amêl ni* . . . was given as pledge. The money shall not bear interest. The day the money is repaid the slaves shall be released. Dated, the 20th (or before the 30th) of Aaru, B.C. 668. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, regards this as a 'private contract.'

In line 1, the *kaḫḫadu* is now almost entirely obliterated. In line 3, the lender is the great Rîmâni-Adadi, on whose career, see § 465. There can be no doubt that the *šanû*, in line 4, was one borrower. In line 5, the name is now clearly *Ṭu-si-i*, not *Sa-si-i* as it

seemed to me when I copied the text. The pledged man, Didî, was probably accompanied by his wife, or family, as the *nišē* of *B. E. 2*, implies more than one.

The name *Ṭusî* occurs as that of a neighbour, *Ep. A*, on no. 325; the name *Didî* is discussed, § 468. The name of the first witness may be *Šarru-ilai*, faint traces of *AN* are now to be seen after *MAN*. This name was borne by a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 660, on nos. 444, 445; by a seller, *Ep. P*, on no. 628; a witness, on nos. 321, 448; by the father of *Duraua*, on no. 429, and in the letter *K 796*. The traces of *mu*, in line 2, are no longer certain, indeed they suggest a name beginning with *XV*, i.e. *Ištar*.

The name, in line 3, may be restored *Ḥabasite*. This is one of the most variable names in our documents. We have on no. 64, *Ḥa-ba-a-si-te*, witness in B.C. 672. The name *Ḥa-ba-as-te* must be the same, borne by a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 383; by a witness and *ràb kēpê*, B.C. 663, on no. 470; by a witness, *Ep. J*, on no. 297. The name *Ḥa-ba-as-ti* is borne by a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 433; by a witness and *ràb kēpê*, B.C. 670, on no. 266; by a witness, on no. 493. The form *Ḥabastu* is the name of a witness and *ràb kēpê*, B.C. 668, on no. 284. To this name obviously belong the witness in B.C. 679, on no. 462; the witness of no. 537, *ràb kēpê* also; the witnesses of nos. 358, 571. Hence we must admit another variant, *Ḥa-ba-aš-ti*, witness and *ràb kēpê*, on no. 425. The name *Ḥu-ba-as-a-te* occurs for a witness and *ràb kišir ša šépâ*, on no. 235. We get *Ḥu-ba-ša-a-te*, as the name of a witness, in *Ep. O*, on no. 16; a witness and *šakû šarri*, on no. 322. A further change appears in *Aḥu-ba-sa-te*, witness and *ràb kēpê*, B.C. 679, on no. 150; and in *Aḥu-ba-aš-te*, witness and *ràb kēpê*, B.C. 664, on no. 115. In the last two names, *Aḥu* is written with the sign *PAP*, which may be read *Aḥi* also. Now *A-ḥi-ba-as-tû* is the name of a witness on no. 52. The name was evidently foreign to the Assyrian scribes. For its root we may compare the Phoenician *חבש*, the female name *Ḥambusu*, with its Aramaic rendering, *חבשו*, on no. 233; as well as *Ḥabasu*, the neighbour, of B.C. 693, on no. 66; and *Ḥabasi*, on no. 434. But we may also think of the Egyptian *Ḥabsti*, the name of the bearded Abyssinians, cf. Arabic *حبشي*, *Z. A.* xi. p. 82. Whether *bastu*, *baštu*, common in proper names, influenced the spellings, or the scribe thought of a divinity *Bast*, is difficult to decide.

The name borne by the next witness, *Ašur-eṭir*, occurs also on

no. 699, as that of a *ràb kišir*: and in the letter K 5463, as son of Šillai. The next name, Šamaš-bêl-iddin, would be unique. There seem to be traces of a slanting wedge, which would give us *PAP* for the last character. Then we should read the name Šamaš-bêl-ušur. This name was borne by the Eponyms of B.C. 866, 853, and 711. It occurs in the letters K 504, 1923, 7297, 7299, 7325, 7424, 8535, Rm. II. 1, 81-7-27, 39.

It is now clear that, in line 6, what I read as *MEŠ*, is the trace of *amêl*. Hence the name was Šummu-ili, not Šummu-ilâni. The longer name was discussed in § 465. Šumma-ili, or Šummu-ili, occurs as a witness and *šangû*, B.C. 686, on no. 374; witness and *ša šépâ*, Ep. A, on no. 325; witness and *tamkar*, Ep. 1, on no. 326; witness and *ràb kišir*, on no. 425; borrower, on no. 13; *ràb kišir*, on no. 931; and is a specimen name given App. 1, VIII. 46, App. 3, III. 6.

The name of the Eponym, Marlarim, is here given *Mar-la-ar-(me)*: compare III. R. 1, VI. 3. On no. 472, as Tartan of Kummuh, the name is *Mar-la-rim-me*; on K 11478, *G. A. S.* no. 149, we have *Ma-ri-la-rim*. The common spelling, *Mar-la-rim*, occurs on III. R. 1, VI. 13, as a variant, on nos. 184, 190, 204, 208, 284, and on the letter 83-1-18, 75. I am inclined to think that *Mar* here is not *mâru*, 'a son,' but the god Mar, Meri, the Aramaic מרי, and in מרסמן, מרבעל, compare *Z. A.* XI. p. 237. With the ending, *-larim*, we may compare Abu-larim, Aḥu-larim.

473. No. 66. Complete. Grey and light red.

The lady Indibî lends sixteen minas of silver, royal standard, to Arbai. In the month of Tišritu, he shall pay the money in full; if not, interest shall be two shekels per mina per month. A plantation, planted with vines, in *âl še Bêl-aḥê*: bordering on the plantation of Ḥabasu, on that of Si'-ba-nik, on that of the chief *aba*: also these slaves, Dâri-Bêl, his wife, three sons, and two daughters along with his household property, four *šalhi* of his, ḥuzabu; Ḥudi-šarrûtsu, his daughter: all are pledged as security. If they die, or run away, the loss shall be on their owners. The day that he shall refund the money, with the interest, his slaves and plantation shall be released. Dated, the 9th of Abû, B.C. 693 (or B.C. 688). Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89: and *Hist. of Sennacherib*, p. 16.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

The lady's name does not occur elsewhere. In line 1, there is now clearly a vertical before *manê*, hence we read *ina ištên manê*. At the end of the line, *šarru* is very uncertain. The name of the borrower occurs as that of the seller on no. 260; as that of a *bêl pahâti* on no. 857, II. 50, and on the letters K 176, 83-1-18, 119, compare *Ārbai*, on Sm. 152. The name may be a gentilic, from some city *Arbu*, but I think it means one born on the fourth day. In App. 1, IX. 22, the 'month' names *Du'ûzai*, *Ulûlai*, *Tebêtai*, are followed by the 'day' names, *UD-IV-(KAN)-a-a*, *UD-XX-(KAN)-a-a*, which I venture to read *Ārbai* and *Ešrai*.

On line 5, the scribe has written *lâ* with two verticals.

On line 7, the *išu til-lit*, which I take to mean a 'vine,' *tillatu*, is rather indistinct. The *lit* seems to have been written over *lut*. In the *Ḥarran Census*, the word is often spelt *til-lut*. If this be not so, then perhaps the sign of repetition was written after *lit*, as well as at the end of the line.

On *B. E.* 1, no trace of *ša* is now preserved. The 'farm,' or *âl šê* of *Bêl-aḥê* is not named elsewhere, but the personal name is quite common. The name *Ḥabasu* is probably the same as *Ḥabasi*, the name of a neighbour, on no. 434. The name *Si'-bânik* recalls the *Ḥarran* names, it clearly means, 'Si' thy creator.' *Dâri-Bêl* curiously enough occurs as the name of a serf, irrigator, *irrišu*, and witness, B.C. 700, on no. 294; a witness, B.C. 694, on no. 58; an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' at the Nineveh gate of Arbela, on no. 742; a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661. There was a city called *Dâri-Bêl*, see no. 515. In line 3, instead of 'three' daughters, as my text gives, the original has clearly only 'two.' The term *kinnitîšu*, I take to be a by-form of *kimtu*, and as the wife and children are all named already, these must be *Dâri-Bêl*'s slaves or servants.

The first words of line 4 are very difficult. We may probably take them to read *IV šalḥîšu ḥuṣâbu*. But what are the *šalḥi*? Are they animals which are 'fat,' *ḥuṣâbu*? Or are we to take *ḥuṣabu* as a plant, and *šalḥu* as a 'trench'? It does not even seem certain that *šû* is the possessive pronoun. The name *Ḥudi-šarrûtsu* is unique, we may compare *Ḥudai*, *Ḥadi'*, and *Ḥadê-lipûšu*. It probably means 'Rejoice his kingship.'

The name of the Eponym, evidently to be read *Iddini-aḥê*, raises some difficult questions. The name of the Eponym of B.C. 693, and of B.C. 688, is given, III. R. 1, v. 31, 36, as *ĀŠ-PAP-MEŠ*, which

may be read Iddin-aḥê. This form of the name occurs on nos. 29, 264, also on no. 114; as a borrower, on no. 851; as a *mašmašu*, on no. 880, as father of Zêr-lîšir. Also III. R. I, v. 31, 36, gives our form as variant for both years. Hence we cannot say whether our date is B.C. 693, or B.C. 688. The name of the Eponym, on nos. 17, 133, 145, appears as *SE-na-PAP-MEŠ*, or Iddina-aḥê, in the two latter places he is said to be *šaknu* of Šimêra. The form *SE-PAP-MEŠ*, or Iddin-aḥê, as Eponym occurs on nos. 238, 491, in the latter case, as *šaknu* of Šimêra. The same form of name is borne by a witness and *aba*, B.C. 669, on no. 188; and occurs in the letter K 1880. The name of the Eponym, on no. 243, begins with *Id-din-*, and is taken to be the same as ours. On no. 400, the name of the Eponym begins with *Se.....* G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 90, assigned this to B.C. 688, apparently because this Eponym is *šaknu* of Dûr-Sargon. He seems to have thought that as Dûr-Sargon was probably a more important place than Šimêra, Iddin-aḥê, or Nadni-aḥi, as Smith read the name, was *šaknu* of Šimêra, before he became *šaknu* of Dûr-Sargon. On no. 240 also, the Eponym's name begins with *SE*, and this may be the same person. Admitting the force of G. Smith's reasons, we are only certain of the dates on nos. 133, 145, 491, which are B.C. 693, and no. 400, which is B.C. 688. We have nothing to fix the others. Another way of writing the name is *MU-SIS-MEŠ*, a witness, *ša hudûdi*, on no. 246. Yet another is *SE-na-SIS-MEŠ*, on the letter Bu. 91-5-9, 88. On the letters, K 1135, 13191, 82-5-22, 132; and 83-1-18, 83, we meet with the similar name Iddina-aḥi, *SE-na-SIS*.

The name of the first witness, which I read Mannu-kî-Adadi, occurs in a similar spelling as that of a witness, and *kêpu*, Ep. T, on no. 618; as that of the Eponym for B.C. 683, the 23rd year of Sennacherib, *šaknu* of Šupite, on nos. 47, 155, 447, 697, 703, III. R. I, v. 41. The same name occurs on no. 852, and the letter K 1071. In all these cases Adadi is written *U*, or *AN-U*. The name with *AN-IM* occurs as Eponym for B.C. 683, of Šupite, on nos. 51, 122, 123, 273 (?), III. R. I, v. 41, as a variant. This was also the name of the Eponym, B.C. 774; III. R. I, III. 44. It was the name of a witness from Hîrana, Ep. V, on no. 210; of the lender on no. 71; of the seller, a *sakû*, on no. 438; and occurs in the letters, K 533, 1046, 7360, 13027, 13120.

The name of the witness, *R. E.* I, begins with *AN-EN*, not *AN-ŠU* as my text gives. Hence we must read Bêl-šum-ibni. It



does not occur again. The second name is also uncertain, for *Ilu* I am now inclined to read *Gu*. The name is therefore Gušanu. In the next line, for *kak* we may read *iš* and for *lal*, *me* is better. The name Iskamê is unique. The title following seems to be, *mâr NIM-ME*, a man from the land of Numme.

The name of the first witness, on *L. E.*, is Rîmâni-ilu, borne by the lender, B.C. 648, on no. 147; a witness and *tamkaru*, B.C. 646, on no. 197; a witness, Ep. Q, on no. 165; a principal, Ep. W, on no. 210; a witness, B.C. 693, on no. 491, possibly on nos. 393, 496, and K 4767. The next name may be read Ilu-šallim-aḫi, or the last sign may be *naphar*, 'all,' of the city Dûr-Rîmte.

474. No. 67. Nearly complete. Red.

The *Šakintu* of Kaḫal-Ninûa lends some money to Ardi-Ištar upon security of Išdi-aḫêšu his son. He has mortgaged his son to the *šakintu*. Bêl-êreš is her agent. The other conditions appear unusual. If the slave died or ran away, the debtor was to owe double. When the money was returned the slave was to be set free from the *šakintu*'s control, or as an alternative remain her slave if she gave him the money. Dated the 26th of Tebêtu, B.C. 748?

The date is quoted by Bezold correctly, *Cat.* p. 203: but the year B.C. 748 is very unlikely indeed. We have probably here another Post Canon Eponym: Ep. π. The whole tablet is fearfully crumpled up and very difficult to make out. It seems never to have been baked and judging from its present appearance may have been carried in a modern pocket. The characters, instead of being deep cut, are now very little below the surface. They sometimes look no more than irregular shaped little pits. What I give as my reading I shall only be too glad to see improved. The lower edge is the most indistinct; there in line 2, for *bab-meš* almost anything might be read. In line 3 the first three or four characters may be really *ana bêli-šu* or even *ana Ardi-Ištar*.

However, if *ina libbi Bâbê* stands, it may mean 'in open market' or some such phrase for due publicity. The gate, *bâbu*, was the 'exchange' of an Eastern city. The phrase *mitu ḫalka ana bêlišu*, 'if he die or flee to his old master,' follows the formula of no. 62. The consequence is not very clear: *ina MU-AN-šu ḫallaḫ ina eli Išdi-aḫêšu f. Šakintu kaspu šaniu*, seems to mean 'at the time (lit. in his year) that he shall flee, for Išdi-aḫêšu, the *šakintu*, double

money.' That I take to mean, if the slave died or ran away the debtor should owe double. Then as usual, on the day the debtor repays his loan the pledge shall be returned. If it be not returned, the *šakintu* shall give the money to Išdi-aḥēšu and presumably he will remain her slave. It seems a rather mixed affair but is reasonable enough. The father pledged his son, he was to owe double if the son died or ran away. When he returned the money, he stipulated that his son should be set free. The son might however prefer to remain a slave in the household of such a distinguished lady, so, if she liked to pay him the money, the father waived his claim upon him. A different view of the transaction is taken in § 468: but as the original is so defaced, I am very doubtful whether either view is correct.

The district intended by *Ḳabal āli* is a little doubtful. We read of a *šakintu* of it, also in nos. 232, 242. The *šakintu* of *Ḳabal āli* in no. 232, is called Aḥi-dalli. On no. 447, she is a *šakintu* of Nineveh; and on no. 643, *Aḥi-TAR-li*, which may be intended for the same person, is a *šakintu* of *Ḳabal Ninûa*. We have only to suppose *alu* to denote Nineveh here, to reconcile the variants. What was meant by the *ḵablu* of a city seems open to doubt. Perhaps its central district as distinguished from its *maḥirtu* or 'outskirts.' But in no. 778, we have mention of several *ḵablu*, plural *ḵab-la-te*, of different cities, each of which seems to be *ina ugari* of its city. The *ugaru*, *H. W. B.* p. 18 a, seems to mean the outskirts itself. There seems to be another word *gablu*, which may be meant in no. 778, used of some sort of garden, or plantation. Thus we read of a *gablu* of (*iṣu*) *ŠA-ŠŪ-GI*, on K 2017, and others are named in the Ḥarran Census tablets. This may be intended in no. 413, line 4; no. 360, line 4; and in no. 778, where in each case the sign *gab* is used. In our case the sign *DE* may perhaps not be read *Ḳabal*, but *šubtu*, or in some other way. But, however it is read, we see that a distinct quarter of Nineveh is meant. The *Ḳabal ḥurâsi* is named on nos. 174, 415, unless we are to read 'the city of the goldsmiths.' The *šakintu* of *Ḳabal Ninûa* is named also on no. 190, and on no. 950, where it is distinguished from *mât maḥirte Ninûa* and *mât maḥirte kišir ešši*.

The name of Ardi-Ištar was borne by a number of people and we have little to distinguish many of them. From *S. A. V.* 724, we have one a servant of the *bél paḥâti* of Ḥaṣu, B.C. 708. A seller, son of Ardi-Ašur, of the city Katkanu, in *Ep. D.*, on no. 622; a

witness of the city ẖurai, on no. 500; a witness, son of a lady ẖi....., in B.C. 698, on no. 328; the seller, son of Abu-erba, brother of Šamaš-bullitāni, of the city ẖurubi, in Ep. A, on no. 623; the son of Ina-ēši-ēreš, on no. 525; a witness, of the city Našibina, B.C. 656, on no. 152; a witness, of the city ẖubaba, in Ep. Q, on no. 165; the agent for Nabû-rihtu-ušur, of the city of the 'washermen,' in Ep. F; the witness, son of Šasānu, in Ep. S, on no. 311; the witness and goldsmith, B.C. 686, on no. 612; are probably all different persons. The son of Tarnugam, of the city ẖubaba, in Ep. Q, on no. 446, may be the same as the one above on no. 165. This was the name of a witness and *aba*, in B.C. 707, on no. 350; of an *aba ša pâni pîkittâti*, on no. 922. These two may be the same. Without title, as the name of a witness, in B.C. 687, on no. 212; in B.C. 686, on no. 28; in B.C. 683, on nos. 89 and 278; in B.C. 670, on no. 42; in Ep. C, on no. 641; in Ep. I, on no. 102; in Ep. P, on no. 225; we have no means of identifying the person intended. As borrower, without title, in B.C. 679, on nos. 83, 84; as seller, in B.C. 680, on nos. 229, 231; on nos. 775, 925; on K 10541, 13208, 13210, we are in no better case. In B.C. 668, a buyer of this name was *eli bitâni*, no. 284; another was *šangû* of Bît Kidmûri, in Ep. R, on no. 642; another was a slave, and witness, on no. 464; a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661; a seller possibly, in B.C. 651, on no. 379; a witness, in B.C. 648, on no. 147; a borrower, in B.C. 648, on no. 7; and the names on K 11806, 82-5-22, 159; serve to complete a list of occurrences that seems to defy analysis.

The name of his son, Išdi-aḥēšu, occurs as that of a neighbour, B.C. 648, on no. 373; and of a witness, in Ep. P, on no. 628. The name of the agent of the *šakintu*, Bêl-ēreš, occurs with the same title, *bêl kâtâti*, in B.C. 680, on nos. 113, 119; in the same year, without title, as witness, on nos. 73, 74; and as seller, on nos. 305, 355. The name is also on K 1560 and App. 3, i. 20.

The first witness, Dannâ, occurs as buyer on no. 251; and on no. 899. A similar name, Dannai, was borne by the lender, B.C. 676, on no. 11; by the lender, B.C. 673, on no. 118; by a witness and *mukil apâti*, B.C. 668, on no. 284; by the seller, on no. 439; by a shepherd, on K 8134. This may be the same as the lender, Dannaia, in B.C. 674, on no. 117. Also Danâ, the lender, B.C. 680, on no. 119; and the witness, B.C. 670, on no. 202, may be the same. So may be Danaia, witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404. The writer of the astrological reports, K 4, 375, 392, 396, 1360, 1423,

all in B.C. 649; and of 82-5-22, 86, in B.C. 648; who calls himself *bêl-têmi*, may well be a different person. He spells his name *Dan-a-a*.

The next witness, Bêl-aḥê, bears the name of a witness, in B.C. 693, or 688, on no. 32; of a borrower, in B.C. 687, on no. 125; of a witness, in Ep. Q, on no. 349; and in our last, no. 66, his 'farm' appears. How the next name is to be read is not clear, Aḥûaši, Aḥualim, seem unlikely. On the whole I prefer to take Aḥua-lâmur. At any rate, I have not met it elsewhere.

The next witness, Ṭâb-šâr-Ištar, bears the name of a witness, in B.C. 710, on no. 234; of a neighbour, in Ep. N, on no. 327; and of a witness, on no. 288. The name of Tabalai, clearly a gentilic, 'from Tabal,' occurs fairly often. A witness, in B.C. 672, on no. 15; a principal, in Ep. T, on no. 618; a witness on no. 159; a witness and *kêpu* on no. 425; a *mušappiu* on no. 775; a *mutir pûti* on no. 840; all bear the name, which also occurs on no. 860 and in the letters K 613, Rm. 51. The name is variously spelt, *Ta-ba-la-a-a*, *Ta-bal-a-a*, *Tab-bal-a-a*, *Tab-la-a-a*, *Tab-ER-a-a*. I think *Tab-al-lu-u-a*, the name of the slave pledged, in Ep. L, on no. 61, is the same. The form *Ta-ba-li* is given as the name of a witness, on no. 275; and *Tab-li*, as a witness in B.C. 695, on no. 569.

The name Mannu-kî-Ninûa occurs as that of a slave sold, B.C. 707, on no. 292; of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 125; of a lender, B.C. 682, on no. 122; of a witness, B.C. 669, on no. 310; of a witness, B.C. 660, on no. 12; of a witness, son of Êmur-Ištar, of the city Bît Hurabi, in Ep. G, on no. 160; of a seller, on no. 471; of a witness, on nos. 209, 590; of a slave sold, on no. 246; beside the letters K 609, 616, 650, 5458, 7534, and on no. 844. The name of Nineveh is distinctly spelt Ninûa in several of these places.

The name of the witness, R. E. 1, is very difficult to read. The traces of *ku* may be *ma-a*, but that would give three *a*'s, one after the other, a very unlikely reading. I have a fancy that *ra* was written, over or upon another sign. The name *Su-ku-ai* is not likely, but compare *Suk-ku-ai* on nos. 9, 204, 386. Sumai occurs on Bu. 89-4-26, 20. *Su-ra-a-a* occurs often in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6859; and may be restored for no. 286, as the name of the seller, in line 2. The name Surâ occurs in the Harran Census.

In the date, the sign *AB*, for Ṭebêtu, seems to lack the vertical at the end. Dr Bezold was therefore probably correct in reading *KAN*, i.e. Kislîmu. On a review of the above names of witnesses,

it will be seen how improbable the date B.C. 748 is. There does not appear to be more than what I give, though the missing signs may have been lightly impressed and defaced by finger marks. On the whole I distinctly incline to suppose that Sin-mušallim, if that was his name, is really a Post Canon Eponym.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

475. No. 68. Complete. Red.

Ubbuku and Širkinuba, his brother, lend Turšu-Ištar, the *sasinnu* of Ašur, thirty shekels of silver. He pledges Nabû-nâdin-aḥi his slave.

The day that he returns the money, his slave shall be released. If he die or run away the loss shall be to his owner.

Dated, the 13th of Ulûlu, B.C. 645. Nine witnesses.

The date is given, *Ep. Can.* p. 96.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 6710.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

In line 2 of the edge, after *duppišu*, we may read *ešibšu*; or *kal*, *dan*, and in the first line of rev. after *kima duppi-šu* we may read *rupi*, or *šubbi*. What these phrases can mean, I do not know in the least; and the tablet is so injured that I am unable to read them. The common phrases, *kî duppi*, *adi duppi u duppi*, etc., see Muss-Arnolt, p. 263 a, do not seem to be intended.

The name of the second witness, on the left-hand edge, may be really *Išdi-di-ri*, with which we may perhaps compare *Išdi-Harran*: or *Išdi-DI-KUT*, i.e. *Išdi-Daiani*.

On rev. edge 1, in place of *Ur*, we may read *NIGIN*, the double *KIL*, which is the ideogram for *paḥâru*: and in place of *ha* we may have *ia*, the form which also serves as the numeral 5. If these readings be accepted, the name may be *Upaḥḥiri-Iau*, instead of *Urriḥa*. Of the next name, only *bu* is now preserved. In line 3, the sign *ad* is much blurred and may have been *Ab*, giving the name *Abdâ*.

The name of the lender is a singular one, Ubbuku, and occurs on no. 857, IV. 12, as a *râb kišir mâr šarri*; in the *Harran Census* as brother of *Kakustu*, and son of *Artalânu*. What appears to be the same name, *U-bu-uk-ki*, is borne by a witness, in B.C. 674, on no. 124; the form *U-bu-ku*, name of a witness on no. 125, in B.C. 687; and *U-bu-ku*, name of a witness, in B.C. 670, on no. 44.

The name of the second lender may be read Muškinu-ilu, if we suppose the *ba* really a badly made *ilu*. But in either case I know of no parallel. The sign *SIS*, which I have taken to mean 'brother' above, may be part of the name. Širkinubasis may be really the name of the lender, perhaps of Elamite extraction.

The reading of the borrower's name as Turšu-Ištar is conjectural. The ideogram *LAL* denotes *tarāšu* and its derivatives. In the first element of names *LAL* occurs in *LAL-Ašur*, a witness, Ep. W, on no. 88; in *LAL-PIN-eš*, a smith, in Ep. H, on no. 50; in *LAL-KAM-eš*, a witness, Ep. A', on no. 414; a witness, on no. 592; a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 672; an irrigator, 'with his people,' on no. 742, line 1; again, line 4, in the city Bît Liḫbiru; again, line 25, in the city Kašpi; again, rev. 12, in Bît Adadi-êreš; again, rev. 32, in *âl šê* of Sakimme. Here we have *LAL-E-XV*, as also in the name of a witness, Ep. 7, on no. 45. A phonetic reading of what I take to be the same name occurs on no. 260, R. 12, as *Tūr-šu-XV*. Hence I read it Turšu-Ištar, and the above names, Turšu-Ašur, Turšu-êreš. With the form of the latter compare *Tu-ḫu-nu-KAM-eš*, i.e. Tuḫunu-êreš, on no. 840, II. 5. This person was a *sasinnu* of Ašur: on the title, see § 200. On the name of the slave pledged, see § 478.

On rev. 3, we expect *HA-A*, but the scribe seems to have written *ZA-A*, a scribal error I think. In the next line, *hi* may now be read after *muḫ*: the line therefore reads *ina muḫ-ḫi bêlišu*. In the date the day is clearly 13, not 12 as in my edition.

The dating of the Eponym as B.C. 645, follows G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 96. As Eponym, Nabû-šar-aḫêšu occurs on no. 24; on the astrological reports, K 359, 83-1-18, 27, 156, and on the prismoid K 1729, where he is *šaknu* of Samaria. The seller on no. 411 bears this name, also found on the letters K 96, 681, 974 (as taken prisoner in Elam), and Rm. 78. He also dates no. 818, not mentioned in the Catalogue.

The name of the first witness is very uncertain, see above. The second witness bore the curious name of Aḫi-abû, compare *PAP-a-bu-u*, the witness, B.C. 694, on no. 281; *PAP-a-bu*, witness, B.C. 675, on no. 167; and *PAP-a-bi*, witness, B.C. 680, on no. 26. So far as these forms are concerned we might as well read Nâšir-abû, but compare Winckler, *A. F. Sec. Ser.* p. 85: and the names Aḫi-immê, Aḫi-ummê, Aḫat-immâi, Aḫat-abiša.

The next name I read Pâni-Ištar-lâmur, 'The face of Ištar may

I see,' a name like Pâni-Ašur-lâmur, Pâni-Nabû-lâmur. The name was also borne by a witness, in B.C. 651, on no. 387; by a seller, on no. 452.

The next witness bears a name that seems to read Ẹitenu, with which I compare Ẹitinu, in no. 21, the witness of B.C. 682. The name Išdi-diri is only found here.

The name Raman-raba is one of the few names which witness to the existence of a god Raman. We have Raman-ibni, in no. 298, the seller in B.C. 680; Raman-nâdin-aplu, the witness, of Šašabinaï, B.C. 681, on no. 269; on both of which we have the determinative *AN* before Raman. There is no witness for Ramman, the long accepted reading of *AN-U*, and *AN-IM*. The name *U-rabâ* occurs as a seller and *tanḡaru*, on no. 197, in B.C. 646 (?), of which a variant seems to be *U-ra-pa'*, the witness and son of Nabû-eṭir, in Ep. A, on no. 325: compare the witness on no. 46. It would, however, be hazardous to conclude from this that while *AN-IM* is Adadi, *AN-U* is Raman, for in many names *AN-IM* is replaced by *AN-U*. But there may be good reason to say that Raman and Adad are the same divinity.

The name Sin-nâ'id was borne by a witness in Ep. S, on no. 311; in Ep. J, on no. 297; in Ep. 7, as a *râb kišir*, on no. 236; by a seller, on no. 195, in B.C. 730 (?); by a buyer, on no. 464; on no. 509, by a witness; by the father of Šanšuru, on no. 22; by a serf, vigniard, in the city Maribe-uarri, on K 2017; occurs on no. 584; and in the letters, K 598, 652, 82-5-22, 93.

476. No. 69. About one quarter of the tablet is gone, but only a character or two is missing at the commencement of each line on the reverse. Light slate colour.

The borrower's name ended in *êreš*. Taribi-Ištar lends him some money, the amount of which is not now preserved. The security was a field, or plot of land, situated near the cities Šu-ra and Dannani, and next the field of Aa-metunu. Its crops he shall enjoy, three *karabḡi* and three *mêriše*: that is for six years possibly. The sum shall be paid off by the value of these crops, and then the field shall be restored. The date has been destroyed. Five witnesses.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

The name Taribi-Ištar appears here in the form *Ta-SU-XV*, where *SU* is the ideogram for *erêbu* 'to increase,' and *Ta* is the

phonetic prefix. As a rule the verb in names does not agree with the feminine subject Ištar. This name is written more ideographically *SU-AN-XV*, as the name of a witness, *amêl MU*, in B.C. 688, on no. 243; phonetically *Ta-ri-bi-AN-XV*, as that of a slave sold, on no. 244; or *Ta-ri-ba-AN-XV*, as that of a witness, *râb kēpê*, B.C. 668, on no. 284.

From the traces, in line 3, the name may be Ninip-êreš or Nêrgal-êreš. The city Šûra, spelt *Šû-û-ra*, occurs in Ašurnâsirpal's inscriptions, III. R. 6, R. 53, 54, as near Mt Hamâni; and the city *Šû-ri-a* occurs in Tiglath Pileser I., in III. R. 5, no. 4, 11, and perhaps on no. 629. The line 5 is now clearer, and before *alu* were traces of *ša*, and the ending *ni* may be *a*. The city Dannâni may be the same as the Dannai, of no. 470, and the city Dania, mentioned by Tiglath Pileser III., in III. R. 10, no. 1, 5 a: and the city Dâna, of 80-7-19, 26. An *âl šê* Danaia named on no. 416, like the *âl šê* Dannâ on no. 377, implies a personal Dannai as holder, after whom the place was named. There was a river Dâna, see *B. A. S.* II. 51. The land Danânu, named in Sargon's Annals, 161, as a remote district of the Aribi, is not likely here. It must be recalled also that all names beginning with *Dan*, may be read *Lab*. Hence we may have a city Labnâni in our text, Labnai in no. 470, and an *âl šê* Labnâ, in no. 377.

In line 6, instead of the remains of *bîr*, we should clearly read traces of *lib*. The field of Aa-metunu is named as a boundary probably. The name Metunu was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 700, *šaknu* of Isana, see III. R. 1, v. 24 and no. 112. Of this name, the variant Mitûnu, is given on nos. 176, 294; Mitunu, on no. 144, 80-7-19, 1: and the same name occurs in the letters, K 1266, 10017, Rm. 65. Our name is unique. I suppose Aa to be the divine name, and that it means 'Aa is our *mitu*,' but what the *mitu* here is intended to mean is very uncertain.

The spelling *kar-ap-ḫi* is welcome alongside the more usual *ka-rap-ḫi*. The word is always associated with *mêrišu*, and seems to denote a treatment of the land, alternating with *mêrišu*, perhaps 'a fallow.' We shall return to it under the leases. The pledge of land exactly corresponds to a lease of the property for a lump sum in advance instead of a yearly rent. We may therefore suppose that this land was leased or pledged for six years; during which time the money lent was to be paid off by the value of the crop. In line 2 of the lower edge, the last two signs are of course meant for *kaspu*:



and probably only *ina* is lost from the first line of reverse. The clause certainly read, *kašpu ina eli šê tarame iddan*: and either meant 'he shall repay himself the money lent from the crop grown,' or is an abbreviated form of the stipulation, that if the borrower redeemed his pledge before the expiry of the six years, 'he shall pay cash for the growing crop.' Then of course the holder would release the pledged field, *eḫlu ušēša*.

The name of the first witness, Siprânu, is clearly the same as the name *Si-pa-ra-nu*, the witness and *šârip taḥšê*, of Til-Ninip, in B.C. 742 (?), on no. 75; and as *Si-par-a-nu*, the witness, B.C. 687, on no. 100: compare the seller, B.C. 682, on no. 276. It seems to me probable that the name is derived from one of the city names Sippara.

The name Au-ilai is interesting as testifying to the existence of a divine name Au. Whether we are to identify with Aa, Ai, Ia, Iau, etc., is too wide a question to decide here. I prefer to keep the forms apart for the present. Compounds of Au are Au-ba'di, Au-bâni, Au-ianu, Au-iddin, Au-idri, Au-killani. If the Au here be identical with that in Au-si', the rendering of Hôshêa, in III. R. 10, no. 2, 17, then it is a rendering of the name seen in Hebrew as Jeho, or Jo; and there can be no doubt of its identity with Iau.

The third witness is named Išdi-Ištar. This is the name of a witness, and *BI-LUL ša sukalli*, in B.C. 716, on no. 382; of a witness, in B.C. 687, on no. 624; of a witness, in B.C. 686, on no. 374; of an *amêl ša bîti* (?) *šaknûte*, no. 857, II. 8. It also occurs B.C. 709, as the name of a *sasinu*, servant of the *bêl paḥâtî* of Kallû, S. A. V. 720.

The next witness, Sin-šar-ušur, bears the name of the Eponym A, *aba mâti*, that is, *aba êkalli*, on nos. 318, 623, and possibly on no. 325. Another Eponym, of the same name, Ep. B, *bêl paḥâtî* of Hindana, occurs on no. 207, and a third possibly, called an *amêl arku*, as Ep. A', on no. 414. The name is borne by a witness, B.C. 692, on no. 324; by the lender, a *šanû*, in B.C. 693, or 688, on no. 32; by a witness and *mukîl apâtî*, B.C. 671, on no. 41; a lessee, *šanû* of Laḫîru, B.C. 670, on no. 625; by a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 663, on no. 56; in B.C. 649, on K 392; a neighbour in Nineveh, Ep. A, on no. 325; a witness and *mutîr pûti*, in Ep. A, on no. 318; a witness, son of Nabû-nâšîr, of Hubabai, in Ep. Q, on no. 446; a borrower, Ep. λ, on no. 136; as buyer on no. 334; an *âsû* on no. 851, II. 12, an *âsû* on Sm. 471; and is often

named in the letters K 585, 824, 1425, 1588, 7484, 82-5-22, 167, 83-1-18, 84, 99, 105, as well as being named on nos. 813, 844, 849, 851, 931. The curious variant Sin-šar-uzur is noticed as Eponym on no. 2: see § 407. Clearly the above references concern more than one person of this name. There are traces of *AN* before *XXX* in line 6.

The last witness is called Šamaš-upaḥir. This was the name of the Eponym in B.C. 709, *šaknu* of Kurruri. As such he dates K 2682, 2685, 2689, 3670. This was also the name of the Eponym in B.C. 876, see III. R. 1, v. 16, and variants, III. R. 1, i. 35, and variants. In *V. R.* 44, 50, we have this as the name of an ancient Babylonian ruler, on K 631, as a writer to the King; on no. 105, as witness and *ša šēpâ*, in Ep. Z. The comparison of the names is very instructive for the reading of ideograms, we have the variants, *AN-UD-û-pa-ḥîr*, *AN-UD-UB-LA*, *AN-UD-NIGIN*, *AN-Ša-maš-ŠAB-ri*, *AN-Ša-maš-û-pa-ḥîr*, *DUL-DUL-AN-GIŠ-ŠIR*, *AN-UD-û-paḥ-ḥîr*.

That the date is B.C. 692, is a conjecture from the remains of the Eponym's name. It ended in *za-a*, which could be the end of *Zâzâ*, perhaps a variant of *Zazai*. This name is spelt on no. 324, *Za-za-a*, he is there *šaknu* of Arpadā; as *Za-za-a-a*, on nos. 33, 440; as *Za-za-ia*, on no. 189; as *Za-za-ku*, on no. 286. A closely related, if not identical, name, is *Zâzî*, who appears as *mukîl apâti* of the *râb BI-LUL*, in B.C. 688, on nos. 238, 240, and perhaps 236; as witness on no. 252; as lender, in B.C. 712, on no. 5. This name is spelt *Za-a-zi-i*, on no. 239, as the *mukîl apâti* of the *BI-LUL*, in B.C. 688, and witness. Also the Eponym on no. 158, is *Za-zi-e*; hence the series of names probably are all variants of one and the same name. The name *Zi-zi-i* is borne by a witness and *tamkaru*, B.C. 686, on no. 285; by an *ikkaru* in B.C. 669, on no. 366; by a witness and *šanû ša râb kišir*, B.C. 663, on no. 309; witness and *šanû ša râb kišir*, in Ep. A, on no. 623; in Ep. F, with same title, on no. 361; with additional title of *mutîr pûti* in Ep. F, on no. 621; as witness and *šanû ša râb urât*, in Ep. A, on no. 318; as witness and *šanû*, on no. 211; as witness and *mutîr tēmi*, on no. 253; as neighbour, on no. 597, as witness, on no. 573; as buyer and *šakû šarri*, on no. 434; as 'irrigator, with his people,' in Adizâni, on no. 742; as *bârû*, on no. 851, II. 3; as writer of K 1423, and named on Sm. 1198. The *šanû ša râb kišir* and witness, in Ep. Q, on no. 308, is called *Zi-zi-e*. The name appears

as *Zi-e-zi-i*, on no. 884; and *Zi-zi* is the name of a *kêpu*, on no. 857, III. 3.

477. No. 70. Upper half. Light slate colour.

The document opens like a sale. Silim-ilu, the *râb kišir*, apparently was owner of some land described as an *âl še* in *mât Harite*. It is specified as a parcel of twenty-two homers and one *pa*, a field near the fields of three neighbours whose names are mutilated. Other fields must have been mentioned on the lost portion—for in line 3 of rev., we learn there were in all a lot of eight homers and one *pa*: all *zakûte*, and not grass land (?) in the city of Barûhu. This estate is transferred to the lady Abi-râmi, sister of the Queen-Mother, in lieu of half a mina of silver, and pledged as security. She shall enjoy three *karabhi* and three *mêrišê*; the money she shall take from the growing crops, and then restore the field.

Dated the 11th of Simânu, B.C. 674. Three witnesses from the city of Barûhu and another.

In this year, of course, Esarhaddon was king. The Queen-Mother was, as we know, Nakia (or Zakûtu, as the Assyrians called her). The lady Abi-râmi was therefore maternal aunt of Esarhaddon.

Now that the tablet is perfectly clean, some fresh readings are possible. There does not seem to have been room for *kunukku* at the beginning of the first line; and in the name, *UD* is very indistinct. The name Silim-Šamaš would be the only case of its occurrence, while Silim-ilu is the name of the witness, *ša eli kišâti*, B.C. 700, on no. 112; of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 44; of a witness and *šangû*, on no. 245; of a witness, on no. 637; of a *râb kišir mâr šarri*, on no. 857, I. 38; and of the principal, in Ep. T, on no. 618.

With *mât Harite*, which only occurs here, we may compare *mât Hirutu*, which Sargon, Annals 264, puts in Gambûli. There was a city Haridi in *mât Suhu*, I. R. 23, 14; I. R. 24, 34, 37.

In line 4, there is now no trace at the beginning, but at the end before *AN* are traces of *har*, or *šu*. In line 6, the homer is very indistinct and *šu* seems to have followed *pa*. The sign *pa* denotes a fifteenth of the *gur*, and if three homers make one *gur* we have here twenty-two homers and one-fifth.

How the names of the neighbours should be completed is difficult to decide. Ahi-iababa would suit the first. This was the name of the upstart king in Bît-Adini, I. R. 18, 76 etc. Also it was the name of the buyer, B.C. 698, on no. 468. But we might also

complete it Aḫi-iamnu, which was the name of a neighbour in Laḫiru, B.C. 670, on no. 625. As we know the Queen-Mother resided in Laḫiru, this seems most likely. Aḫi-iaḫāmu, Aḫi-iaḫar, are also to be thought of. The second name now clearly shews *Ilu-la*..... for which I know no parallel. *Ilu-lârim*, *Ilu-lâmur* may be imagined.

On the reverse, traces of signs may be seen all along the edge but I can make nothing of them. In line 2, the first two signs may be *zêr*, and for *su* we might read *li*, but these readings do not seem to me to give any sense. The term *zakû* applied to land generally seems to mean 'free,' from imposts or duty. But it may be here intended to shew that the holder was to be set free from any claim on the part of the mortgagor to the use of the crops. I should read *zakûte lâ šê šibšu išabbaš*; 'the lands are free, the grass crop he shall not tread down.'

The city Baruhu occurs again below as the place of residence of the first three witnesses. In neither place is the last sign free from doubt, here it could be *ri*, there it might be *tar*. So far as I know the place is not elsewhere named, cf. the personal name Baruhu-ilu.

In line 9, instead of *me*, we can read *mi* clearly. As in the last number and generally in the leases, the three *karaphi* and three *mêrišê* involve a six years' tenure. Here we have in full the phrase *kaspu ina eli šê tarâmi išakkan*, 'the money for the growing crop he shall lay down.'

The first witness is named Aḫû-êreš, or as it was probably read, Aḫ-êreš. The name is borne by a witness, B.C. 690, on no. 55; a neighbour, in Singara, B.C. 660, on no. 444; a witness, in Ep. W, on no. 177. The next name, Nabû-šarrâni, which I take to mean 'Nabû our king,' is that of a witness and *râb ali* of Nineveh, on no. 261; on no. 851, as an *ušku*; and as *aba* of Aššur, son of Nabû-šum-ušur, on 79-7-8, 190, and on Sm. 2015.

The next name ends in *SU*, that is to say in *erba*, probably. These three were all from the city Baruhu. The traces in line 3 are now clearer perhaps, there seems to be one horizontal, *ÁŠ* or the end of *ŠI*, *PI*, or *ME*, then *a* is certain, and *šak* probably follows.

The name of the Eponym is written, as here, *LUGAL-nu-ri*, in III. R. I. VI. 7: on no. 857, III. 40, as a *bêl narkabti*; on no. 841; *MAN-nu-ri*, as Eponym, on no. 117; *LUGAL-ŠAB*, as *bêl paḫâti*,

on no. 853; as Eponym, on no. 126; *MAN-ŠAB*, as Eponym, III. R. 1, VI. 7, on nos. 383, 404, and as witness, *rāb alāni*, on no. 476. He was *šaknu* of Bar-ḫalza. This place appears as *Bar-ḫal-za*, on nos. 404, 447, K 122, 1113, 83-1-18, 75; as *Bar-ḫal-zi*, on nos. 115, 294, 675; as *Ḫalza* simply, on no. 533, in which places it is called *mât*. As a city, *ahu*, *Bar-ḫal-za* occurs on nos. 116, 468, 853; as *Bar-ḫal-zu*, on no. 468; as *Bar-ḫa-za*, on no. 919. Hence I think we may compare the district, *nagû*, of *Bar-ḫa-zi-ia*, named by Tiglath-Pileser III. From no. 447 we may conclude it was near Rašappa.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 a, regards this as a 'sale of a house.'

478. No. 71. Only a fragment. Red.

Here also we have to deal with the mortgage of an estate, to Marduk-bêl-ušur, the *šalšu* of Ša-Nabû-sû. The loan was advanced to Mannu-kî-Adadî, its amount was at least 50 shekels of silver: and the estate was to be held in pledge for three years. The word 'years,' *šanâti*, occurs in three lines, but nothing else is left to shew what the clauses were. The day that he returns the money the estate will be released.

Both date and witnesses are gone.

This tablet is shaped like a deed, not like a money or loan tablet. The phrase, in line 1, on the lower edge (*ana*) *šabirti* (*šakin*) alone justifies its place. The references to the *šê nušaḫi*, the number of years, and the trace of *ušeša* seem to confirm the view. It is possible that in place of the usual *ana III šanâti ikkal* 'he shall enjoy three years,' we have here *ušab* for *ikkal*; i.e. 'he shall inhabit.' But the very fragmentary condition prevents any great certainty.

In line 1, the traces are not to be recognised. In line 3, the name Marduk-bêl-ušur is the same as that of the Eponym, B.C. 727, *šaknu* of Amêdi, III. R. 1, IV. 43; of the neighbour, B.C. 716, on no. 382; and of the principal, on no. 348. The name of his master is here Ša-Nabû-sû. This seems to be a variant of Ša-Nabû-šû, 'of Nabû is he.' This name was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 656, on nos. 48, 49, 152, 702, K 11446, III. R. 1, VI. 28. The name occurs on enquiries of the oracle of Šamaš, *G. A. S.*, nos. 17, 57, 58, on K 433, as son of Nabû-nâsir, at Erech, B.C. 648; on no. 128, as witness, B.C. 665; on K 13155, 81-2-4, 78. On no. 890, he appears as *rāb šakê*; his son is named on no. 880, I. 15.

Mannu-kî-Adadî, evidently the borrower, is discussed in § 471.

479. No. 72. Only a part of the text is preserved. On the

obverse which has 12 lines the writing extends to what is really the bottom of the tablet. On the reverse some three or four lines are lost at the beginning: but the writing goes down to the end of the text. Colour dark brown to black. In line 1, was probably *kunûk*, followed by the name of the borrower, which ends in *-êreš*. The lender seems to have been Nusku-ušur, who advances money on behalf of Ištar of Arbaili. In line 4, appears the end of the borrower's name, written now *-êriš*. The pledge is the girl Lâmašši, who is to remain ten days redeemable. If at the end of that time the money is not repaid she is to become the property of the lender outright, that is she is to be considered sold and taken. Dated, the 7th of Addaru, B.C. 677. Three witnesses.

The peculiarity about this tablet is that, so far as preserved, the reverse is the duplicate of the obverse.

The phrase *ana šabri kammusat*, cf. no. 61, seems a variant to *ana šabirti šaknu*. In obv. 8, *AT* is written twice by the scribe: of course this is an error.

This is not a pillow shape as loan tablets usually are.

Of course, we are not able to restore the name of the debtor, the master of Lâmašši, who is pledged, but the mortgagee, Nusku-ušur, or Nusku-nâšir, seems fairly certain, though the name only occurs here.

The name of the first witness, Arbailai, is partly discussed in § 409. The name appears first as that of a witness, B.C. 748 (?), on no. 412; as *šalšu* and witness, B.C. 712, on no. 5; as neighbour in Bît Dagan, B.C. 707, on no. 350; as witness and *eli kišâte*, B.C. 700, on no. 112; as witness, B.C. 695, on no. 34; witness and *ša šêpâ*, B.C. 688, on no. 400; witness and *râb išparê*, B.C. 686, on no. 453; witness, B.C. 680, on nos. 3 and 26; witness, B.C. 677, on no. 72; borrower and *šanû*, B.C. 671, on no. 121; witness, B.C. 669, on no. 310; borrower and *šanû* of Bar-ḫalzi, B.C. 664, on no. 115; as Eponym, B.C. 661, on nos. 586, 782, 993, where he is *tukultu rabû*, III. R. 1, VI. 19; as witness and *rakbu ša šêpâ*, Ep. B, on no. 207; witness and *mukîl apâti*, Ep. 1, on no. 326; as seller and servant of the *šakintu*, on no. 261; witness and *ša šêpâ* of the Crown Prince, on no. 312; as borrower and *šanû* of Bar-ḫalzu, on no. 116; witness and *râb kêpê*, on no. 241; witness, on nos. 92, 291, 339, seller, on no. 424; on nos. 706, 844, 857, 902, 913; and in letters K 554, 80-7-19, 24; 83-1-18, 67.

Sagibû has been discussed in § 463, Barrukku in § 465. The

name of the Eponym Abi-râmu is found on nos. 194, 576, 701, K 1658, III. R. 1, v. 4; III. R. 2, 50, no. XXIII. He was *sukallu rabû*, in the ivth year of Esarhaddon. We may compare the female name Abi-râmi, of Esarhaddon's maternal aunt. We know that Esarhaddon's mother played the part of ruler of the kingdom in his absence, and that many ladies were made governors of cities. Is it possible that the lady Abi-râmi was made *sukallu rabû* and so became an Eponym? The absence of the feminine determinative seems against that. In line 10, I have given the wrong form of *amêl*. On reverse, line 6, at end *MEŠ* is now clear, instead of *me*. In line 9, a *ki* is now clear after *AN* in Arbailai.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

480. The next three documents, nos. 73-5, seem to follow naturally here. Although the phrase *ana šabirti šakin* is absent, the nature of the transactions seems to imply it.

#### *Abstracts of nos. 73-75.*

No. 73 and no. 74. Tablet and case. The inner tablet no. 73 is 'pillow' shaped and complete. The outer case no. 74 has only lost a very small piece. Brown.

Here the document begins by stating the nature of the security, five homers of land, belonging to Êdu-šallim, in *ûl* Kar-Au. Then we read that Mušêzibu gave Êdu-šallim two-thirds of a mina of silver. The two-thirds of a mina of silver Mušêzibu shall acquire from the field, and, on the day that the two-thirds mina of silver shall be given to Mušêzibu by Êdušallim his field shall be released. Dated, the 16th of Aaru, B.C. 680.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92.

The tablet is described in the Guide, p. 174, no. 39.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 a, regards this as a 'sale of fields (?).'

The text is published, in transliteration and translation, by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 184. Oppert did not give the number, probably it was not then numbered. Bezold Cata. p. 564 does not seem to have known this edition.

Oppert reads three homers, in line 1, in place of five.

In line 2, he reads *ilu* for Au.

In line 3, he gives one *mana*, in place of two-thirds.

In line 1, of lower edge, he gave *ana bar sa* in place of two-thirds *MA-NA*.

In rev. line 1, he has *se zir* for *SE-mu*, and then gives *me su...* for *A-LIB-šu*.

In consequence, as he says, the sense is very obscure. It is not too much to say that with a clear text before him he would have given a luminous rendering of it. It is superfluous to point out the misconceptions of a rendering based on such a corrupt text.

He seems in line 5 rev. of no. 74, for Bêl-êreš to have read Bel-la-sin, evidently reading *la* in place of *PIN*.

For Zêr-Ištar, he reads Bi-il-lu, and for Ištar-bâb-êreš, reads Ilu-bab-essis.

For Lu-u-ba-laṭ, he reads Lu-zib-balat, and for La-tu-baša-ni-lu he has Ab-tir-u-ni-el.

After Manṣuate he gives no more, omitting the edges of both outer and inner tablets.

The name Êdu-šallim is interesting because it shews that some god was called 'The One,' or 'only God.' Another spelling seems to be *ÁŠ-šal-lim*, which has been read Ašur-šallim: but as one of the meanings of *ÁŠ* is *êdu*, and it is used as the numeral 'one,' I think we should read *ÁŠ-šallim* as Êdu-šallim. No doubt, Ašur was the god meant by an Assyrian in any case, I only doubt if he said Ašur in this name.

The name Au in Kar-Au can hardly be anything but a divine name, when we compare Kar-Ašur, Kar-Bêlit, Kar-Duniaš, Kar-Ištar, Kar-Kašši, Kar-Nabû, Kar-Ninâ, Kar-Nêrgal, Kar-Ninib, Kar-Sin, Kar-Šamaš. That it was the divine name for Assyrians is not proved by their writing Au-bi'di as a variant to Ilu-bi'di: nor does this seem any sound reason for reading Au, when written so, as *ilu*.

It is interesting to note that Danânu the Eponym is said to be *arkû šá Kar-Au*, or *šá arkû âl Kar-Au*. This way of writing the information forbids us to take *šá* as = 'of,' we must read 'who was *arkû* of Kar-Au.' There was an office expressed by *amêl arkû*, perhaps the same as the *šanû*: but we may doubt if that is meant here. I believe it means, 'who was afterwards of Kar-Au.' Whether that implies that during his Eponymy Danânu was removed from Manṣuate to Kar-Au, or that he had once been *arkû* of Kar-Au I cannot tell. The place is not otherwise known.

In line 5 of no. 73, line 5 of no. 74 we find *E-DAN*, written also *DAN-E*. Oppert observed this, and read *erib*. It should be *erab*, if it has anything to do with *rabû* to increase: *erib* should



be part of *erîbu* to 'enter,' perhaps used in the sense of returning money. That is unlikely, however, and I read *ekal* a by-form to *ikkal*, which is commonly used, for taking the usufruct of an estate.

An interesting variant is shewn by the name Nabû-dumuḫ-ilâni: in line 2 of rev. no. 73 we have *ŠI-PIR*, in line 2 of rev. no. 74 we have *SIK*. So that we have to admit *SIK* = *damâḫu*, a value not given in Brünnow.

A comparison of line 1 of rev. edge on no. 73, with the second name in line 5 of rev. 74, shews that *KUR*, *PAP* may be read *bâb* before *êreš*. This suggests the reading *bâb* in many places where it has been read *aḫu*, but does not necessarily imply a frequent use in that way. One must bear in mind the possibility, that is all.

The name Êdu-šallim only occurs here, but *ĀŠ-šallim*, is the name of a witness, in B.C. 682, on nos. 122, 123; a lender in B.C. 669, on no. 103; and depositor of slave, B.C. 663, on nos. 153, 154, where he appears as son of Aplu-uṣur.

Mušêzibu, of which no. 74 gives the variant Mušêzib, only occurs here and in Sargon's *Annals*, 281, as the name of the *nasîku* of Iatburu.

The name of the first witness, Nabû-dumuḫ-ilâni, or Nabû-dumuḫ-ilâni, is that of a witness, on no. 209; and is named on K 1241, 5400. The name Iltappa seems unique. The name Abi-dânu does not occur elsewhere. The witness Bêl-êreš has been discussed in § 472. The name Lû-balât, which occurs as that of a seller, B.C. 681, on no. 269, may be also the reading of *Lu-u-TI-LA*, the witness and neighbour in the city Ẹurûbi, in Ep. A, on no. 623; and of *Lu-TI-LA*, a *susânu ûrê* on no. 852, IV. 1. But we should rather expect to read these names Lûballit. The name Lû-balât seems likely to be shortened from some such name as Bêl-lû-balât-uṣur.

The name Marduk-danan would be only found here: but unfortunately I am not able to read the traces clearly. Iṣtar-bâb-êreš, is also the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 40; and according to Catalogue, p. 2064 b, may be written *Iṣtar-bâb-SA-TAR*. With this latter form we may compare the Istar-bâb-sapi who is a witness on no. 127, in B.C. 681. A number of names begin with Iṣtar-bâb, where the *bâb* is written with the sign *KÁ*. There is no doubt this means 'gate.' Iṣtar-bâbu recalls the *Bâbu* which is a by-form of *Bau*; and raises the question whether

*Ištar-bâbi* may not be a single divinity and a special name of Bau. Such a name as *Ištar-bâbu-ilai* points to this, and certainly *bâbu* is not the object of the verb in *Ištar-bâbu-aḥ-iddin*. Here our name is 'Ištar-bâbu the protector.' The exact sense of *êreš* is difficult to deduce from *erêšu*, 'to irrigate,' it may mean 'to cultivate,' 'care for.' As the next name shews, Ištar was interested in that growth of men which takes its terms from the operations of the field.

The name *Zêr-Ištar*, where *Zêr* means 'seed,' in the sense of 'child,' occurs as that of a witness and chief weaver, B.C. 683, on no. 447; of a witness, B.C. 682, on nos. 122, 123; of a witness, B.C. 676, on nos. 330, 502; a witness and *aba*, B.C. 670, on no. 257; as a witness and *râb kišir*, in Ep. N, on no. 327.

On no. 74, rev. 2, in the last name read *SIK* in place of *EN*. In line 4, we have a fresh witness, *Šamaš-taklak*, unless this is the true reading of *Marduk-danan*, in line 6, of no. 73. The name was borne by a witness, B.C. 682, on nos. 122, 123; by a principal, Ep. T, on no. 618, and occurs on K 558, Sm. 911. The recognition of the reading of *UR* as *bašû* and its derivatives was long in coming. So far as I know, Dr H. Winckler led the way, with his recognition that in the Tell el Amarna Tablets, *UR* = *baštu*, *K. B. v. vocabulary* p. 12\*. Mr Pinches, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 897, shewed from a consideration of the variants of our name, that *UR* = *bašû*. This name, here written, *La-tu-UR-ni-ili*, is *La-UR-ni-ili* as the name of a witness, B.C. 693, on nos. 120, 162; is *La-UR-a-ni-ili*, as the name of a borrower, B.C. 686, on no. 134; but phonetically written *La-tu-ba-ša-a-ni-ili*, as the name of a witness, B.C. 688, on no. 243; and B.C. 685, on no. 135. With some doubt as to the ending, whether *AN* alone or some other divine name was there written, the same name is borne by a workman, B.C. 734, on no. 90; by a witness and *išparu ša bît sukalli*, B.C. 734, on no. 415, and on no. 852. Another specimen writing of the name is given, App. 1, x. 37, as *NU-UR-an-ni-AN*. Mr Pinches renders the name, 'Make me not ashamed, O God.' An exact parallel is *La-tu-ba-ša-an-ni-Adadi*, the name of a witness on no. 260; and so is *La-tu-ba-ša-a-ni-Ištar*, the name of a witness on no. 243. Another name *La-tu-UR-ana-ili*, where *ana* is written *TIS*, the name of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 100; might cause us doubt; but we find *Rîm-ana-ili* interchanging with *Rîmâni-ili*, so that we must suppose this use of *ana* a clerical error, or that *TIS* could

stand for *āni* as well as *ana*. One result of this discussion is that we may suppose the name *NU-UR*, of the Eponym T, on no. 618, to be read Latubašāni, 'Shame me not.' The *UR* further in Ašur-UR-nišēšu may be read *baštu* or *baltu*, so that we have Ašur-baltu-nišēšu.

The Eponym, Danānu, here said to be 'of Manšuâte, afterwards of Kar-Au,' is known from III. R. 1, vi. 1, to be of B.C. 680: and from no. 631 to be of Marḡasa. Whether the places Kar-Au, Manšuâte, Marḡasa are to be identified, or lay so close as to give title to the same province, or whether the Eponym of Marḡasa is to be placed at a later date, I am not able to decide. In this Eponymy are dated nos. 3, 26, 113, 119, 164, 229, 298, 359, 360, 631. The name does not occur elsewhere.

481. No. 75. Has only a few ends of lines left on the obverse and may have lost a line or two at the bottom edge. Pale slatey grey.

I conclude that this was a loan upon security solely from the fact that lines 6 ff. of rev. read, *mannu šá... manê kaspi ana Mušallim-Ištar iddanūni amēl adi nīšēšu ušēša*, 'whoever shall pay so many minas of silver to Mušallim-Ištar, the slave and people shall be released.' The borrower's name may have ended in *-nā'id*. The text was dated the 26th of Šabātu B.C. 742.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 83: where the registration mark is wrongly given as K. 427.

An extract is given *S. A. V.* 7885.

The first sign in the name of the Eponym may as well be Ašur as Nabû, see Bezold Catalogue, p. 104, note †: but the only Eponym in Tiglath-Pileser III's reign whose name ends in *-dan-in-a(n)ni* and who is also *turtānu* is Nabû-danināni. The date must therefore be B.C. 742.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

On the obverse, there is room at the end of line 1, for *iškun*: line 2, therefore began with *šupur*. In line 3, the traces of *imer* are not at all clear, they are more like *ab* and there is no mention of land being pledged in rev. 6. At the ends of lines 3 and 4 there was room for more. At the end of lines 5 and 10, *šak* was written, not *di*, as I gave.

The name of the lender was not Mušallim-Šamaš, as I gave hesitatingly, but now clearly Mušallim-Ištar, where Ištar is written with the sign *NANNU*, Brünnow's no. 949. This same form of the name occurs on no. 320, for the buyer, B.C. 691; on nos. 492, 497,

for a buyer and *ràb alâni*. Now on no. 180, the buyer and *ràb alâni ša ràb šâki* has his name spelt *Mu-DI-XV*; compare the buyers on nos. 480, 486; while in B.C. 714, on no. 248, the buyer is called *Mu-šal-lim-AN-XV*. There seems every probability that these names are the same and refer to the same person.

The first witness Siparânu has been discussed in § 474. For *bit* read *DAN*, i.e. *riḫ*, the title is *šâriḫ taḫšê*, a dyer of fleeces, or of leather. The next name Aššurai, where Aššur is written *LIB-ER*, is of course a gentilic and means 'inhabitant of the city of Aššur.' A fuller writing, *ALU-LIB-ER-a-a*, is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 694, on no. 272; of a witness on no. 464; and is a specimen name, App. I. IX. 11. The name *ALU-ḪI-a-a*, borne by a principal, Ep. T, on no. 618, is to be read Eridai. The name *AŠ-ŠUR-a-a*, which may mean 'Assyrian,' occurs on K. 5424 a.

The next witness, Ašur-šallim-aḫê, bears the same name as the buyer, and the witness of the city Du'ua, in B.C. 748, on no. 412; and the seller, on nos. 270, 271. A witness of this name, brother of Ašur-uballiṭ, in Ep. A, occurs on no. 325; and the name occurs also in the letter 82-5-22, 122. Here he is a *mukil apâti*. Sin-iddin, in line 11, was a *šalšu*. After *amêl*, III *ḪU-SI* may now be clearly read. The form Sin-iddina occurs in I. R. 3, no. IX. 4, no. XX. 1; IV. R. 36, no. 2, 6, 21; and on K. 1159, Rm. 77, 81-7-27, 31. The next name is too uncertain to be read: Paršî would be unique, Šamaš-šî unlikely. The name Biḫî is unique, but compare Baḫî, the name of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 383; and the country Baḫî (or mountain?), in III. R. 50, no. 4, 32. Baḫai gave his name to an *âl šê* in nos. 472, 625, 627.

The name Immani-Ašur only occurs here, but we may compare Imâni-ilu, the name of a witness B.C. 691, on no. 286, and the Heb. Immanu-el. The witness, Ia-ai, bears a name that is unique. Is it a gentilic from the *mât* Ia', which Sargon, Ann. 383, puts in Atnana, which was 'seven days' journey in the midst of the sea,' see Winckler's Sargon, Pr. 145, Pp. IV. 42, III. R. 11, II. 28. The city *I-ia-ia* is named by Ašurnâsirpal, I. R. 22, 16; III. R. 6, R. 34. Is this the Ivah of the Old Testament, whose gods had been deposed by the Assyrian king? The restoration, in line 14, is made according to what precedes, but the summation may not extend to all before it. The last witness, with a title, being Sin-iddin, perhaps only the four witnesses which follow are meant. The city Tîl-Ninip only occurs here. Perhaps this place could be the same as the Tîl-bâri of

Ašurnāširpal, 1. R. 23, 130; 1. R. 26, 123; near Zaban, or the Tīl-Bīt-bāri of 11. R. 65, no. 1, III. 11.

The next witness, Ašur-nādin-aḥê, 'of the city of the *šâḫê*,' seems with the preceding, to have completed the list of 'witnesses who were servants of the *amêl*...' It seems as if a sign that may be read *dî* or *šak* was on the edge at the end of this line. If so, perhaps the lost title was *râb šâḫi*. But the trace may belong to the end of the next line.

I am inclined to suppose Nadî was all the name of the next witness, but it is impossible to be sure. For the name we may compare the city Nadi'. This witness was the *aba šâbit danniti*, or *egirti*, or *duppi*. Hence I think the sign on the edge must belong to the last line, not to this. The probabilities of the date are discussed above. The name Nabû-daninâni was that of the Eponym, B.C. 743-2, Tartan, see III. R. 1, IV. 27. The name also occurs on K. 4522, and as a specimen, App. 1, 1. 37. Another Eponym of the same name, *šaknu* of Kue, is Ep. K, on no. 329, and no. 593. Whether *ina tarṣi* means 'in the time of,' or by 'direction of,' it fixes the Eponymy to the reign of a Tiglath-Pileser.

482. The succeeding numbers 76 to 80 deal with assignments of property in lieu of money, *kûm kaspi*, or in payment of debt. They are, of course, distinct from loans on security, but similar in formula.

*Abstracts of nos. 76-80.*

No. 76. Complete. Light red.

In lieu of money, Bêlit-ittîa, the maid of the *šakintu*, is assigned to the lady Sinki-Ištar. As long as she lives, she shall serve her. Dated, the 14th of Aaru, B.C. 652.

The text is published, in transliteration and translation, by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 146 f.

The script is peculiar, and for the sign *HI* the wedges are written closely together, so that *HAR* looks very like *šu*. This peculiarity misled Dr Peiser; in line 3, he reads *Ša-rik-te* for *Ša-kin-te*, and says in a note that *rik* is written with the sign *šu*. So, in line 4, what he read as *kab* is really *KI*, the three horizontal wedges being written obliquely, like *zib*. The scribe ignored genders, *adi balaṭûni* would be 'as long as he lives,' when all the parties are females. If we take this impersonally, then he has written *šu*, 'him,' in place of *ša*, 'her.' However he does say *tapallaḥ*, 'she shall serve.' In rev. line 6, as

Dr Peiser remarks, *ba* seems to be written for *na*. A name Isabai is possible, but Isanai, 'he of Isana,' is more likely.

Dr Peiser calls this document a *Dienstvertrag über eine Sklavin*.

The Catalogue, p. 1590, correctly terms it, 'a private contract concerning the transfer of a female slave in composition of a debt,' *kûm kaspi*. On p. 2001 a, it is entered as a private contract, being 'an agreement of servitude.'

The name Bêlit-ittîa, could be read Bêlit-kîa. It does not occur again.

The name Sinî-Ištar, here borne by a lady, is also a masculine name, that of an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in Bît-Likbiru; of another, 'with his people,' in Anduli, both on no. 742; and of a third, 'with his people,' on no. 743. The more usual form, Sinî-Ištar, was the name of the principal, on no. 110. This latter probably excludes the reading Ešî-Ištar, which we might deduce from *H. U. B.* p. 476.

The date is given after G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 70: see III. R. 1, VI. 32. The same Eponymy is named in the letter K 553. The name Ašur-nâsir is borne by the seller, B.C. 670, on no. 181; by the seller on no. 199, by an *amêl DAN-DAN-GUR* on no. 857, II. 29; and occurs in the letters K 896, 978, 1963, 2889; 83-1-18, 64, 276.

The name of the first witness Nabû-šêzibâni, was borne by a witness, B.C. 665, on no. 237; occurs on no. 680; and the letter K 1883; and as a specimen, in App. 1, I. 32. This was also the name of a son of Nikû, Necho, set up by Ašurbânipal as Lord in Hâtîariba, III. R. 29, no. 1, 1. Further it occurs as the name of a witness, *šakû šarri ša eli bît šarrâni*, B.C. 656, on nos. 48, 49; of an *amêl NI-SUR* on no. 775, and of the seller, on no. 353.

Ašur-eîrâni only occurs here, but Ašur-eîr, a *râb kâsir*, is named on no. 699. The name Iamanni, like Iamannû, the witness, and *râb hanšâ*, in B.C. 659, on no. 233; and Iâmâni, the seller, in Ep. P, on no. 214; forcibly reminds us of Iamani, the king of Ashdod, in Sargon's Annals, 220, and often, see Winckler's Sargon, of which a variant was Iatna. As the land Iâmanu, or Javan, in III. R. 39, 5, is clearly Ionia, or some Greek people, our name is surely also to be rendered 'Greek,' and these places therefore point to Greeks in the service of Ašurbânipal.

The name Šâr-Ištar, 'Wind of Ištar,' i.e. 'breath of Ištar'(?), or a reference to the 'evening breeze,' occurs as that of a witness, in Ep. P, on no. 628; of a neighbour, in Ep. C, on no. 373, and on

no. 429; of a *šalšu* of the *amêlu ša eli bitâni*, on no. 260; of a witness, on no. 267.

The name Isanai, gentilic from Isana, is also the name of a witness, B.C. 671, on no. 121; of a witness on nos. 267, 590.

483. No. 77. A portion only is preserved. It was not pillow shaped. Light red.

The fragmentary condition of the tablet leaves some points uncertain but as far as I can make out someone has pledged a slave, for seventy minas of bronze, to serve his creditor for life. Whether Nabûa, in line 2, is the creditor or debtor does not appear quite certain. The meaning of the word *iptaṭra*,<sup>\*</sup> clearly from *paṭâru* 'to free,' but also 'to loose' does not help much here.

At the beginning of line 4, *ma'da* may mean 'interest,' and the scribe perhaps meant to say that the slave's work or service should be a set-off, *sartu*, for this interest: the verb at the end of the line may be *ilî*, i.e. 'shall avail.' The text goes on more intelligibly, 'whoever hereafter, either his brothers, or his *šaknu*, or his people, or his *bêl-paḥâti*, or the *ḥazânu* of his city, or his *šaknu* that shall come, and bring (?), and 'pay the seventy minas of bronze, the slave shall be released.' Then follow traces of perhaps seven witnesses. No trace of the date is left. The British Museum label calls it 'a contract for copper.'

We have a valuable enumeration here of the people and officials who could be expected to redeem the pledge. In nos. 60 and 73, we have *mannu ša*, 'whoever' shall repay the money, the slave shall be released. It is clearly not meant that anyone who came along could take away the slave on paying what had been lent on him. The *mannu ša* is an abbreviation of the list here given at length.

In line 1, there are more traces of characters to be seen, which are hardly to be read, but there may have been more after *im*.

In line 4, in place of *hi*, either *tiš* or *liš* may be written.

In line 7, the *GAR-šu* may be read *šašu*, and *amêlu šašu* is, perhaps, 'the person himself.' Though *amêl GAR* sometimes means *šaknu*, we already have had the *šakin*, in line 6, which makes it unlikely that we have the *šaknu* again here.

In line 11, for *ina mât* read now *mu*. The *amêl MU* of the *abullu rabîtu*, may be intended. In line 12, we may read *e* in place of *ba*.

In line 3, of reverse, the name Ludime could be read Lu-šulme. The name Ludimu occurs on no. 877, where he is said to be from

Šupite. Ludimu is the name of a witness on no. 290; of a neighbour on no. 386.

It seems probable that the titles on the reverse are those of the witnesses.

484. No. 78. Lower half of obverse. Light red.

The upper half probably contained one line, with the word *kunuk* followed by the name of the borrower. Then came the seals, very likely.

The body of the document is preserved, and contains the following account of the transaction: 'twelve minas of silver, *ḫakḫadu*, belonging to Šamaš-abûa, the *rakbu*, are lent *ana pûhi*. One mina twelve shekels per month shall be the interest. Amât-Šadûa, his wife, Adraḥî, his daughter, Sukkai his son and...lu his son, shall remain as pledge for the money.' The name Bêl-êmuṛanni which occurs at the end of line 7 is wrong.

The date and the names of the witnesses are destroyed.

I have restored the first line from the traces left and the restoration may of course be wrong.

It is possible that Šamaš-abûa was the borrower, then *ana pûhi ittiši* will mean 'he has borrowed for management expenses': and he will have pledged his whole family. The same name is borne by the seller, B.C. 667, on no. 200; by the father of Bêl-aḥêšu, on no. 207; by the son of Kâkî, of Maganiši, on no. 337; by the witness and *ḫazânu*, on no. 433; by the Eponym of B.C. 854, III. R. 1, II. 11, and as a specimen name on App. 1, VI. 9.

The name of his wife, Amat-Šadûa, may perhaps be rendered Amti-Bêl, but I think Bêl would have been written if intended. The female name Adraḥî, or Abi-raḥî, is that of a sister of a *šakintu*, and buyer, on no. 245; and also occurs on no. 741. The name of his first son, Sukkai, was that of a witness, B.C. 716, on no. 382; of a witness and *išparu*, on no. 392; of a *rakbu šarri*, on no. 832; of the son of Ḫa..., on no. 925; and occurs in the letter 83-1-18, 75. What appears to be the same name Sukkuai, is that of the borrower, B.C. 686, on no. 9; of a witness and *šakû*, on no. 386; of a witness, B.C. 667, on no. 204. The same name belongs to a witness and servant of the *râb BI-LUL*, on no. 247. The name Sukuai is borne by a witness, B.C. 748 (?) on no. 67; occurs on no. 742, as a serf, 'with his people.' Sukâ was a witness on no. 97, a borrower, B.C. 686, on no. 28. Suḫai was the father of a slave sold, Ep. W, on no. 210, and is the form common in later



Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 590, etc. Sukai is the name of a witness and *šaknu*, Ep. B, on no. 207. A connection with *suku*, 'street,' is possible, but needs explanation before it could be accepted.

The name of the next son ended in *-lu*. The reading of the next name is now quite clearly *KAK-ŠI-LAL*, which I read Gabbu-âmur, 'I have seen all.' It is followed by the sign *ARAD* not *AN*, and the restoration on the edge should therefore be *šu*, not *ni*. The name, written *Gab-bu-a-mur*, occurs as that of a slave sold, on no. 428; of a *nâdin akli*, on no. 854; of a serf, 'with his people,' at the Nineveh gate of Arbela, on no. 742 and no. 775. The intermediate form *Gab-bu-ŠI-LAL*, occurs as a specimen, App. I, XII. 23.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

485. No. 79. Mere portions. Red.

To judge from what is left, a slave of Tarḥu-išmeâni, two sons (probably) and wife, in all four souls (*ina šabarti šaknu*, *kûm VI manê kaspi* 'are pledged in lieu of six minas of silver' which... *tu* lent Naḥiri. The fragmentary state of the tablet leaves it nearly impossible to follow the rest: but it seems that Tiurame is to pay so many minas of silver a year to Naḥiri, and if he do not pay it &c. &c. they are to be considered sold for the money, *laḫḫiu ina libbi (kaspi)*. The date is lost: on the first line of the edge Nabû-šum-ušur may be the name of a witness.

It is possible that here Tiurame is the borrower and Naḥiri the lender: and very likely Tarḥu-išmeâni is the name of the slave pledged. The names are all rare. That *HAL* in names may be read *lašme* is seen from the variants to the name Šulmu-bêl-lašme: and we may perhaps read Tarḥu-šîmi, or take some other form of *šêmu*, 'to hear.' The compounds of Tarḥu point to Gamgam, Markaša, and Cilicia as their home: which may be taken as additional reason for supposing this man to be a slave. The name *TI-UR-a-me* is unique, and as *UR* has many values, beside being an ideogram, the reading is very uncertain. The name Naḥirî was borne by a witness, B.C. 694, on no. 404. We may compare Naḥarâu, the name of a neighbour in Nineveh, B.C. 687, on no. 335; and of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 266. This may perhaps be Naḥar-Au, and we may also compare Nahor, in the Old Testament. There was a Tîl-Naḥiri, named in nos. 420, 421.

In line 8, for *ki*, read *ḫi*: the *ina* is now very indistinct, and may not have been intended. The name Nabû-šum-ušur is discussed in § 466.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 a, puts this among the 'private contracts concerning sales of slaves.'

486. No. 80. Nearly complete. Dark red.

Kiṣir-Ašur lends Ẹâtâ-Ašur-ašbat, son of Ištardûri, and Susû, son of Lušaḫin one mina thirty shekels on a *Subarrim* sixteen cubits (?) wide. On a fixed day, in Aaru, they shall repay the money; or if not, interest shall accrue at 25 *per cent.* Niḫ-ilâni is the *bêl-kâtâ* (of the king). Dated, the 22nd day of Tebêtu, in the Eponymy of Ašur.... Five witnesses.

Here I take the phrase *SU-BAR-RIM, XVI GID-DA epušu ina kûme* to mean 'a *SU-BAR-RIM*, 15 (something) wide, he has acquired in lieu of the money.' It seems impossible to think *puda* here is the *puṭu*, of which Peiser treats *B. V.* p. 225. *SU-BAR = elātu*, *KU-BAR-RA = šubat elāti*, seem to me to render it possible that *SU-BAR-RIM* may be a sort of cloak, or outer dress: and the '15 wide' I imagine means 'fifteen ells.' This is all pure conjecture, and someone may know exactly what it means, I frankly admit I do not.

In line 1, the sign I give as *ma* looks like *iš*, there is no *na* on the tablet. The name of the borrower, in line 3, begins with the sign *GAL*, Brünnow no. 939. I take it to be either a scribal error for *šû* with the dual sign, or else that *GAL* has also the value *ĶAT* or *ĶATÁ*, and so I read the name Ẹâtâ-Ašur-ašbat. This also is mere guesswork.

The pledge was valuable, but not such as would bring in interest, hence the lender has claim for interest.

The affairs of Kiṣir-Ašur were discussed in § 405. The name Ẹâtâ-Ašur-ašbat only occurs here, if it is correctly so read. Ištardûri was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 775, *šaknu* of Naṣibîna; B.C. 715, *šaknu* of Arabḫa; III. R. 1, III. 43, V. 10. His occurrences are discussed in § 478. Sûsû was the name of the father of Urđi, on no. 320; and the form Sûsî occurs B.C. 709, as the name of a witness and *kâšir*, *S. A. V.* 6843; of a witness and neighbour, in Ep. D, on no. 622; of a witness on no. 342. The name is clearly related to Sûsîa, the witness of *Ķabal hurâsi*, of the house of the *sukallu*, B.C. 734, and also father of Nalbaš-šami-li', same date, on no. 415. A very similar, but probably distinct name is Sâsû, borne by the slave of Sâsî, B.C. 668, on no. 204; and given on K 11898. Sâsî is the name of a neighbour, B.C. 687, on no. 624; of a slave sold, B.C. 683, on no. 447; of a witness, B.C. 671, on no. 121; of

a seller, B.C. 668, on no. 204; of a witness and *ḥazānu*, on no. 448; of a witness on no. 582; on no. 851; in the letters K 89, 1357, 1963, 4786; 82-5-22, 108; 83-1-18, 121; as a specimen name App. 1, x. 8, and in the Harran Census. *Sāsīa* occurs on K 1353, 7378, and in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6572. *Sāsai* is the name of a serf, with his people, in *Dûr-Nanâ*, on no. 742. The name *Sîsî* appears as that of a witness, B.C. 664, on no. 398. Whether these all, or any of them are connected with the Assyrian *sîsû*, 'a horse,' Hebrew *סוס*, Aramaic *סוסיא*, is not quite certain, but seems probable. There is also the Assyrian word *sâsu*, 'a moth,' to be considered.

The name *Lûšakin* is borne by a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 335; by a slave sold, B.C. 668, on no. 190; by the seller and son of *Adšêki*, B.C. 671, on no. 331; and in the letter K 796.

In line 5, the numeral is now clearly sixteen, not fifteen, as I gave. Also in line 6, before *arḫu*, *ina* may now be read. I see nothing to fix the date of the Eponym. In line 1, of reverse, there is now no trace of *ša šarri* on the tablet, but it was there when I copied the text.

The name of the first witness, I read *Abi-lišir*: it also occurs on no. 857. There is now no trace of *râb* on the tablet. The second name may be restored *Mar-du-u*, as the name of the witness and *râb kišir ša šêpô*, on no. 235; and the letter K 664. The allied form *Mardûa*, occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 256. The name *Mardî*, possibly genitive of *Mardû*, is borne by the seller, servant of the *bêl paḥâti* of *Barḥašû*, B.C. 683, on no. 447; by a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 383; by a witness and *šangû* of the god *KUR-KUR-NUN*, on no. 255; by a seller, on no. 507; by a slave sold, gardener, on no. 235; by a *râb kišir*, on no. 857, iv. 13; on the letter K 4757; as a specimen name, App. 1, xi. 18. The form *Mardi'* occurs as a variant to *Mardî* on no. 447. My former restoration *Marduku* was influenced by the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5134.

The name *Abi...* is not to be restored. *Nabûa* is very frequent. The purely phonetic spelling *Na-bu-u-a* occurs as the name of a witness and *mutir pûti*, B.C. 685, on no. 232; as that of a witness and *šangû*, on no. 255; of a witness, on no. 291. It is also the name of a frequent writer of astrological reports, said to be of *Aššur*, on K 481, 603, 716, 792, 802, 1368, 13116; Rm. 205, 82-5-22, 37; 83-1-18, 19; Bu. 91-5-9, 6: compare K 551. A variant of

this name, denoting the same person as the last, is *Na-bu-û-a*, on K 184, 720. It therefore seems unlikely that *AN-PA-U-A* is to be read Nabû-bêlia, but simply Nabûa. This is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 717, on no. 391; of a witness, and *nappah hurâši*, B.C. 692, on no. 440; of a neighbour, in Nineveh, B.C. 687, on no. 335; of a witness and *râb kēpê*, B.C. 686, on no. 453; of a slave sold, B.C. 683, on no. 447; of a neighbour, B.C. 678, on no. 630; of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 40; of a seller of *alu* Aḥu-ḥauar, B.C. 674, on no. 404; of a buyer, B.C. 670, on no. 257; of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 668, on no. 208; named in B.C. 667, on no. 204; same date as witness and *aba*, on no. 315; of a witness, B.C. 663, on no. 154; of a witness, Ep. O, on no. 163; of a witness and *aba*, Ep. T, on no. 618; a witness and *šanû* of *arkušu* (?) on no. 246, witness and *aba* or *âsû*, on no. 273; of a witness and Ninevite, on no. 500; of a *ṣarabbu* on no. 626; of a *nappah hurâši*, on no. 626; of a serf, 'with his people,' in Bît Liḳbiru, on no. 742; of an *âsû* on no. 851; of witnesses without title on nos. 153, 253, 551; of a buyer, on no. 406, of a seller, on no. 418, as a specimen name, App. 1, iv. 3. A slightly different form, *AN-PA-û-a* was the name of a witness, in B.C. 682, on no. 679; of an *amêl ša bît kudîn* on K 513, on K 12994. The very pleonastic form *AN-PA-û-u-a*, was the name of a borrower, B.C. 693, on no. 133; of a witness and *aba* in Ep. J, on nos. 297 and 614. The form *AN-AK-u-a*, occurs on no. 77; and *AN-PA-û-u-a* as a specimen, App. 2, i. 18.

The name Ilu-uṣur, or as it may equally well be read, Ilu-nâṣir, is the name of the witness, B.C. 698, on no. 473; of the witness and servant of the Tartan, on no. 244; of a neighbour on no. 347; of a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661; as a specimen App. 1, ix. 41.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debts.'

487. The next nine numbers appear to concern assignments of property in lieu of interest due. The security for the loan itself is not referred to, but the lender evidently held the property as a pledge, and its yield paid the interest due. In one or two cases, the yield seems to have been intended to pay off the capital advanced as well, but the clauses are so concisely stated that any certainty is difficult to arrive at now.

*Abstracts of nos. 81-89.*

No. 81. Complete. Reddish brown.

Šêpâ-Ašur lends eleven shekels of silver, belonging to Ištar of Arbela (? Nineveh), to Kulu'-Ištar, and Daian-Ḳurban. In lieu of interest they pledge a plot of one homer thirty *Ḳā* of land, at an average yield of ten *Ḳā* per homer of land, *tabri* and *ḥarbute*, freehold, bordering on the fields of Kaššudu on two sides, on the road and the field of Gabbaru on the other sides. He shall enjoy the usufruct for three years, when the year's crops shall have repaid him, the debtors shall pay for the crop growing on the estate, he shall release the field, the crop and grass they shall pay for at the market price in the city. Dated, in Šabātu, Ep. A. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99. The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, reckons this among the 'private contracts': on p. 101, the number of lines is wrongly given.

In line 1, at end, it is doubtful now whether Arbailu was written, or Ninâ; I fancy that *ki* is visible and there seems too little space of *Arba* and *ilu*. On the other hand, in line 4, we may read *a* for *ina pâni*. In that case Kulu'-Ištar was the son of Daian-Ḳurban. The technical terms are left to be discussed later in the chapter on Estate Sales. For *GIS-BAR* see §§ 82-92. The meaning of *tabrû* seems to be 'cultivated,' of *ḥarbûtu*, 'waste,' or 'cropped,' that is to say, 'stubble' land. The land was *zakû* when it was free from imposts of any kind, hence I render 'freehold.' But this, in English, implies something more: and perhaps 'free' is a sufficient rendering. The plural *šunu* is in favour of there being two borrowers at least.

In line 9, the sign *šā* is now clearly to be read in place of *ša*. At the end of the line, perhaps *du* not *ut* should be read: but in the next line the traces distinctly favour *ut*. On the lower edge, line 2, the two verticals after *ḥarrānu* may be meant for a 'ditto' sign, marking the repetition of *SUH*. The vertical before Gabbaru is very close to them and want of room may account for such a use. At the end *ru* is very indistinct, but I consider *Gab* and *ba* quite certain. The *še* at the end of line 4 appears to belong to the word *še-ib-še*, which I take to be the same as the *šibšu* elsewhere, and a parallel, if not equivalent of *še IN-NU*, that is, *tibnu*, 'straw' or

'grass.' Usually *šē* precedes *nusāhu* and this may have given rise to the *šē* here. In line 5, we have *kī ša ali* for the fuller phrase *kī mahiri ša ali*.

The main point here is that the field was pledged, and its crops were a set-off against the usual interest. The yield of the land *per* homer was 10 *ka*. As one homer and a sixth of a *gur* are pledged, we can most easily make a sum divisible by eleven by supposing the homer to be five-thirds of the *gur*. We can suppose that the homer was still, like the old *GUR*, 300 *ka*, while the *gur* was the same as in Babylonia, now only 180 *ka*. Hence in *ka* the land was 330 *ka*, and at a yield of 10 *ka* per homer would give exactly 11 *ka*. Now these *ka* in corn were worth as many *ka* in bronze, and in three years would be worth 33 *ka* of bronze, which should be the interest on 11 shekels of silver. The rate of interest per annum was usually 300 *per cent.* and this agrees with a ratio of silver to bronze of 100 : 1. But if we take it that more than one year's interest was due, or that the original sum and its interest for three years was to be paid off, the value of the corn must be 10 times the loan: and we should have to suppose silver was only worth 10 times its weight in copper. At present we are still uncertain of several steps in the reckoning.

The name Šēpâ-Ištar was that of a witness, B.C. 716, on no. 382; of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 676, on no. 330; and of a witness here, perhaps as the *aba*. See also no. 852, II. 15. The name of the first borrower, Kulu'-Ištar, only occurs on the duplicate no. 82; but may be restored on no. 352, R 9, as the name of a witness, Ep. S. The other borrower, Daian-Kurban, 'Judge of Qurban,' has the same name as the seller, B.C. 687, on no. 335; the buyer on no. 386; and the borrower on no. 136, in Ep. λ. In these cases the first element is written *DI-KUD*, the well-known ideogram for *daianu*, 'a judge.' Here and on the duplicate, we have *Da-an* simply. On the duplicate the prefix *alu* shews that Qurbân was the name of the city. The *šaknu* of Qurban, Eponym in B.C. 757, was Ninip-iddin; in B.C. 784, Nabû-šarru-ušur, in B.C. 699, Bêl-šarrâni, see II. R. 52, 13 a, 34 c, nos. 328, 371. The place is also named I. R. 29, 47; and on K 574. It could be also read Kurbân.

The name of the first neighbour, Kaššudu, also a witness, only occurs on this tablet and the duplicate. But for the variant *ud* for *du* we might read Kaššu-ukîn. We may perhaps compare the

name Kaššadai, the witness on no. 463, but this could be read Harrân-šadai, compare (Ilu)-Harrân-šadû, which but for the *Ilu* could also be read Kaššadû. We may think of the Assyrian verb *kašâdu*, 'to conquer,' but the god Kaššu may be one element of the name, which may be foreign. Compare Kaššu-nâdin-aḫi, the King of Babylon, circ. B.C. 1160, v. R. 60, 1. 25. Note the spelling *Ka-šu-du* on no. 82.

The name of the Eponym, Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi is discussed in § 465. Ardi-Nabû was a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 499; a witness and *šclappai*, Ep. D, on nos. 38, 39; a witness and *âsû* in Ep. Q, on no. 349 and also witness, without title, on the same; a witness and husband of Gularîmat, Ep. E, on no. 711; occurs in the letters K 501, 538, 575 (a *šangû*), 627, 640, 970; 80-7-19, 23; 81-2-4, 50; 83-1-18, 35; Bu. 91-5-9, 66. A *râb kišir* of this name occurs on no. 857, iv. 7; and on no. 711, an Aramaic docket gives ערנבו. For *Ištar-BE-TI*, see below.

The name Zêr-ukîn is also that of a seller and *rakbu* in the city Dannai, B.C. 663, on no. 470; of a witness and *mukîl apâti*, B.C. 660, on no. 444; and probably, on no. 445; of a seller, son of Bêl-dûri, in Ep. Q, on no. 446; of a witness and *mukîl apâti* on no. 418; of a serf, 'with his people,' in the city Nûni, on no. 742; and named on no. 947. The fuller form *Zêr-DU-in*, is the name of a witness, Ep. D, on no. 39. It also occurs on K 1351, 4278, 80-7-19, 46 and often in later Babylonian texts, see *S. A. V.* 1157. The name of the last witness appears to be Nêrgal-ḫardu, 'Nergal is a champion.'

No. 82. A small flake of the case tablet of the last. Red.

Only part of the text of the inner tablet has been preserved, but some additional details are given. The two borrowers were of the city *Il-lî*, a name that may be variously restored.

On the reverse we have a fuller spelling of the name *Ištar-BE-TI*, of no. 81, which we now see must be read *Ištar-mîtu-bullit*, or *Ištar-mît-tuballit* (?). It means 'Ištar raise to life the dead.' It only occurs in these texts. The name Nargî is discussed in § 409.

The name Gabbu-ilâni occurs also as that of a witness on no. 159, a *naggaru*; as that of a buyer, of the city Handâta, on no. 130; and of a witness, on no. 92. It may be a shortened form of Gabbu-ilâni-êreš, 'all the gods preserve (him),' the name of a seller, on no. 270, and of the often named father of Marduk-šum-iḫša, grandfather of Nabû-zuḫup-kêniš the celebrated *râb dupšarrê*

of Kalah: see III. R. 2, lines 1, 2, 3, 9, 13, 16, 22, 32, 39, 45, 47, etc. The form Gabbi-ilâni-êreš is also probably intended by the specimen name, App. 1, IX. 45, written *KAK-AN-MEŠ-ni-KAM-eš*.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 b, puts this among the 'private contracts,' consistently with the nature assigned to the last, but does not point out the real relationship between them. In line 2, of reverse, the tablet clearly has *tu* and not *tû*.

488. No. 83. Complete. Reddish brown.

Silim-Ašur lends one mina of silver, Carchemish standard, to Ardi-Ištar. In lieu of the interest of the money a plot of land, six homers, in the city Ĥatâ, of an average yield of 10 *ka* per homer, the plot of Silim-Ašur, is pledged and deposited. For a term of years he shall enjoy it. Four *mêrišê* and four *karabhi* he shall enjoy. The *mêrišê* shall pay the capital. He shall pay cash for the standing crop and the field he shall release. Four homers one *PA* are *AN-ZI*, two homers are *karabhi*, in all six homers of land *zakû*. Dated, the 12th of Simânu, B.C. 679. Eight witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 5069, read K 400 for K 406.

The text is published, III. R. 50, No. 2.

The text is transliterated and translated by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 234; and again by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 126.

In line 4, Oppert reads *II ana ut bi nap sa* and renders *usque ad alterum tantum userabit*. In line 5, he reads *Hatuya* in place of *Ĥatâ*, and he takes *bit* before Silim-Ašur in line 6 as 'domus.' In line 6, he reads *iš bar-sa* and regards *barsa* as a measure of land; taking the whole phrase to mean 'each *barsa* produces ten *epha*.' However plausible that may seem, the many cases where *GIŠ-BAR* occurs with another meaning seem to demand here the meaning of 'average yield.' In line 7, he read the first two characters as eleven *rat*: which is really a misreading. In line 8, he reads 'per omnes annos erit ususfructus.' Hence it is evident that when Dr Oppert has a legible text before him, he knows what it means. I think that *ana šanâte* means 'for a term of years,' not merely for a space of time, indeed it seems to mean 'per year,' so that the tenure is to be for a definite number of complete years, not for years and part of a year. Also I prefer to read the verb *ikkal*, and render 'he, i.e. Silim-Ašur shall enjoy.'

In line 1, of the lower edge, Oppert renders *quatuor messes*



*uernos, quatuor messes auctumnales*, a most tempting rendering. Peiser leaves the words unrendered, *K. B.* iv. p. 127, except that in both cases he considers them *Ernte*. In his notes he suggests for *mêrišê*, 'Ernte von bearbeitetem Boden.' That surely needs no query. The *mêrišê* was the process of the verb *erêšu*, 'to irrigate,' then generally 'to cultivate'; and the word was naturally also used of the resulting crop. When, however, Dr Peiser suggests for *karabhi*, the rendering *Ernte von unbearbeitetem Boden*, I regard the question mark as very appropriate. It seems clear that *mêrišê* and *karabhi* are so distinct as to be mutually exclusive terms: but *karabhi* need not deny cultivation. An alternative fallow may be intended, and this may have implied 'grass,' or we may suppose a separate crop. The harvest of what grew of itself was not likely to be very valuable. Against the assumption of a spring and autumn crop, is the fact that *mêrišê* and *karabhi* occur in alternate years, not both in the same year. Four *mêrišê* and four *karabhi* imply an eight years' tenure. The *mêrišê* paid the capital, *kaḫḫadu*. That was clear to Oppert, who renders *usum fructum messium ejus pensabit*. Peiser renders *Seine.....-Ernte wird er vollenden*. That the *karabhi* were to pay the interest is very unlikely, for on the usual scale of interest this would amount yearly to three or four times the capital. In that case *karabhi* would be more valuable than *mêrišê*.

In line 2, of reverse, Oppert reads *kakkadu (ris-du) kašap ina eli se tu-ra-me i-sak-kan*, and renders *et insuper caput argenti ob frumentum debitum sacerdoti dabit*, or in the French, *et donnera en même temps la totalité de l'argent en dehors du blé destiné aux offrandes*. Peiser reads *kaḫḫad kaspi ina ili ŠÍ tarami išakkan*, *die Summe des Geldes auf das Korn, welches fällt (?) legen*. But I think that *kaḫḫadu* belongs to the last sentence. The *mêrišê* must pay something. The word *kaḫḫadu* usually succeeds *kaspu* when it belongs with it. And the phrase, which we meet so often, *kaspu ina eli ŠE tarâme išakkan*, seems always to mean, 'he,' that is the mortgagor, 'shall pay for the standing crop,' when he redeems the land, or, as here, when its usufruct has discharged his debt. Otherwise, in the last year of tenancy, the holder would return the land bare: and that would of course be to the detriment of its fertility. It was not to be allowed to go out of cultivation. But the resuming owner had no right to the standing crop; whatever it was he must buy that at fair market price. It seems clear that the land was not

all *mêrišê* at one time, nor all *karabhi* at another. At the time it was handed over, only one-third was *karabhi*, even if the rest was not *mêrišê*.

Oppert reads then, *ekil (a-lib) su yu-se-ša IV emeri pa-an-zi II emeri kar-ap-hi kur VI emeri ekil (a-lib) za-ku-te*, and renders *Ager ejus producet quatuor homer segetis.....duo homer messium auctumnalium, summa tota sex homer de agro de quo agitur*, or in the French version, *puis il aura l'usufruit exclusif du champ, et paiera en plus du champ en question quatre homers, pa-an-zi, et deux homers du grain d'automne, en tout six homers*. Peiser reads, *eklišu ušēša 4 imer GAR-ZI 2 imer karabhi napḥar 6 imer zakuti*, and renders, *sein Feld wird er herausgaben, 4 Imer sind.....(Boden), 2 Imer sind..... Boden; summa 6 Imer (welche) steuerfrei(?) (sind)*. It is clear that the sense is partly clear, partly very obscure. The reading *GAR-ZI* is founded on the assumption that *PA-AN* is to be read *GAR*. But here *PA* is certainly the subdivision of the *gur*, its fifteenth. That the totals are not exact is easily accounted for. A fraction so small as one-fifteenth may be neglected. In the Ḥarrân Census we find 1 *PA-AN-ZI*, where 1 *PA* is the subdivision of the *gur*, 'seven fifteenths.' Hence *AN-ZI* is the ideogram, and the rest of the text suggests that this was read *mêrišê*. Hence after the words 'his field he shall release'; I would render, four homers one *PA* are *AN-ZI* (*mêrišê*?), two homers are *karabhi*, in all six homers impost free.

I take it the sense of the whole is that Silim-Ašur advanced a mina of silver which should bear interest at 25 *per cent.*, or perhaps at 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  *per cent.*, per month. It would thus bear 3 or 4 minas interest every year. Now a *GIŠ-BAR* of 10 *ka* means an average yield of 10 *ka* of corn on every *ka* of land. If we assume that a homer of land consisted of 300 *ka*, we have the *mêrišê* of one year on the 6 homers as 18000 *ka* of corn, that is as many *ka* or shekels of bronze, that is 180 shekels of silver if silver be worth 100 times bronze, that is 3 minas of silver. Hence the *mêrišê* exactly discharged the interest, at the usual rate of 25 *per cent. per month*. This seems to exclude the idea of the capital being repaid from the crop. Perhaps that is not intended at all. The borrower was to repay the loan at the end of the time and receive back his field. The text expressly says the field was pledged in lieu of interest. Then we must take *kaḫkadu kaspi* as meaning the exact or full price for the *ŠE tarâme*: and not the sum of the loan that agrees well with its meaning elsewhere. The value of the four homers one *PA*, or on

our scale of 1212 *ka*, would be 121·2 shekels of silver, or about 2 minas.

How we should read the characters at the beginning of line 7 is not very clear. Oppert has misread them, Peiser says they are written *ŠI-MEŠ*, for which he suggests a reading *ippennima*, referring to *Bab. Verträge*, 358, 18, for a parallel. In his transliteration he writes *pâni* and reads the phrase *bît Silim-Ašur pâni išakkanûni inašši*, rendering it *das Grundstücke welches Silim-Ašur früher (?) beliehen (?) hat wird er bringen*. Now when we have the phrase *ana šabarti šakânu*, we find that the subject to the verb *šakin* or *šaknu* is the pledge itself, the subject to the verb *išakkan* is the name of the man who deposits the pledge, and the pledge is the object. Of course Silim-Ašur deposited no pledge, but if the other deposited with him, his name ought to be preceded by *ina pâni*. Moreover there is nothing to put the verb into the conditional form *išakkanûni*, unless for *bît* we read the conjunction *bîd*, 'when.' Clearly the sentence means 'when Silim-Ašur shall lay down (the money), he shall take (the field).' I think that as *ŠI* is the ideogram for *barû* and its derivatives, the signs *ŠI-2-MEŠ* mean *ina birtišunu*, and that *ina birti šakânu* means 'to produce,' a sum, to lay down the cash. Hence the whole clause appears to mean, 'when Silim-Ašur produces the money, he shall take the field.'

Oppert calls the transaction, *Créance avec intérêt, garantie sur l'usufruit d'un champ*. Peiser calls it a 'Pachtvertrag.' Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 259, puts it into a class which he says *bilden eine ganze Classe besonderer Urkunden, die weniger in Schuldverhältniss begründen, sondern wirkliche Kauf- oder namentlich Miethsdocumente sind*. Dr Oppert very kindly says that line 4 was wrongly read by Rawlinson and Peiser and rightly by me. Dr Oppert reads *akâlu* for *ikkal* and renders 'Niessbrauch.' He also renders *karabhi* by *Wiesenernten*, but *mêrišê* is *Getreideernten*. The *karabhi* he would read *kirûbu*, a term often applied to land in the later Babylonian texts: and says it means 'Wiesengrund,' on which hay and forage plants were grown. The corn crop, *mêrišê* was to repay the lender, *wird er einziehen*. Dr Oppert renders *kaḫkadu kaspi ina eli ŠE tarâme išakkan* by *Das Capital wird er aus dem Korn heraus schlagen*. With *tarâme* he would compare תרומה and *tarâme išakkan* is 'sich bezahlt machen.' He leaves *pa-an-zi* unexplained although he renders it once by 'Getreide': but on *zakûti* he delivers a very positive opinion: it simply means 'der in Verhandlungen stehende Acker.'

and he renders *ekil zakûti, der zugestandene Acker*. He states that the *Steuerfreiheit* has nothing to do here: this immunity is in Babylon a personal right and does not apply to things. It is clear that Professor Oppert has already seen through most of the difficulties, but the solutions he proposes are not entirely satisfactory. It is clear that *tarâme* is in opposition to *ŠE*: and that *ŠE* is really a determinative, and *tarâme* is governed by *ina eli*. With respect to *ŠI-2-MEŠ*, Oppert makes a noteworthy suggestion. As 'the two hands' denote *Bürgschaft*, so 'the two eyes,' *ênê* denote the Babylonian *maškânu*; *ênê išakkan* means *überwachen, es' als Pfand bewahren*. This is of course exactly what Silim-Ašur did, but does not account for the conditional form. The whole of Dr Oppert's discussion is most interesting.

The lender, Silim-Ašur, is a conspicuous person in our documents. He is a lender in B.C. 680, on no. 113; in B.C. 679, on no. 84; a buyer on no. 186; in B.C. 674, on no. 124; in B.C. 672, on no. 15; in B.C. 671, on no. 41; in B.C. 670, on no. 44. He is a witness B.C. 670, on no. 421; in B.C. 663, as *sukallu dannu* on nos. 433, 470; in B.C. 660, on no. 444; in Ep. Y, as a *rakbu*, on no. 151. In B.C. 660, he became Eponym. As a hirer and *šaknu* in B.C. 678, he is on no. 629; as buyer on no. 227; witness on no. 445; on no. 58, he is the father of Ašur-rêš-iši; as *sukallu* he is named on no. 815; and the name occurs in the letter K 9212. Whether the *Silim-An-III*, the principal, B.C. 670, on no. 99, is the same seems uncertain. But it seems probable that the lender of B.C. 680-670, then very likely a *šaknu*, of some rank at court, is the witness of B.C. 670-660, and as *sukallu dannu* became Eponym in the latter year. The *rakbu* of no. 151, is probably a different person.

The borrower, Ardi-Ištar, is a difficult personage to fix: see § 472. The city of Ḥatâ is very likely that named by Sennacherib, Bavian Inscription, III. R. 14, 9, as N of Nineveh. See also in no. 629, where also Silim-Ašur hires land in Ḥatâ. In Rm. 564 people from Ḥatâ seem to be intended and the name must not be confounded with Ḥattai, and the land Ḥattu. The first witness Aḥi-dûri is discussed in § 468. The next, Si'-nûri, is the name of a slave sold, on no. 268: and occurs in the Ḥarran Census. The name *AN-BU-AN-a-a*, here and on the duplicate no. 84, I identify with *Še-ir-AN-a-a* on K 6951, one of the Ḥarran Census-tablets. The name Aplu-ušur occurs as that of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 680,

on no. 119; of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 126; of a witness, B.C. 672, on no. 15; as father of Êdu-šallim, on no. 154; as son of Ašur-rimâni on no. 394; as witness and brother of Bêl-ša-iḫsur, on no. 385; and on no. 852. The name Mannu-kî-Arbaili is discussed in § 413. The name Ẕurdî, 'my hero,' is that of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404; of a buyer, on no. 357; and occurs on the letters K 594, K 1366. The name Bibatî occurs only here. Nêrgal-ašarid, the next name, is that of the master of a witness on no. 427, B.C. 694; of a witness B.C. 686, on no. 374; of a witness, B.C. 684, on no. 230; of a witness and *râb kiṣir*, Ep. Q, on no. 349; of a borrower, Ep. λ, on no. 136; of a slave sold, no. 252; occurs on no. 877, and as a specimen name on App. 3, XI. 4.

On the reverse edge the scribe seems to have written *še* for *mu*, but of course *lim-mu* was meant. The name of the Eponym, Ištu-Adadi-ninu, 'From Adad are we,' is written Ištu-Adadi-aninu, as Eponym, on nos. 150, 364, 534, III. R. 1, VI. 2, and probably originally on no. 84; in these cases we have *AN-IM*; on no. 462, *U* replaces this ideogram, as in our case. A curious variant occurs as *Ištu-AN-U-an-ni*, on no. 161. Further III. R. 1, records *DA* for *TA*, as a variant. Except as the Eponym, I have nowhere found the name.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 a, puts this no. among 'private contracts, being documents of a farm.'

**489.** No. 84. Right hand portion. Slate.

This may be a duplicate of the last, although, if the restorations be correct, it rather records the loan of the money: and did not say anything about the interest. In the first line we have all that is in no. 83, except the numeral 'one.' In the next line, only the name of the borrower is preserved, and this must have contained lines 2 and 3 of the last number. In line 3, the restoration *ana pûḫi* is by no means compulsory: and the four homers, placed at the end of the line, may belong to the next. In line 4, the scribe seems to have written *GI* in place of *HI*; but I regarded that as a scribal error. If not, it is worth noting as a variant. There were 'two homers of land *karaphi*' as before. The land was *zakûte* and in the city Ḥatâ, as before. Whether the restoration of a *GIŠ-BAR* of 10 *ka* is safe, is now not clear, only *ka* is left. But the insertion of *eḫlu*, before *bitu* in line 6, is confirmatory of my view of no. 83. Read *eḫlu bid*, 'the field, when Silim-Ašur has paid the money, he shall take.' In line 8, there seems to be

a divergence ; we have here 3 *mêrišê*, which forms no part of no. 83. It is, however, possible that the 3 here is the top of 4. The rest as far as preserved agrees with the last.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, reckons this among 'private contracts.'

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 261, regards the field as an *antichretisches Pfand*. He says that the field had *eine Grösse von 6 Homer, zu 10 Kab das Sechstel, also 600 Kab, da uns für Ninive die einschlägigen Belege fehlen ; nach babylonischem Brauch wären es 180000 Quadratellen*.

490. No. 85. Only portions preserved. Red.

The text is too fragmentary to be certainly placed. Apparently, Mannu-kî-Ninip had pledged himself, his wife Arbail-šarrat, and his daughter, in all three souls, to a merchant : or possibly Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi had pledged these three persons in lieu of money and interest, (*kum kas*)*pi ha-bu-li-šu*. At any rate Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi 'redeemed them from the merchant,' *ištu pâni tamkâri iptatar*. Then, as I take it, in lieu of the money and its interest *kûm rubê ša kaspi*, 'they shall serve him,' *iptallahûšu*. Of the latter verb what looks like the remains of *iḫ* may be the end of *ḫu* : or it may be the end of a name of the brother, *aḫ-u-šu*, but this reading is very doubtful, for *a* we may read *me*, for *ḫu* perhaps *al*. Then, various officials of Mannu-kî-Ninip's, his *šaknu* or others, who shall pay the money, evidently to Šalmu-sarr-iḫbi, may take away from him these three, 'he shall set them free,' *ušêša*.

If this view is correct, we have an interesting case indeed. An Assyrian, being in debt to a merchant, perhaps a foreigner, has pledged himself, wife and daughter, and is perhaps liable to be carried abroad. Another Assyrian, perhaps as a work of piety, redeems these unfortunates, who are however bound to serve him as his slaves. The *šaknu* of his city, perhaps his relatives, may intervene to redeem him from his servitude, and his present ransomer agrees to deliver him up on being recouped for his expense.

Although such appears to me to be the state of things, I am by no means inclined to reject any other solution that takes into account what is here preserved. Of course the name of the person, in line 1, may not be Mannu-kî-Ninip after all. The name does not occur elsewhere. The name of his wife, Arbail-šarrat, is that of a slave sold, in *Ep. B*, by Bêl-aḫê-šu, on no. 207. The redeemer here, Šalmu-šarr-iḫbi, is discussed in § 465. We do not know the date of the transaction. The first witness, Nabû-šum-iddin, is

discussed in § 465. The next name preserved, Šamaš-šallim, is that of the seller, B.C. 748, on no. 412; of the neighbour and buyer, B.C. 674, on no. 383; of the witness and *šaknu êkalli*, B.C. 667, on no. 200; of the witness, B.C. 660, on no. 362; of a witness, on nos. 247, 433; named on nos. 852, 860. A variant, Šamaš-šallam, is the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 11.

The curious name, Ištu, 'child (?)', from *ešepu*, or 'product'; or Ispu, from *יִשְׁפּוּ*, occurs also as that of a witness, B.C. 734, on no. 90; of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 624; on no. 869; and on K 1078, as *ardu ša rab aba*. The same root occurs in the name Išputu, on no. 851, as a *dâgil iššurâti*; and on no. 895. The same word occurs in the name Ištu-lîšir, a witness and *nâš paṭri*, B.C. 714, on no. 248; and on Sm. 236.

In line 6, I am inclined to restore Adadi-ilai, the name of a buyer, B.C. 671, on no. 121; and of a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661. The name Immani is like the Immanu, a slave sold, on no. 275. The other fragments of names are all uncertain.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 a, reckons this among the 'private contracts, concerning sales of slaves, male and female.'

491. No. 86. Has lost the upper and lower edges. Slate and greeny grey.

Išdi-Ašur made over his daughter, Aḥat-abiša, to Zabdî, in lieu of the interest he owed Zabdî for thirty shekels of bright silver, which Zabdî had deposited with him. Besides, he shall repay the silver (*ušalli*). The girl shall be considered sold and bought. Any repudiation of the bargain is expressly barred in the usual terms, as in the case of a sale, with penalties of ten minas of silver and one mina of gold to the treasury of Ištar of Nineveh, and the return of the money *ana ešrâti*; if anyone shall raise a counter action, he shall not succeed in it. Dated, the 26th of Ulûlu (?), B.C. 650. Perhaps nine witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 95, where, as in *Cata.* p. 110, footnote, the month is taken to be Du'ûzu. The sign is very badly preserved, but on the whole I think Ulûlu is best.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, put it among 'private contracts.'

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII, p. 266, gives a translation of this document: and regards the transaction as a *Verkauf einer Tochter durch den Vater*. Certainly the scribe says she is to be considered sold outright, so that she is not a pledge to be returned, but the antecedent circumstances hardly warrant this being regarded as

a common 'sale.' The father apparently owes money, thirty shekels of silver, the usual full price of a slave. If my restoration, in line 6, is correct, then Zabdî had deposited the money with him, *iššakan*, to keep in trust. This was not a loan, but a trust. He could not return the money when demanded, and had to pay interest. In lieu of the interest, *kûm habulêšu*, he assigned his daughter outright, and still owed the money. This transaction therefore is not a sale, but an 'assignment in lieu of debt.'

The word *ušalli*, in line 8, is difficult. I fancy it must mean 'assign,' from *šalû*, 'to send,' 'to discharge weapons,' 'to shoot': see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 661 a. We have *ušalli* again in no. 326, R 3, where we usually have *urakas*, hence it must mean to 'present,' 'dedicate,' in no. 399, R 4, where a field seems to be 'made over.' Another form of the verb, *usali* occurs in no. 98, 5, where it is parallel with *idin*; and the verb seems to be the same as *ušela*, used in no. 310, R 7, of 'presenting' a bronze bow to Ninip; and as *šelu*, used of 'dedicating,' a boy to Ninip. Hence I take the verb to be *šelu*, 'to send,' II. 1, *ušelli*, *ušalli*, to 'present,' 'dedicate.' We may compare *šelûtu*, a 'votary,' IV. R. 61, 51 b. Here the verb *ušalli* is evidently parallel to *ittidin*, 'gave.'

At the end of line 9, read *UD*, for *tu*. In line 10, *la* is not well preserved, we may have the remains of *lak*. I do not think anything was written on the lower edge, as the sentence runs on, with the usual formula from obverse 12 to reverse 1. Traces only of the first line of reverse are now left, but they suit what I give. In line 5, *KI* may have been written after *NINA*, there was something there.

The nature of the clauses forbidding repudiation of the contract will be considered in the chapter on Deeds of Sale. The epithet of silver, *misû*, 'bright,' 'clean,' has been discussed in § 317.

The name of the daughter, Aḥat-abiša, was that borne by a *mârat Arbaili*, and prophetess in the time of Esarhaddon, on K 4310; by the daughter of Sargon, married by him to Ḥulli, king of Tabal, and mentioned by Sennacherib, in K 181, a letter to Sargon, as resident in Tabal, and mistress of Nabû-li'. Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII, p. 266, reads the name Mima-abusa, and renders it, '*alles was ihr Vater hat*.' The sense is 'Sister of her father,' compare Winckler, *A. F. Sec. Ser.* p. 85. The name occurs again in no. 311, 4, as that of a slave sold, in Ep. S.

The name of her father, Išdi-Ašur, was borne by a witness, and



*tukultu*, B.C. 665, on no. 35, by a witness, Ep. W, on no. 88, by the son of Siltiba-Ištar, Ep. E, on no. 711, and occurs on no. 877. The creditor, who takes over the girl, Zabdî, or Zabdi', bears the same name as the witness and *mukil apâti*, on no. 476. We may compare Zabdâ, the witness and *mukil apâti*, Ep. H', on no. 178, and Zabdia, in later Babylonian contracts, *S. A. V.* 725. The names זבדא זבדי *N. E.* p. 265, Palmyrene, Nabataean, shew that we are not to read *Šabdî*, as the Assyrian would allow.

Ardi-Nanâ, the first witness, may be the same as the witness and *aba*, B.C. 678, on no. 301; the witness, Ep. W, on nos. 87, 88; the witness, Ep. 7, on no. 45; Ep. F', on no. 307; Ep. D, on no. 622, and on no. 358. A writer to the king, on K 519, 532, 576, 4704; Sm. 1064; 83-1-18, 2, 106; bears this name. He is a *mutir pûti* on 81-2-4, 93; a *murakkisu*, on Bu. 91-5-9, 218, see Winckler, *A. F. Sec. Scr.* p. 21; and is named on Rm. 56, Bu, 91-5-9, 130. Compare no. 831, line 2.

The name of the second witness may be read Ašur-mutarrišu, Ašur-mutaḫḫin, or Ašur-šum-utarriš, Ašur-sum-utaḫḫin, according as we take *MU* to be a phonetic prefix or the word *šumu*, 'name,' i.e. 'son'; and *LAL* to be the ideogram for *tarâšu* or *taḫânu*. On the whole, I prefer Ašur-šum-utaḫḫin. The name only occurs here.

The name of the third witness may be completed Zerḫuru, from the name of the witness, Ep. 9, on no. 225. The next name may be restored Šaḫilia, from the name of a witness and *aba*, Ep. W, on no. 177; a *raḫbu*, on no. 998; and the specimen name, App. 1, XI. 10. Adadi-milki, the name of the fifth witness, only occurs here. Nothing can be made of the traces in line 14.

The left-hand edge is almost illegible and I cannot read the traces of the first name. The second name seems to be Adadi-êmurinni; a curious form, if correct, and only here. The usual form would be Adadi-êmurâni. Of the first name in line 2, nothing is certain; but Nabû-nâ'id is a common name. It was borne by the seller and son of Itu'ai, B.C. 734, on no. 415; the witness and *aba*, B.C. 707, on no. 292; the witness, B.C. 684, on no. 230; a servant of Sâsî, witness, B.C. 683, on no. 273; a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 231; a witness and *aba*, B.C. 651, on no. 387; a witness and *mutir pûti* Ep. A, on no. 325; same in Ep. A', on no. 414; a witness, Ep. G, on no. 173; a principal and brother of Bêl-nâ'id, Ep. O, on no. 640; witness and *mukil apâti* Ep. P, on no. 214;

witness and *aba*, Ep. Q, on. 446; witness and *mutîr pûti*, on no. 568; witness and *râb kişir* of the Queen, on no. 594; a slave sold to the *şakintu*, Ep. 8, on no. 242; a witness on no. 595: compare III. R. 33, vi. 80: and the specimen name App. 1, III. 52. It is known to us as the name of the king of Babylon, Nabonidus, Ναβονεδδός, B.C. 555-538. The name of the king gives us some important light on the readings of proper names. It is written *AN-AK-IM-TUK*, *AN-AK-I*, *AN-PA-I*, see the dates on *D. T.* 27, 30, etc., in the Catalogue. A Nabû-nâ'id is named on K 906.

The name of the Eponym is written *Aşur-BÂD-PAP*, here, as in III. R. 1, vi. 34, II. R. 69, no. 3, rev. The same form is used in the dates on K 84, 83-1-18, 85; and our no. 533, where he is said to be *şaknu* of Barhalza. In no. 496, he appears as a buyer. The form *AN-HI-BÂD-PAP*, is the name of the Eponym on K 8904, and of a witness and *şaknu*, no. 253. The name of the Eponym on 81-2-4, 117, is written *ÁŠ-BÂD-PAP*. Of course all are read *Aşur-dûr-uşur*. I adopt G. Smith's date, B.C. 650-49, see chapter on Chronology.

**492.** Nos. 87 and 88 are a pair of case tablets. The inner one no. 87 is complete: the outer has lost a small piece which however does not spoil its readings. Brown.

The outer is much fuller than the inner tablet. Taking both together we get this view of the transaction. Mutarriş-Aşur and Aşur-rêş-işi, sons of Silim-Aşur, seal the document, as borrowers of seventeen shekels of silver, belonging to Ištar of Arbela, which Nabû-iķbi lends them *ana pûhi*. The money is to bear interest at 25 *per cent*. The field in cultivation he shall sow and reap. Neither the *ķêpu* nor the *şaknu* shall enjoy the *mutûtu*. From the field he shall repay himself the interest. Dated, the 21st of Arahsamna, Ep. W. Eleven witnesses on the outer, four on the inner tablet.

At the right-hand lower corner of the rev. of outer tablet three lines are faintly inscribed. They read as I think (1) *Ša kar*, (2) *MU X-LAL-II*, (3) *Ú-šal-lim*, which I take to mean 'from the *karabhi*, of 8 years, he shall pay himself.' On the right-hand edge are also three lines which I read *ŠE-ĶI-TAR GIŠ-BAR-šu išakkan*: that is 'the harvest shall pay the rent.'

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 100.

An extract is given, *S. A. V.* 4822.

Pinches gave an extract *S. A. S. Keilsch. prt. I.* p. 108: correcting the false reading of III. R., which in line 1, rev. of no. 88, gives *ŠE*

for *BU* in the title *BAT-GID-DA* which no. 87 shews to be the ideogram for *kêpu*.

Teloni also makes a reference, *Z. A.* 1887, p. 100.

The tablets are described in the *Guide*, p. 173 f., No. 37.

The text of no. 88 was published III. R. 47, No. 2.

A transliteration and a translation were given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 155 ff.

The text in III. R. reads *me* for *lal* in line 1, and omits a vertical from *šak* in line 2.

In rev. 1, besides reading *ŠE* for *BU*, it does not give *GAR*, only a shaded *ŠA* (?).

In rev. 2, the second character *UD* is given as *NA*.

On the right-hand lower corner of rev., III. R. gives *XII*, instead of *X-LAL-II*, i.e. *VIII*, and for *ušallim* reads apparently *ru-tum*.

In line 9 of rev., III. R. omits the last two names entirely: and from the left-hand edge omits all line 5.

Oppert could not, of course, go behind the text of III. R.

In line 1, he read the name Mumi-Assur.

In line 4, he gives *XVI*, *sedecim*, for 'seventeen.'

In line 7, he reads *ina sa-par-su*, for *ana rebûtišu*, and translates by *in quartum tantum*.

In line 1 of lower edge, he renders *ina arišûtu* by *in segete*: and he takes *eraš ešida* as *consitus metendus*.

The corrupt text of III. R. in line 1 of rev. he reads—*la nisu besida la nisu akasu* and continues *munautu akal istu libbi ekil (a-lib)*. This he renders *non erit vir messor, non collectio, defensio erit comedere ex agro*, a condition which would render the field valueless to its tenant. The 3rd line of rev. he read *habuli u-sa-at ša-lam* and rendered *pignus (erit) superficies imaginis*.

Of the side notes he naturally could make nothing.

He calls the transaction a '*créance portant sur la nue-propriété d'un champ*.'

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, c. 2, *Darlehensurkunde ohne nähere Angaben oder mit solchen, die wir bis jetzt noch nicht völlig zu verstehen in der Lage sind*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

The form in line 3 of rev. *usatalam* is surely for *ustalam*, i.e. *uš-ta-lam* (?). It seems that *ikkal* was omitted on the inner tablet.

Of considerable interest is the result that *TIL-GID-DA* is to be read *képu*; compare § 127.

The term *arišūti* literally is the process of 'irrigation,' *eraš* is 'he shall irrigate.' The phrase means of course all that a proper course of treatment of an irrigated plot would involve.

The word *mutūtu* is very obscure. It is evidently an impost on the crops. As such it will be considered again under the sales of estates.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 262, points out that the false readings of III. R. misled him as to its meaning: *es ist wahrscheinlich, dass es sich nicht um eine nuda proprietas handelt, sondern wiederum um ein antichrestisches Pfand*. In his rendering he thinks the field by its yield should repay the loan and its interest. Unfortunately here only the interest is referred to, and the size of the field is not given.

The name Mutarriš-Ašur, where Mu is the phonetic prefix, could also be read Mutakkin-Ašur. It is the name also of a witness on no. 467. The name Ašur-rêš-iši was that of a king of Assyria, about B.C. 1130; but also occurs as that of a lender, B.C. 656, on no. 48; of a witness on no. 532; on Sm. 714, as a *muir pūti*, and in the letters K 7332, Bu. 91-5-9, 145. A variant, Ašur-rêš-iš, is the name of the lender, B.C. 656, on no. 49. On the name of their father, Silim-Ašur, see § 420, 486.

The variants *AN-PA-E*, *AN-PA-iḫ-bi* for the name of the lender here, shew that *E* is the ideogram for *iḫbi*, at the end of names. Nabû-iḫbi was the name of the writer of the astrological reports K 18, 699, 744, 745, 789, 933, 1329, 1380, 4716; Rm. 198; 81-2-4, 91, 141, 273; 82-5-22, 51, 72; 83-1-18, 188, 202, 219, 290, 303, 305; Bu. 91-5-9, 9 and of the letter 79-7-8, 315. He seems to be of Cutha. The name is also a specimen, App. I, v. 12.

The name of the Eponym, written *MAN-I*, could be read Šamaš-nâ'id, since *MAN* is one of the ideograms for Šamaš. We have however no variant of the name indicating that *MAN* is a divine title, nor any phonetic spelling *Ša-maš*. Hence I read this name Šarru-nâ'id, leaving the question open whether by Šarru is meant the earthly king, or the Sun-god. As Eponym W, we have this name on nos. 210, 221, where he is also said to be *tukultu* or *abarakku*. On no. 155, this is the name of a witness, B.C. 683; it was the name of the son of Nêrgal-nâšir, on no. 16, in Ep. O; of the father of Nargî, on no. 23; of a witness and *kalbu šipirite*, on

no. 171; of a *rakbu* *GAB-MEŠ* on no. 857; and a specimen name on App. 1, x. 34.

The name Mannu-kî-Ištar-li' was borne by a witness and *râb kišir* of the Queen, B.C. 686, on no. 612; by a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 684, on no. 230; by a *ša šépâ* on no. 857; by a witness on no. 594; and is named on 82-5-22, 122. The name appears in the shortened form Mannu-kî-Ištar, as that of a witness, B.C. 693, on no. 120; and in the form Mannu-kim-Ištar, as that of a witness, on no. 603. The name of the second witness, Ardi-Nanâ, was discussed in § 491.

Nêrgal-abu-ušur was also the name of the witness, B.C. 676, on no. 37; and of the witness and *rakbu taberât*, probably in B.C. 676, on no. 256. This last title suggests that *taberât* is the reading of the ideogram *GAB-MEŠ* in the oft-occurring *rakbu* *GAB-MEŠ*.

The name Ištar-mašlallâte, which only occurs on no. 87, R. 6, is of a curious form and what the *mašlallu* is seems uncertain. The name in no. 88, R. 9, I read Šulmu-Aššur, 'Peace in Assyria'; compare the name of the principal on no. 110, *DI-MU-MAT-Aššur*. In the same line we have Nâ'id-Ištar, the name of the father of Nabû-ašarid, on no. 446; of the seller and son of Ištar-šum-iddin, Ep. R, on no. 642. The next name in this line is Šarru-iḫbi, the name of the father of Ẹûa, B.C. 676, on no. 40; of the witness, Ep. D, on no. 622; of a witness and servant of the *râb nâdin aklê*, on no. 464; and of a (*râb*?) *šâki* on no. 857. The name *LUGAL-iḫbi*, of a witness on no. 137, supports the reading Šarru-iḫbi, but the occurrence of Šamaš-iḫbi, as a witness and *daialu*, Ep. A, on no. 318, and as a neighbour on no. 434, leaves the question open whether Šarru is the name of Šamaš or not.

The name of the first witness on the left-hand edge is almost certainly Nabû-sakip. This was the name of the Eponym Y on no. 151; of a witness and *aba*, Ep. P, on no. 628; of a witness on no. 193; of a *mašmašu* on no. 851; and occurs as a specimen name on App. 1, iv. 25. It is mentioned in the letter K 613. The next name, Ardi-Ašur, is that of the father of Ardi-Ištar, on no. 622; and of a witness on no. 638. Compare also *Ardi-AN-ḪI*, a witness and *ša šépâ apil šarri*, on no. 312. The name Išdi-Ašur we discussed in § 491. The next name *LAL-Ašur*, I read Mutarriš-Ašur, as in § 491, but we could read Turšu-Ašur, see § 473. Also Mutakḫin-Ašur, Tuḫunu-Ašur are possible.

The line 5 is omitted in III. R. The name Nabû-aplu-iddin, here

the *aba*, probably scribe of the tablet, is one that may be very variously written. As here, *AN-PA-A-ÁŠ*, it is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 681, on no. 277; of a witness, B.C. 649, on no. 574; of a witness, Ep. A, on no. 325; of a witness and *aba* of the Queen, Ep. B, on no. 207; of a witness on no. 568; of the father of Banai, on no. 161; and a specimen name, App. I, II. 16. The form *AN-PA-TUR-UŠ-ÁŠ* is a specimen name, App. I, II. 17. The form *AN-AK-A-ÁŠ* is the name of a witness, B.C. 667, on no. 27; of a witness and *aba* of the Queen, B.C. 666, on no. 185; and the scribe of 82-3-23, 32. The form *AN-AK-A-MU* occurs on later Babylonian tablets, *S. A. V.* 5714. A longer form *AN-PA-A-SE-na*, Nabû-aplu-iddina, is the name of the seller on no. 322. The form *AN-AK-TUR-UŠ-SE-na* was the name of the king of Karduniaš, brother of Šabdânu, i. R. 23, 19, and occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5715. The form *AN-PA-TUR-UŠ-SE-na* is a variant name for the king of Karduniaš, and also occurs on K 5463. The form *AN-PA-ÁŠ-SE-na* is a specimen name, App. I, II. 18. The form *AN-AK-A-SE-na* is the name of a neighbour, in the time of Sin-šar-iškun, *Z. A.* XI. p. 47; and occurs as a variant to the forms above for the name of the king of Karduniaš.

The readings of the side notes deserve remark. They were very lightly impressed, after the clay had dried, on a surface rendered greasy by damping it afresh. They are evidently much condensed. The *ša kar* of the first line I have taken to be for *ša karabhi*, but it may be something quite different. The *MU X-LAL-II* I take to mean 'for eight years,' taking *MU* as an abbreviation of *MU-AN-NA*. The third line *ušallim* needs no comment. In the body of the text the statement of the time for which the property was to be enjoyed is omitted. Four *karabhi* and four *mêrišê*, implying eight years in all, is a common term. The money was generally repaid from the crops.

The traces on the right-hand edge seem to be all that was written there. The first line, *ŠE-KI-KUD*, is a well-known ideogram of *esidu*, 'harvest.' In the second line the scribe seems to have written *IS ŠI ŠU*, but I am quite unable to make out the meaning of that. I think *ŠI* is an error for *BAR*. We have seen that *GIŠ-BAR* is the ideogram for average yield, § 86 ff. The third line I read *išakkan*, taking the final *an* as a phonetic suffix to *kan*. The whole seems therefore to mean, the 'harvest shall lay down its average yield.' This I take to be a short way of expressing that the average yield was estimated to be a fair equivalent of the sum to be repaid.

## 493. No. 89. Portions only. Red.

Šamaš-dâru lends a half mina of silver, royal standard, to Mannu-kî..... The house of the borrower was probably named in line 4. What could have been in line 5, I can only conjecture; *laššu*, 'there shall not be,' points to a prohibition of some sort. The phrase so common in Babylonian loans on security, *idi bîti iâ'nu, ħubulli kaspi iâ'nu*, may here have been replaced by the same words with *laššu* for *iâ'nu*. The exact form which it took we are not able to decide, for line 5 seems to begin with *a*. In line 6, *ma* does not seem to fit the formula. We may have here *kaspu u (ħabulli)*. On the edge we have *ina libbi ûmê ša kaspu (GUR =) itur adi ħabullišu iddanûni ana bîtišu erabbi*, 'on the day that he returns the money with the interest and pays it over he shall enter upon his house.' Such seemed to me to be the reading in 1898, now I incline to take *GUR-A-DU* as a damaged *ħakḫadu* which was evidently followed by *ħabulli*. The sense is unaltered, except that we have no verb *târu*.

The date is given as the 25th of Ulûlu, B.C. 683. There are five witnesses.

It is noticeable that no Eponym is given, only the regnal year, the 22nd year of Sennacherib.

The name of the lender, Šamaš-dâru, only occurs here, and as the name of the borrower is lost with the exception of Mannu-(kî); we are not in a good position to identify any fragment as joining it.

The name of the first witness, Ištar-taribi, is that of a borrower on no. 13; of the lender in no. 780, in B.C. 663; of a slave sold, a *rêd imêrê*, on no. 196; of a witness, Ep. G, on no. 250. The name is variously spelt, *SU* being the ideogram for *erêbu*, 'to increase,' we have here *AN-XV-ta-ri-bi*, probably a genitive after *pâni*; *AN-XV-ta-ri-ba*, a genitive or accusative after *ina pâni*, or after *ša*; *AN-XV-ta-SU*, *XV-ta-SU*, and perhaps *XV-SU*. The latter name is borne by a slave, on no. 661. In view of the fact that here we find the verb *tariba* made to agree with Ištar, construed as feminine, we might deduce a rule that such was always the case. But there are many cases where Ištar is construed as masculine; and we may also regard this case as the 2nd person singular of the verb, 'Ištar thou givest increase.' A name like *AN-XV-nâ'id*, or the frequent Ištar-šum-êreš, leaves us in much uncertainty.

The name Ardi-Ištar is discussed in § 472. The name Illû is unique, but we may compare Illu-uknu, in § 435. In the next name Šilli-Marduk, as I read it once, the *AN-ŠU* is now not at all clear.

It may be *Bêl*, or *RI*. I am of opinion that *NUN* as the first element of names is to be read *Šilli*, and not *Šil*, as has been usual. This would be the only occurrence in our documents of *Šilli-Marduk*. *Šilli-Bêl* was the name of the Eponym and *râb-BI-LUL*, B.C. 808, III. R. I, III. 10; of the king of Gaza, in the time of Ašur-bânipal, III. R. 16, no. 1, v. 15; of a neighbour in Lahiru and *re'u sagullât*, B.C. 670, on no. 625; of a slave sold, on no. 241. The name *NUN-RI* might perhaps be read *Šilli-Ištar*, but does not occur elsewhere.

The name written *Si-lim-SI* is curious and only occurs here. Usually *Silim* is followed by a divine name, e.g. *Silim-Adadi*, *Silim-Ašur*, *Silim-Bêl*, *Silim-ili*, *Silim-Ištar*, *Silim-Šamaš*, *Silim-Šarri*, even *Silim-Ištar-lâmur* is no exception. We may take *Si* here to be the god *Si'*, so common in Harraan names. But at the end of words *SI* often is read *lišir* and *Silim-lišir* would be an admissible name. The next name is doubtful. As I give it, we must read *Mušallim-Marduk*, the only instance of this quite admissible name. But the *AN* before *šu* now looks more like the remains of *ardu*, in which case we should read *Mušallim ardušu*. This would be the only occurrence of *Mušallim* as a name in our documents. The *ardušu*, 'his servant,' would perhaps refer to the last witness, or to one of the principals.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

*An advance of money and food to workmen.*

494. No. 90. Complete all but the right-hand top corner of obverse and lower corner of reverse. Red brown.

The character of this document is unique. There is here an advance of money, bronze, and of corn and drink to a certain *Šamaš-ibni*, *Latubašâni*-(ilu?), *Ukîn-abîa*, *Aḫu...*, in all six *šâbê*, as wages and keep, for their work on some building. They are to repair the ruin, make firm the beams, fix the woodwork, set up the roof. If the brickwork and fastening by the end of the month *Tišritu* be not handed over, they shall work and finish it. Seven witnesses. Dated on the 6th, 16th, or 26th, of some month, in the Eponymy of *Bêl-danan*, in his second term of office, i.e. B.C. 734.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 84.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract,' presumably because of the presence of witnesses.



The unusual nature of the contents is rendered still more obscure by the bad state of preservation of the tablet. Some textual criticisms must precede any consideration of the sense. In line 1, the tablet has two verticals where I give *a*: with some trouble these may be seen to be the remains of *a*, but make me doubt if *a* was meant. If so, we should read Šamaš-bâni-aplu, in place of Šamaš-ibni. What follows may be taken for *šu*, which is not very intelligible, or for the remains of *amêl*. Hence we may have Šamaš-ibni and two others, or Šamaš-bâni-aplu, with a title. There can hardly be much more of the name, in line 2, than I give, though of course the god's name may have stood on the edge of the tablet. What followed *S/S* in line 3, I am unable to conjecture. But we clearly have either four or six persons named in the first three lines. In line 4, the numeral is now represented by a pit, of which the top edge indicates the top of three or four wedges. If there were three, we should suppose it to mean 6, if four were written, then the number must be 4; we cannot admit more than 6, or less than 4.

The amount of bronze cannot have been anything else than what I give, though several of the signs are very indistinct. In line 6, the three homers, one *ŠE*, i.e. 60 *KA*, are certain. The sign *PAT*, *kurummatu*, 'food,' specially roast corn, is very indistinct but seems demanded. The *MEŠ* is quite clear. The *tappi* is written as if *BI-ME*. That might be taken for *BI*, with a plural sign, but this scribe uses *MEŠ* throughout. I should regard *tappi* as from *êpû*, 'to bake,' 'to cook,' in the sense of 'roasted' corn.

The signs which I read *UD X*, 'tenth day,' in line 7, are doubtful. There is no *kan* after the numeral, as one would expect for a date. I suspect some sign to have been written over another. The sign *ITU*, *arhu*, 'month,' is clear. The signs *dul-lu*, 'the work,' are certain, but *kaḫ* is followed by *uṣ*, not *kil* as I give. The sign is clearly *uṣ*, and *KAḫ-uṣ* is, of course, *epuṣ*. Hence the line seems to have meant, 'within the month they (or he) shall do the work.'

In line 8, it is a question whether *pi* or *pu* was written. I take the word to be *talpîtu*, or *talputu*, and derive it from *lapâtu*, 'to overthrow,' in the sense of 'a ruin,' 'a breakdown,' needing repairs. Thus *talpîtu gabbu* will mean all the injured parts of the building. In line 9, *is* is certain, but for *sar* we must read *guṣûru*, and the whole line is *guṣûrê uṣabat*, a frequent phrase for making firm the beams of a house. These beams I take to be those supporting the

roof, or floors of upper chambers, and we may suspect that the term was extended to include brickwork or stone pillars or other supports. The *ûri*, in line 1 of the lower edge, are also 'beams,' which I take to be cross beams. The verb *isibi* clearly means 'to repair' in some sense, and I had thought of connecting it with *sippu*, 'a threshold,' of which one form is *sibbu*. But *SI* is an ideogram for *nakâbu*, and both *i* and *bi* could be phonetic prefix and suffix, giving *ikkabi*. There is a verb *nakâpu*, or *nakâbu*, connected with 'walls,' and *nakâbu ša dûri* may denote some 'repair of a wall.' At present the derivation seems uncertain.

Whether *ispînu* is one word, and a by-form of *supînnu*, 'a covering,' or a verb, like *ilbinu* from *labânu*, seems not clear. Possibly we are to read (*išu*) *pînu*, but that also is obscure. The verb, in line 3, is clearly *išakkan*: 'he shall lay' or 'place.' Hence I ventured to render both lines by 'he shall place the roof.' In the first line of the reverse, *šummu*, 'if,' introduces a condition, and we should expect that it would be that if the work were not done to the satisfaction of the employer, a penalty would be imposed. The words are obscure, however. It seems likely that *libini* is a noun, perhaps plural of *libinu*, and connected with the verb *labânu*. The usual word for a 'brick' is *libittu*, and *libinu* I have taken to mean 'brickwork': either the process of setting bricks or the resulting masonry may be meant. Whether, in line 2, *tamaḥi* is one word and complete is hard to say. When I copied the tablet, I imagined that *istû maḥiri* had been written, but there is no certainty that *ri* was ever on the tablet. There is a verb *tamaḥu*, 'to lay hold of,' 'to hold,' which does not seem to suit here. The verb is also parallel to *êsip*, *uštēni*, *uraddi*. The meaning of 'to add' would suit very well here, in the sense of 'additions' to a building. In line 3, I simply cannot read the sign or two before *arḥu*, perhaps it is the same as in line 7 of obverse. It has some resemblance to *imer*, or *tum*, and at times also to *pî*. Perhaps it was an ideogram for 'during.' It is certainly not *ina libbi*. In the same line we could take *dulla* as meaning 'work,' accusative of *dullu*, but then *din* would be alone. If we take *TUL* as the month 'Tîšrîtu, we have *lâdin* left, which might be *lâ idin* and would so be correct after *šumma*. Then we should render, 'if the brickwork and additions within the month of 'Tîšrîtu he has not given over.' There is another bare possibility; *amêl TIN* is the *muttaggišu*, who is concerned with repairs, see § 189. If *TIN* be the ideogram for the

root of this word, *nagāšū*, then instead of *lā idin* we may read *lā igguš*: 'he has not repaired.'

In line 4, we have the decision as to what shall be the consequence of the failure to execute the job within the agreed time. Here again read *KAĶ-uš*, *ēpuš*, 'he shall do,' or 'make,' followed by *ugamur*, 'he shall complete.'

Such is the best explanation that I can offer of this obscure and badly preserved text. Curiously enough we cannot tell the employer. If *Šamaš-bâni-aplu* be the correct reading of the first name, perhaps he was the employer. Then in line 4, the numeral is certainly to be read 4 and not 6. The name *Šamaš-bâni-aplu* was borne by a person named on K 1351. *Šamaš-ibni* is a very common name, borne by a king of Bît Dakkûri, I. R. 45, II. 44; III. R. 15, III. 20; and on K 112, 615, 644, 4285, 8363; 83-1-18, 554; Bu. 91-5-9, 110: also on K 961.

The second name is not complete, on its form see § 478. The name *Ukîn-abîa* is only found here. A similar name *Ukîn-abûa* was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 796, *šaknu* of Tušhan, III. R. 1, III. 22; and by the father of Sinġi, on no. 311. Some would perhaps read it *Mukîn-abîa*, but the fact that *Ukîn-zêr* is supported, as the name of the king of Babylon, by the Greek *Χίτζηρος*, seems conclusive in favour of my reading. Of the fourth name I can make nothing. Perhaps it was *Aġu-ilai*.

The first witness bears the name *Abu-ul-îdî*, 'he knows not his father.' The name suggests a posthumous son. The name was borne also by a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 100; by a witness and *aba*, B.C. 666, on no. 185; by a witness and *šaknu* of Kakzi, Ep. H, on no. 50; by a witness, Ep. P, on no. 628; by a witness and *šalšu*, Ep. T, on no. 618; by a witness and *tukultu*, on no. 345; by a principal and *šangû rabû*, on no. 657; by the father of Tebêtai, on no. 128; by a neighbour, on no. 411; by a slave sold, on no. 265; and occurs on Rm. II. 462. The name is here written phonetically except that *AD* is the ideogram for *Abu*, but we also meet with *AD-ul-ZU*, and *AD-NU-ZU*.

The next name only occurs here, *Ķurbu-îlu*. I take *Ķurbu* to be the imperative of *Ķarâbu*, 'to draw near,' like *turşu* from *tarâşu*; and render it 'Draw nigh, O God.' The next name is *Adadi-aġu-uşur*, borne also by the principal, Ep. T, on no. 618. The name *Ispu* has already been discussed in § 488. The next name probably ended in *lišir*. The next ends in *im*, very likely the ideogram for

Adadi. The day of the month is not certain, except that the numeral ended in 6.

The Eponym Bêl-danan was Eponym in B.C. 882, III. R. 1, II. 43; again B.C. 809, as *nâgir êkalli*, III. R. 1, III. 9; again B.C. 751, as *râb BI-LUL*, III. R. 1, IV. 19. These may well be the same person. Another Bêl-danan, *šaknu* of Kalḫu, was Eponym B.C. 745, and again B.C. 734, still as *šaknu* of Kalḫu: III. R. 1, IV. 25, 35. This unusual event, that the same person, in the same office, should twice act as Eponym not only called for remark, but would lead to confusion unless an additional statement was made in which of the two Eponymies the date really lay. This is done here by the words *ina šanê pûrišu*. The same remark is added to the date in no. 415, where he is also said to be *šaknu* of Kalḫu. In his comments on no. 415, Dr Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 106, called attention to this significance of *pûru* as meaning *Amtszeit*. He further pointed out that on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., *K. B.* I. p. 148, in line 174, the word *pu-u...* was probably to be completed to *pûri* or *bûri*. He would then translate that line, *Im 31. meiner Regierungsjahre lief ich zum zweiten Male den pûru-Lauf Ašurs und Rammâns*. He further says, *Augenscheinlich war das die Ceremonie, durch deren Vollzug das Eponymat feierlich übernommen wurde*. G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 84, had already given the date of our tablet as '8th day, eponym Bel-daan in his second eponymy(?)'. The fact that a recurrence of a term of office, specially as Eponym, was regarded as a second *pûru*, has an evident bearing on the vexed derivation of *Purîm*, which the book of Esther declares to mean 'lots.' This bearing was pointed out by me in a note in the *Expositor*, Aug. 1896. Since then I have examined the traces on Shalmaneser's Obelisk and they are those of *ru*, so that the word there was certainly *pûru*. In 1897, Professor Sayce, in *P. S. B. A.* XIX. p. 280, called attention to the passages pointed out by Dr Peiser, and rendered the Shalmaneser passage, 'for the second time the Pûr-festival of Assur and Rimmon I celebrated.' He states that 'the meaning of *akruru* was fixed by Rawlinson many years ago.' Jastrow in his *Babylonian-Assyrian Religion*, p. 686, note 2, says that Sayce's view that this *pûru* is connected with *Purîm* is not to be taken seriously. At least I suppose that is the view which he wishes to combat. For on p. 687, Jastrow also quotes Peiser's comment and says that the ceremony connected with the installation of a *limmu* 'involved a running of some kind.' He recalls 'the running

between the two hills Marwa and Safa in Mekka that forms part of the religious observances in connection with a visit to the Kaaba.' He admits the name of the ceremony to have been *pûru* or *bûru*, but thinks that 'to connect this word with the Jewish festival of Purîm, as Sayce proposes, is wholly unwarranted.' But it is the nature of the ceremony which he ascribes to the Pûru festival which is unwarranted. Until Jastrow had emphasised the idea of 'running,' it never struck me that Dr Peiser meant literal 'running.' If so, he must have read *agruru* for *akruru*, which is of course permissible, but unlikely. The meaning of *karâru*, a word often applied to work done to buildings, is given by Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 355 b, as 'to pull down,' so also by Muss-Arnolt, p. 440 b, but Meissner, *Supp.* p. 50 f, shews that it means really 'to erect,' and this meaning is possible in all the passages quoted to support the opposite meaning. It may of course be that it means rather 'to re-erect,' 'renovate,' a process which implies some pulling down. That it is parallel to *rakâsu*, 'to bind,' 'to repair,' is very suggestive. Dr C. Johnston in his *Assyrian Epistolary Literature*, p. 67, renders 'to sanctify,' 'consecrate,' comparing the Arabic كَرَّرَ, 'to purify.' But in the case which he considers, the consecration of Nabû's couch in the city of Kalah, all that is necessary is the 'renovation' of the couch. Nabû was moved out of his shrine, on the 3rd of Aaru and returned on the 4th. Whether this was an annual ceremony is not stated, but the sacrifices named as attending it appear to be customary, and the work done on the couch could not have taken long. The quotation which Delitzsch makes from C<sup>b</sup> obv. 30, *uššû ša bit Nabû ša Ninâ karru*, and takes to mean 'the foundation of the temple of Nabû in Nineveh was fallen down,' need only mean 'was renovated.' That the next year was marked by a return of Nabû to a new temple, B.C. 787, would apply equally well after a 'renovation.' In the fragment of an Eponym list, published by me, *P. S. B. A.* XVIII. p. 205 ff., and no. 1098, an ideogram *SAR* appears in the years B.C. 718 and 689. Now *SAR* as an ideogram denotes *rakâsu*, which we have seen to be similar in meaning to *karâru*. It also denotes *šurru*, which certainly means 'beginning.' Here we may notice that *SUR* and *KAR* are both ideograms for *eferu* and perhaps *SUR* had also the value *KAR*. If so, *šurru* is to be read *karru*. However that may be *šurru*, as 'commencement,' denotes a fresh 'start.' That, with a thing that has already been some time in existence, means a 'renovation.' Now there is no

event connected with these years B.C. 718 and 689, of which we know, that can interfere with the supposition that these were *karru*. We know that *SAR* also means *isinnu*, a 'festival' of some kind. Professor Sayce conjectures, l. c., that the Pûr Festival took place each 30 years, because Shalmaneser returned to his second *pûru* after 30 years. This is also the interval between our *SAR* years: but the other occurrences would not suit such an interval. Hence it seems certain that according to the Obelisk, we must render, 'in the 31st year of my reign, for the second time, I renewed the *pûru*, before Ašur and Adadi.' Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 306, has shewn reason to think that at one time there was a 30 years' cycle, to account for the three intercalary months which were in use. Without accepting his solution as the only one possible, we may have in the *karru* an evidence of some such cycle.

When we go back to *pûru*, we may note that *u*, the sign for 10, originally a circle, was called *pûru*; and that *GASAN*, the ten-fold of the same sign, was originally a barred circle, and also called *pûru*, see Thureau-Dangin, *L'Écriture Cunéiforme*, p. 78. How could both be called *pûru*, unless in the process of counting each was a round counter, one with cross bars, the other plain? Hence Professor Jensen's view that *pûru* was a small round stone, used as a counter and meaning 'ten' is at least made probable. But Professor Zimmern in his *B. K. B. R. Ritualtafeln*, p. 147, note κ, shews that *pûru* denoted a 'jar' or 'pot,' probably a 'stone jar' for holding 'oil.' Reisner, in his *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, no. 31, obv. 11 f., has *pûru* as the name of a 'stone,' on which Jensen remarks in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1896, no. 50, 1803.

These facts were communicated to Wildeboer, and incorporated in his Hand-Commentar on Esther, p. 173 f. Winckler, *A. F. Sec. Ser.* p. 334, takes exactly the same view as I do of Peiser's facts. But he further concludes that the *pûru* ceremony was associated directly with the coronation of an Assyrian king. He further deduces from Tiglath Pileser III's coronation on the 12th of Aaru, and the absence in his case of any *rêš šarrûti*, that this was then the date of ceremony. He regards the date as not necessarily tied to one month and in this he may be right. But there is nothing to prevent the *pûru*, or 'lot,' for the offices of the incoming year being usually taken in Adar, followed by a solemn inauguration into those offices at the New Year Festival, or Zakmuku, in Nisan. The actual use of the word *pûru* to denote a lot, is furnished by Nbd. 787, 7, where

property is divided *ašar pûru*, 'by lot,' parallel with *ašar šibu*, 'by choice'; see Marx, *B. A. S.* iv. 65. Hence the use of *pûru* to denote 'lot' is fully made out. Whether the office of Eponym was actually ever settled by casting lots is a different question. The order of the Eponyms in earlier times shews that there was something like a fixed order of the cities which should furnish the Eponyms. Perhaps the question as to which city should furnish the Eponym was not brought up, but only, for a given year, who should be *šaknu* of that city which then implied the Eponymy. After Sennacherib's accession the old order was so altered and such variations occur, that we may well believe the decision was made by lot. But the candidates, if we may so call them, were probably a select few and the king's favour or some collusion must be supposed to account for the Tartan, the *râb BI-LUL*, etc., always getting the first places.

At any rate the sense of *pûru* as denoting a 'term of office,' especially a tenure of the Eponymy, is quite made out. We may await with confidence further facts and instances to throw light on the varied usages of the word and on the connection of the Pûr festival with a particular date.

*Fragments of texts similar to those above.*

495. No. 91. Portions only are preserved. Grey.

There is not sufficient of the text left in order to make out the nature of the transaction with certainty. The shape of the tablet is like that of those we have been considering. In line 2, we have mention of some 'souls,' apparently 'slaves,' *ardâni*. Line 3 has the end of the word *ussibila*, 'he has caused to be brought,' pointing to a production of a pledge probably. In the next line was probably 'so many homers of corn-land,' *šêzêr*, followed by a number, 1200 or more, probably 'vines,' *tillit*, in a plantation. All this property seems to have been situated 'in the vicinity,' *ina kâni*, of some place or other. The next line seems to preserve part of a place or personal name, *-turkâta-*, but I fail to identify it. The date, in line 1 of the reverse, may be that on which it was to be returned, *ina muhhi*, 'to' something or some one. But it could also be the end of a personal name, like Rîmut-Ištar. After the division line, we perhaps have *(man)nu kaspu ma'du*, 'whoever the money and increase,' shall repay, etc. The signs *me su* are not what one would expect. The word *kâtâ* is followed by *su*, and if they are to be

taken together, must be read *ḫât-su*. In line 4, we see that there were *kirê nišê*, 'gardens and people,' involved.

On the whole, there seems just enough to justify our regarding the transaction as a loan on security, or an assignment of property in lieu of a debt.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

496. No. 92. Lacks both end of obverse and beginning of reverse, and no line is quite complete. The colour is dark red.

In line 1, we read 'on the first of some month,' *ina ūmi I (KAN) ša arḫi*. Probably only the name of the month is lost, and this was the day on which the debt was to be repaid. What followed the name Šarru-lûdâri, in line 2, is hard to say. Perhaps the two slant wedges are the beginning of *amtušu*, 'his maid,' as a woman's name, Šumuitu, follows. She is said to be *adi*, 'with' something; probably *kinniša*, as in no. 59, 10. Then we find the sum of 'ten shekels of silver,' which was perhaps the debt for which this woman was pledged. The trace after *kaspi* may be the beginning of *LUḪ*, that is, *misû*, 'clean,' 'bright,' as epithet of the silver. Or perhaps it was *ḫaḫkadu*, the 'capital.' Apparently the sum was to be paid *ina libbi âl KAK...*, perhaps in Kalḫu or Kakzi.

There are traces of the presence of six witnesses. The name of the first is lost, of the second only *Ab* is legible. The next name, Gabbu-ilâni, if complete, is discussed in § 485. The name of the next, Arbâilai, is taken in §§ 409, 477. Ķurdi-Adadi was also the name of the witness, *aba ša êkalli maḫirte ša Kalḫi*, in B.C. 709, see *S. A. V.* 28. It was borne by a witness, B.C. 698, on no. 371; by a witness and *râb urâte*, B.C. 692, on no. 440; by a witness and *râb urâte*, in Ep. Y, on no. 151; by a slave, B.C. 694, on no. 58; by a witness and *rakbu*, Ep. B, on no. 207; by a principal, on no. 111. How to read the name, in line 6, I do not know. Kuluka... reminds us of Kulu'-Ištar, discussed in § 485; but the name is incomplete. The next name ends in *zêr-kêniš-lîšir*, with which we may compare Nabû-zêr-kêniš-lîšir. This was the name of the *ḫazânu šanû* of Nineveh, in Ep. G, on no. 160. Our witness was probably also a *ḫazânu*, seen next line. The same name occurs on the letter 82-5-22, 150. It may also be read Nabû-zêr-munazziz, but the meaning of that would be questionable.

The name of Šarru-lûdâri was borne by the king of Askalon, son of Rukipti, i. R. 38, 62. Also the seller, B.C. 692, on no. 324; a witness, B.C. 667, on no. 204; the Eponym of B.C. 664, *šaknu* of



Dûr-Sargon, on nos. 377, 398; the seller, son of Aḫûasu, *rakbu* of the *râb šâḫê* of the Crown Prince, Ep. A, on no. 325; a witness and *mutir pûti*, Ep. Q, on no. 349; a seller on no. 174; a buyer on nos. 336, 639; a neighbour on no. 433; a witness on no. 476; all bear this name. It occurs in the letters K 31, 571, 1353; 83-1-18, 75. On no. 857, it is the name of a *mukil apâti*; on no. 876, the father of Nusku-iddin; on no. 986, the son of Ariḫi, in *âl šē* Saḫamanu; on no. 1046, the donor of an ox is called Šarru-lûdâri. This was the name of the king of Ši'nu, in Egypt, in the beginning of Ašurbânipal's reign, see III. R. 28, 33, 45; 81-2-4, 403, K 8537. It is a specimen name, App. 1, IX. 1: and means 'Long may the king endure.'

The maid's name Šumuitu only occurs here. It seems to be gentilic, 'She from Šumu.'

We might reconcile the traces with the formula of a loan on security more closely perhaps by supposing *kûm* at the end of line 3, and completing line 4 with the verb *išakkan*.

A quotation was given, *S. A. V.* 7427.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, calls this a 'private contract.'

497. No. 93. Only the right-hand half is preserved. Red.

The traces of the first three lines are quite meaningless. In line 4, *ikribûni* is quite certain. The word *karâbu* occurs in legal decisions, and of course this may be one, but the word is clearly in a dependent clause, and it is more likely that an appeal to the law courts is thereby expressly barred. In line 5, the signs are not unlike *amêl AZAG-LAL*, which perhaps could be read *amêl sâniḫ šarpi*, 'a silver cutter'(?). The whole of the next line is all but illegible. For the first *a* we could read *za*; after *lu*, we may have *ša* in place of *TIS*; in place of *ia* perhaps *ši*; and for *a-ba*, perhaps *hi* followed by *meš*. But I can make no combination of the signs to yield any sense. In line 7, in place of *ŠI-TIS*, we may read *ku* or *šû*.

The word *ba-tu-ku* seems to be clear, *iddanûni* is clearly part of a dependent clause. In the next line we have perhaps *ba* instead of *ardu*. The next two signs may be *ru* followed by *lib*. The word *i-tu-ru-ni* is possible at the end of the line. But, in line 3, *bît šutûni* again points to a dependent clause. So far we might suppose the text to be part of a letter.

On the edge, there seems to have been part of the clauses of a deed of sale. But the whole text conveys no sense. The clause

*bîtišu TU-u-ni* could be read *bîtišu erabûni*, 'his house he shall enter.' This and the sale clause made me fancy the text might refer to a loan on security of a house. Whether there is any force in such a conclusion, I leave to others to decide. The *bataku* also seems to point to 'repairs to a house,' but the usual word is *batku*.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, only ventures to call it 'a private contract.' The shape suggests an inner case tablet.

498. No. 94. Only portions preserved. Red.

No connected view of the transaction is possible. In line 1, we have the end of a proper name, probably Nabûa, who may have been a borrower. In line 2, the *šumma* is not certain, *lâ kittu* seems to be 'not justice,' *SE-ni* is of course *iddini*, 'he give,' in a dependent clause. The words therefore seem to mean, 'if he do not give justice.' In line 3, we read *amiltu adi sartiša iddan*, 'the woman with her value (or fine) he shall give.' Then in line 4, we read that *Ḫanânu* is *bêl kâtâti ša šarri*, that is, 'agent for the king.' All this looks as if we had to do with a legal decision. The *sartu* will be seen later under legal decisions to be the fine or compensation due for a wrong. Here the woman and her compensation are to be given. The delinquent had perhaps stolen a woman and is condemned to pay her value and a *sartu*, or fine, and if he does not do this justice, he is to return her with the fine. Apparently she was stolen from the king, or royal household, and Ḫanânu is the king's agent in the matter. When I placed this here, I thought the clauses suggestive of a loan on security. Now I should be inclined to put it later, but there is very little to go by.

The name of the first witness Babilai, literally 'Babylonian,' is the name of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 624; of a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 668, on no. 472; a seller on no. 244; buyer on no. 296; witness *ardu ša pâni êkalli*, on no. 464; father of Ninip....., on no. 415; father of Nusku-êmurâni, on no. 387; witness and *pirhînu*, on no. 255; a *mutir pûti*, on no. 857, i. 26; on no. 852. ii. 8; on no. 874, 2; son of Nabû-nâšir, on no. 880, 8; on no. 855, 12; in the letters K 31, 660, 4709; and as a specimen name App. 1, ix. 14. The name Bâbu-ilai, which was borne by a witness, B.C. 679, on no. 150, I take to mean something different. The Bâbu here seems to be a by-form of Bau. Our witness was a *ḫazânu*.

How to complete the name, in rev. line 2, I do not know. Gugûa is possible: for *û* could have been separated some way from *a*. The name Gugu was borne by the king of Lydia, in the time

of Ašurbânipal; III. R. 29, no 1, R. 13; V. R. 2, 95, where it is spelt *Gu-gu*. The variant *Gu-ug-gu* occurs III. R. 30, II. 89, and as variant to V. R. 2, 95. This is the classical Gyges. The same name spelt *Gu-gi-i* occurs as that of the father of Zârûti, on no. 44; as that of the father of Adadi-uballit, on no. 446. Were all these folk Lydians or is the name really Semitic? Compare Gagî on K 1991; and the female name Gagâi, wife of Iddûa, on no. 891, R. 5. See now Scheil, *D. P.* II. p. 78. Gugu is an Elamite or Kassite god, see the name Kuri-Gugu. Also Gaga is a god, Zimmern *B. K. B. R.*, *Šurpu* VIII. 15; and Gagaia is a country, *Tell el Amarna*, *B. M.* 1. 38. We may compare Old Test. Gog and Magog. There was also a Gâgu, *ḥazânu* of the land of Saḥi, see Cyl. B., G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 97. This chieftain seems associated with the Madai. The traces of the other names of witnesses and the date are too badly preserved to be of any use.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, places this among the 'private contracts.'

499. No. 95. A mere fragment. Chocolate brown.

I am unable to offer any suggestions concerning the nature of the transaction. The shape of the tablet suggests a money advance. The few traces left seem to exclude a simple loan, hence it may be a loan on security. In line 1, we may have the end of *manê* or of a proper name. In line 2, we probably have the end of a proper name, -Bêl. In line 3, we seem to have a price, 'one half *ḫa* of bronze,' a very small price for anything. Perhaps the characters in line 4, *pi-e* are the end of the same proper name as occurred in line 1. If this was a loan on security, *ti*, in line 5, may be the end of *šabirti*. The character, at the end of line 6, seems to have been *te*. In line 7, *di-nu* was perhaps the end of *iddinu*. The traces at the ends of the first four lines of reverse probably are the ends of the names of witnesses.

The name of the Eponym, Nabû-aḥê-iddin, is that of the Eponym of B.C. 675-4, III. R. 1, VI. 6, where it is written *AN-PA-PAP-MEŠ-SE-na*. It occurs in the same form as here, as that of the Eponym on no. 124; witness, B.C. 680, on no. 119; witness and *šaknu*, B.C. 676, on no. 175; judge and *ḥazânu*, Ep. S, on no. 166; *tukultu rabû*, on no. 186; *mutir pûti ša šarri*, on K 1217; on K 1896; as a specimen name, App. I, II. 15. The same name, spelt *AN-AK-SIS-MEŠ-id-din* is on 81-7-27, 31; as *AN-PA-SIS-MEŠ-MU*, on K 7335; as *AN-AK-SIS-MEŠ-SE-na*, a writer of

astrological reports, on K 755, 794, 1373, 83-1-18, 244; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5699. The form *AN-AK-PAP-ME-MU* occurs on K 433, father of Šillai; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5698. Another form *AN-AK-SIS-MEŠ-MU* occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5698.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92, and Budge, *H. E.* p. 13.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, calls it a 'private contract.'

500. No. 96 is a small fragment. Drab.

There is too little left to decide the character of the transaction, but by the shape of the tablet I should expect it to be a money loan. In line 1, we may perhaps restore *ginû ša Adadi*. After *ilu* may well be the trace of *IM*. In line 2, *ZU-AN* may be La'iti-ili, if so, it is all the name, perhaps of the lender. In line 3, may be a date, or the end of *kaspu*. The date is complete, the 20th of Aaru, B.C. 651. Two witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 95. The tablet was then unnumbered.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 b, regards it as a 'private contract.'

The Eponym's name, Ašur-ilai, was borne by an Eponym, B.C. 863, III. R. 1, II. 2, as well as by the Eponym assigned by G. Smith to B.C. 651, which is the date I accept. As Eponym the name occurs also on nos. 379, 387, whence we learn that he was a *sukallu rabû*. The name was borne by a witness; B.C. 680, on no. 359; B.C. 679, on no. 150; B.C. 673, on no. 118; B.C. 671, on nos. 192, 258; by a witness and *râb kišir, mutîr pûti*, B.C. 664, on no. 115; by a neighbour, *Ep. A'*, on no. 414; by a witness and *šalšu*, on no. 471; by a witness and *râb kišir*, on no. 537; by a witness, on no. 529; and in the letter K 633.

The name, Apil-šarri-bêl-aḥê, of the first witness, occurs also on no. 628, as that of a tenant, in *Ep. P.* A somewhat similar name, Apil-šarri-ilai, was borne by a witness and *râb kišir ša šêpâ*, on no. 235, and occurs in the Harran Census. The Apil-šarri here intended I take to be the Crown-Prince. Hence this use of the name, like that of *Šarru*, seems to imply divine honour being paid to the king and king's son. If on the other hand we read *Šarru* as Šamaš, perhaps Apil-šarri is also a divine name.

Marduk-mât-ušur, the name of the second witness, is the name of a *bârû*, on no. 851, II. 4.

501. No. 97. Only part of the tablet is left to the upper portion of which a part of the outer tablet adheres. Red.

Of the obverse, hardly anything is certain. In line 4, the Ištar, *XV.*, is not so certain as I give. The name may have begun further to the left, and after a vertical read *AN-A*, or *AN-ZA*. On the first line of the lower edge, there is a horizontal after *lu*. The date is certain as I give. A very remarkable feature of the reverse is the repeated use of *ina pâni* before the nine names. As a rule this is not used before witnesses but before borrowers only. Here there were nine borrowers.

The first name on the reverse may be restored Šamaš-têgi, which only occurs here. The root of *têgi* is seen in Atgi-ilu, Latêgi-ana-ili, but is not otherwise known to me; see § 478. The name Uari is not found elsewhere: but a similar word appears in the name Sandu-uari and in the town named Maribe-uari, in the Haran Census. This latter reference suggests an Aramaic origin, compare the numerous names beginning with ʾ, in Lidzbarski, *N. E.* p. 261 f. The name Taela seems to be the same as Ta'lâ, borne by an *irrišu*, in Asihî, 'with his people'; and by another *irrišu*, also 'with his people,' in Ardizi, both on no. 742. This name also occurs in the Haran Census.

The name Nabû-kâšir, is found on no. 880, i. 8, as that of the father of Babilai; on no. 889, R 6, as that of the father of Bêl-aḥ-iddin; and App. i, iv. 15, as a specimen. The next name I read Ikîša-aplu. It is the name of a witness, B.C. 685, on no. 232; of an *aba* of the king on K 81; on K 10, 679; on the Sargon stone, son of Šumu-ukîn, B.C. 709, *P. A. S.* p. 10: and often in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 173, etc. I imagine the scribe has written one *a* too many. We could hardly read Ikîšai, or Bašai. The *ba* is badly written and may be meant for *Bar* or *Maš*, so that we could read Baršai or Maššai. The next name may be variously read. I incline to Likkimê, compare the Likimmai, on the Sargon Stone, *P. A. S.* p. 14. The name Dinâ also occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 2000. Sukai has been considered in § 482. The last name Meša is very doubtful. This is a very singular collection of names.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.' 502. No. 98. Part, only, of an inner tablet. Red.

The whole transaction is not clear, but seems to concern a renewal of a bond for some money. So far as it is preserved we may read, 'in the month Simânu, on the day when Uḫubu should have released into the hands of Menaḫimu, he did not present (the

money) he did not give. Two minas of silver, with its interest, Uḫubu to Menaḫimu shall give.' Dated the 23rd of Nisānu, Ep. Z. Two witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 100.

A transliteration and translation is published by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 156.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

Dr Peiser renders the first five lines by (*Geld vom*) *Siman*..... welches Uḫubu aus der Hand des Menaḫimī hatte herausgehen lassen, (aber) nicht gegeben hat. The word *uṣṣu* is generally applied to the release of the pledge. Literally it means 'to cause to go forth.' It might therefore be rendered 'go forth at the hands of Menaḫimu'; only it is active in sense. It must refer to 'causing something to go forth,' this clearly was the money, which Uḫubu had to place in the hands of Menaḫimu. Dr Peiser omits line 5 entirely. The verb *usāli* must be for *uštalli*, II. 2, from *šalū*, 'to present,' discussed in § 491. This may be a legal decision or a renewal of a bond to pay. We are not told that two minas was the original debt, but very likely that sum was advanced without interest up to the month of Simānu. Dr Peiser calls the transaction an *unterlassene Zahlung*.

The name of the debtor, Uḫubu, only occurs here, but the female name Uḫubutu occurs as the name of a slave sold, B.C. 682, on no. 222. The root of course is that seen in Aḫabi-ilu, *T. S. B. A.* VIII. p. 284; in the Aḫaba, witness on no. 448; the city Aḫaba, of v. R. 3, 98, in Akkad; and of Aḫaba, a citizen of Daratai, on K 186. Professor Hilprecht, *B. E. P.* ix. p. 49, gives the form Aḫabbi-ilī, and compares the Aramaic עֲבָאֵל, Palmyrene בלעקב. We may add surely, Jacob, from the Old Test., and the Palmyrene עֲתֻעֲקֵב. From the Ḥarran Census we may add Si'-aḫabi, and from *B. E. P.* ix. p. 49, Aḫubu, p. 61, Iḫubu, p. 64, Nabû-ḫaḫabi, where Hilprecht gives the meaning 'Nabû rewards.' Perhaps the same root occurs in the Babylonian clan name Egibi, but see Peiser, *M. V. G.* 97, p. 309, where he shews Egibi to be an abbreviation for Aku-batila, i.e. Sin-uballit.

The name of the creditor, Menaḫimu, is the same as *Mi-ni-ḫi-im-mu*, Menahem of Samaria, III. R. 9, 50; or *Minḫimmu*, in I. R. 38, 17. It also occurs as the name of a seller, *Mi-na-ḫi-mi*, on no. 245. According to some folk we have here two Jews, Jacob and Menahem.

The name of the Eponym, Ašur-gârûa-nîri, in which I have omitted a *u* after *ru*, occurs also as Eponym, on no. 340. From no. 105, we learn he was a *râb BI-LUL*. On no. 516, he appears as a neighbour. The Eponym of B.C. 725, bore the similar name Ašur-gârûa, III. R. I, IV. 45. The word *gârû* signifies 'an enemy,' and the verb *nêru* means 'to slay.' The two words often occur together. Hence we should render 'Ašur slay my enemy.'

It is not quite clear that the first name on the edge begins with Bêl, and I know of no other occurrence of Bêl-šar-aḥêšu. The name Nabû-šar-aḥêšu is common, see § 473. What the syllables *-ša-at*, in line 2, can belong to, it is impossible to say.

503. No. 99. Nearly complete. Red.

In the first line, in place of the first three characters read *TAK-ŠID*, and the whole line will be *kunuk Mînuḥdi-ana-ili*, 'the seal of Mînuḥdi-ana-ili.' He was therefore the borrower. What was written in the second line does not appear. *Ina pânišu*, usually denotes that some money has been paid 'to him,' the borrower. Then we read *šummu Pudu-Piati*. I suspect that *šummu* is due to something being written over, perhaps *a-na*. For the text goes on, *Mînuḥdi-ana-ili kaspu ana Silim-Ašur iddan šumma Pudu-Piati kaspu lâ iddanûni*. This gives good sense, 'Mînuḥdi-ana-ili shall pay the silver to Silim-Ašur, if Pudu-Piati does not pay it.' Perhaps the scribe began to write the second clause first, 'if Pudu-Piati,' and then changed his mind. But, in line 6, he writes *šumma, BE-ma*; not *šummu, SE-mu*, as in line 3. Hence I think we may say that Mînuḥdi-ana-ili becomes surety for Pudu-Piati. In line 6, the name is badly written, the *du pi* looks more like *ku me*: but there can be little doubt what is meant. On the edge line, what I have given as *nu* may be *na*, but *iddana* would be unusual. The tablet is dated, the 10th of Aaru, B.C. 670. There are four witnesses. The scribe adds a postscript, 'on the 20th he shall pay the silver.' Hence the loan was for ten days.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

The name of the guarantee, as I take him to be, is best read Mînu-aḥṭi-ana-ili, 'what shall I pay to God?' It occurs also as the name of a witness, in Ep. F, on no. 23. The name of the borrower, Pudu-Piati, is clearly the same as *Pu-tu-(AN)-Pa-i-ti*, the name of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 307. The compounds of *Puṭu*, *Puṭi*, are fairly common, and usually have a divine name as the second

element. Puṭi-Baal, the son of Iakîn-lû, v. R. 2, 83, in the time of Ašurbanipal; and witness on no. 408; Puṭi-Īrû, a slave, on no. 763, 7; Puṭi-Mâni, a slave, on no. 763, 12; Puṭi-Šêri, a slave, on no. 763, 13; Puṭi-Saḥâi, father of Dilil-Ištar, on no. 311, all occur in our texts. The name of the Assyrian king, Puṭi-ilu, on i. R. 6, no. III. A. 2, B. no. 1, 2; C. 2; iv. R. 39, 14; K 6303, 8554; 79-7-8, 303; with the variant Puṭu-ilu, i. R. 38, 52, king of Bît-Ammâna, III. R. 16, no. 1, v. 18, surely helps to set aside a necessarily Egyptian origin in Pet. On the other side are the many Egyptian Aramaic names in Lidzbarski, *N. E.* p. 350, compounds of פט. This name gives warrant for a god Pîati, or Paiti. The occurrence of Egyptian compounds in such unlooked for quarters needs investigation. The affairs of Silim-Ašur are discussed in §§ 420, 486.

The reading of the Eponym's name is rather doubtful, but seems probable from similar dates elsewhere. The name is that of the Eponym, B.C. 670, *šaknu* of Diri, or Dûrili, III. R. 1, VI. 11. He dates nos. 42, 44, 99, 172, 181, 202, 332, 625, 715. He appears as an *amêl MU*, *nuḥatimmu*, or 'baker,' in B.C. 686, on no. 453; B.C. 679, on no. 364; on no. 588; always as witness; as *amêl MU* also on no. 857, II. 37; no. 860, III. 27; as a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 9; as a witness and *šalšu* on no. 506; and in the letters K 1170, 4306, Sm. 167.

The name of the first witness Mannu-kî-šâbê, appears as that of a witness, brother of Dûa, B.C. 664, on no. 377; and as a specimen, App. 1, XII. 6. The similar name Mannu-kî-šâbi is discussed, § 468. Erba-Adadi is discussed in § 504: Šulmu-aḥê, in § 478. The name Aisûri is Aramaic, 'Ai is my wall.' The *sûri* here and in other names is שור, 'wall,' as pointed out to me by Professor Jensen. Compounds of Ai as a divine name are rare, Ai-rimmu occurs in Winckler's Sargon; Aia-dûri on no. 880, II. 10. Here we have proof that we are to read *sûri*, not *suri*. We may compare the Aramaic, בלשור, שורי, Lidzbarski, *N. E.* p. 373 f.

504. No. 100. Complete. Red.

Mannu-kî-Arbaili lends Ardia-arḫia one mina and twenty shekels of silver. The woman Gula-kašdu he has brought as a pledge for four days, if he does not give (the money back) Ardia-arḫia shall pay. Erba-Adadi is agent (for Mannu-kî-Arbaili). Dated the 18th of Tišrîtu, B.C. 687. Four witnesses.

In line 1, of the *ud* only the two slant lines were written, so that



the sign looks like a division mark. But the scribe clearly intended to write *kaspu*. The scribe also seems to have written 30 shekels, not 20 as I have given. The amount is therefore about three times the value of the pledge, which seems rather unlikely. It occurs to me that the scribe may have intended to write first one mina of silver, then a division mark, then thirty shekels. This would account for his having written *kaspu* after one mina instead of after the whole sum. Then he has really omitted *ud* from *kaspu*. This would be of some value as a statement that one mina was equivalent to thirty shekels. The sum would be then a fair equivalent for a slave girl pledged.

In line 2, the scribe has written *PAP* for *nu* in the name Mannu-kî-Arbaili. In line 3, the debtor's name seems to have *da* in place of *ki*, but a name Ardia-ardâ seems impossible. In line 4, the first three signs seem to be written over others, or are erased. We might perhaps read Munabidu: which would probably be meant for Munabiṭu, 'fugitive.' The verb *ubala*, is used of bringing a slave to deposit, no. 153, 3; compare no. 206, 4. In line 1, of the lower edge, *uṣallama* can hardly mean 'to pay,' though that is a common sense for the word. It must mean 'to be quit.' Probably the debtor was to lose his slave, if he could not find the money by the end of 'four days.' Then he was to have no further liability.

The affairs of Mannu-kî-Arbaili are discussed in § 413. The name Ardia-arkia, which I take to mean, 'my slave after me,' only occurs here. For a name like Gula-kašdu, I have no parallel, while Mûnabitû is the name of the witness on no. 498; of the writer of the astrological reports K 769, 776, 812, 921, 1305, 1398, 2085; and occurs in the letters K 954, 5463. It is common in later Babylonian texts; see *S. A. V.* 5508.

Erba-Adadi, the *bêl kâtâti*, or agent, appearing in the transaction for Mannu-kî-Arbaili probably, is the name of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 186; of a lender, B.C. 670, on no. 42; of a borrower, inhabitant of Supûre-edîti, in B.C. 669, on no. 103, of a witness and *šanû*, B.C. 668; of a witness on the last no. in B.C. 670. The name was also borne by an Assyrian king, named on K 2693, *circ.* B.C. 975; 1. R. 28, 11. 4, by Ašur-nâsir-aplu.

Nâ'id-îlu, the first witness, occurs as a witness and son of .....ilâni, B.C. 707, on no. 350; as witness, B.C. 686, on no. 285; as witness, B.C. 669, on no. 366; as seller and *šanû*, on no. 241; on no. 947 as in charge of troops; in the letters K 146, 542, 665,

1246, 7493, 7797; Sm. 333, 521; 81-2-4, 114; 81-7-27, 33; 82-5-22, 141; and as a specimen his name is on App. 1, x. 32. The name Bi'su, which only occurs here, may be *bi'su*, 'stinking (?)', but compare Neopunic **בעשא**, and Heb. Baasha. The name in line 4 is to be read Latubašâni-ilu, see § 478. That in line 5, Abu-ul-îdi is discussed in § 494, Siparânu, the last witness, in § 474.

The date, in the Eponymy of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, is known to be B.C. 687, from III. R. 1, v. 37. This Eponymy dates nos. 43, 100, 125, 212, 218, 317, 335, 624. Dated by regnal years are no. 89, XI<sup>th</sup> year; no. 230, XXI<sup>st</sup> year; no. 447, XXIII<sup>rd</sup> year. On no. 253, his *mukîl apâti* is named; on no. 255, an officer of his is a buyer; on no. 804, a daughter of his is called Matitu, compare the letter K 687, where this lady appears to be at Kalah. Further we find that a quarter of Nineveh, the *kišir ešši* was named after him, no. 853. As granting charters, or sealing documents, we find his name on nos. 636, 645, 648, 666, 667. He appears in the letters K 122, 125, 181, 543, 961, 986, 1062, 5464, 7434; 82-7-27, 41; 82-5-22, 108; 83-1-18, 231. A list of his inscriptions will be found in the Catalogue, p. 2187 f.: but they need arranging according to subject matter. A very curious inscription of his referring to his entry into Babylon, after his conquest of Merodach Baladan, seems to deduce his descent from the ancient mythical heroes of Babylonia, through a line of names, some of which may be kings of Babylon or Assyria, not known from historical sources. The list of names reads, Gilgamiš, ....., Eabâni..., Ħumbaba, ....., Egiba, Sin..., ID-IK-ti-Ašur, AN-KI-LU..., Ašur-gamîlia, Ana-Ašur..., Ašur-TIG-EN-NA, Ašur-na..., Šamaš-šullulušu, Ilu., etc. We know that Sennacherib was regarded in Babylon as of the dynasty of Ħabigal, some of these names may supply a clue to the meaning of this. The text will appear in the Appendix to this volume.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, reckons this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

**505.** No. 101. Complete inner tablet, with part of outer tablet attached and now inseparable. Slate grey.

There was a rather complicated transaction recorded, and the loss of the text at critical points quite prevents a clear statement. In line 1, the first character is possibly the remains of *TAK*, and therefore part of *kunuk*. But it looks more like the first part of *tak*, *šum*, part of the word *šumma*. What the very clear *še ma*, on the

outer portion, belongs to, I do not see; but the *arḫu* *ḲI* are very doubtful. Perhaps we have the traces of *u-še-ši* followed by *arḫu* or *ardu*. The *ḲI* may be read *šaḷ*, but that throws no light on the rest of the text. In the second line, on the inner tablet are clearly preserved the beginning and end of *Ninip-aḫu-uṣur*, which name occurs at full length in line 6. On the outer portion, the traces *AŠ-IS* are certainly the end of the name, of which more is preserved on line 3 of the inner tablet, where we may read the end of *pu-ḫur-IS*, i.e. *puḫur-lišir*. This was followed probably in both places by *Bêl-ukîn*. These may be the proper names of two slaves deposited by the debtor, who I think was *Ninip-aḫu-uṣur*. But the words in line 4, *ŠI-MEŠ-šu* suggest that these are the names of two witnesses, and it seems, from reverse 3, that one of them, *Bêl-ukîn*, will pay *Mutakkil-Marduk* something. From line 3, we may complete the name of one man *Nêrgal-puḫur-lîšir*. On line 3, the outer portion seems to preserve part of *ubala* which means 'he brought,' and corresponds clearly to line 4 of the inner tablet. Hence 'he brought his witnesses.' The *TA* at the end of the line may be *ištu*, 'from,' his city or district. In line 5, I give *ukanu*, from *kanû* 'to fix,' in the sense, 'they corroborated his statement.' But the scribe seems to have written *PAP* for *nu*. I then regard the following words to mean, 'that *Ninip-aḫu-uṣur* did give 38 (?) (shekels of silver?) to *Ulûlai*.' This is a dependent clause, *ki XXXVIII(?) (šiklê kaspi) Ninip-aḫu-uṣur ana U(lûlai) iddinûni*. We then have *šumma lâ idin*, which looks as if the witnesses had some doubt as to the payment. The traces which I took for *ma* and *la i-din* are no longer on the tablet, and I may have mistaken them. The word *iddinu* on the edge is clear, and *mâ* seems to introduce a further statement. In line 1 of reverse we read *šû Ninip-aḫu-uṣur*, 'he *Ninip-aḫu-uṣur*,' then *šumma ŠI-MEŠ i-tu-bil*, 'if he brought witnesses'; *kašpu adi rubêšu Bêl-ukîn*, 'the money with its interest *Bêl-ukîn*,' *ana Mutakkil-Marduk idan*, 'to *Mutakkil-Marduk* will give.' This is very singular. It looks as if one of the witnesses, *Bêl-ukîn*, became security for *Ninip-aḫu-uṣur*, and promised to pay his debt for him. But the restoration *Bêl-ukîn* is not certain, and line 3 may have ended with *ana bêlišu* 'to its owner.' Then *Mutakkil-Marduk* was that owner.

On a review of the whole case I am inclined to think that *Ulûlai* had borrowed a sum, something over thirty shekels of silver of *Mutakkil-Marduk* and had further lent it or part of it to *Ninip-*

aḥu-uṣur. Mutakkil-Marduk now pressed for payment. Ninip-aḥu-uṣur was called on to repay Ulûlai. Perhaps he said he had paid, or Ulûlai had to produce witnesses to shew that he had lent the money to this man. The witnesses substantiated the statement, whatever it was. Or the clause may mean, that if they proved that Ulûlai had lent the money to Ninip-aḥu-uṣur, this latter shall pay direct to Mutakkil-Marduk, but if they prove that Ninip-aḥu-uṣur had paid Ulûlai, then the latter shall pay Mutakkil-Marduk. This all looks like a legal decision, but may be a contract among the parties themselves. It clearly is concerned with a loan. Hence I put it here.

The document is dated, the 12th of Simânu, Eponymy of Ašur..... Four witnesses.

The name of one party in the transaction seems to have been Ulûlai, though the traces in lines 1, and 6, are far from convincing. It was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 834, III. R. 1, II. 31. It also appears from the Babylonian Kings' List to have been the Babylonian name of Shalmaneser IV., king of Assyria, B.C. 727—722, died in Tebêtu, of the dynasty of Tinu. The name was also borne by the witness and *ardu ša rāb BI-LUL*, of Dannaia, B.C. 710, on no. 416; by the neighbour and witness, B.C. 698, on no. 328; of a witness and *bél êrê*, B.C. 698, on no. 475; of a buyer, B.C. 684, on no. 230; of a witness, B.C. 669, on no. 230; of a borrower and *šanû*, B.C. 656, on nos. 48, 49; of a seller and *sasiinnu* of Ušimêrai, B.C. 651, on no. 379; of a lender, Ep. a, on no. 22; of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 307; of a borrower, Ep. 7, on no. 45; of a witness, Ep. S, on no. 311; of a servant of Kakkullanu, B.C. 663, on no. 309; of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 656, on no. 611; of a witness, on nos. 168, 342, 436; of a principal here perhaps; of a witness and *KU-KA-SAR*, on no. 260; of a slave and *šaknu* of the *tukultu*, on no. 617; of a holder of slaves, on no. 877, 4; named as owing money, on no. 813, 3; as in the city Ilnam..., on no. 899, 1. 36; and in the Harran Census. The name Kînai, witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404, may be the same if we suppose *arḥu* omitted in error.

Ninip-aḥu-uṣur only occurs here. Nêrgal-puḥur-lîšîr would be unique. Bêl-ukîn occurs as the name of an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in Bît-Adadi êreš, on no. 742. Mutakkil-Marduk was also the name of a seller and brother of Šiltiba-Ištar, in Ep. E, on no. 711. The name of the Eponym began with Ašur, but we cannot restore it.

The name of the first witness, Bêl-ibni, occurs in our documents, as that of a witness, B.C. 707, on no. 292; of a neighbour, Ep. A', on no. 414; of a witness and *ardu ša šaknu eli bîtâni*, Ep. c; of a serf, with his people, on nos. 661, 742; of a witness, on no. 568; of a neighbour in Šasillai, on no. 385; of an *amêl ša kinatattu*, on no. 771. The servant of Bêl-ibni is named on no. 196. This is a specimen name, App. 3, i. 5. The name was borne by the prince, whom Sennacherib set on the throne of Babylon, B.C. 702—699, being considered by the Babylonians as of the dynasty of Babylon. A large number of letters concern this prince, K 10, 13, 95, 524, 597, 599, 938, 1066, 1158, 1268, 1895, 1899, 1926, 5398, 5437 a, 5457, 7383, 8440; Rm. 48; 82-5-22, 131; 83-1-18, 4, 31, 51, 52, 79, 110, 133, 150; Bu. 91-5-9, 5; Sm. 1910, 2192; Rm. 563; 82-5-22, 97; Bu. 91-5-9, 107; and in a different spelling, K 312, 680, 828, 1030, 1964, 1992, 4793, 5062, 5473, 8247, 8440; 67-4-2, 1; 83-1-18, 824; Bu. 89-4-26, 156; Sm. 1392; Lay. 63, 14, iv. R. 47, no. 4; K 9462, mention the name and mostly refer to the last named person. Further remarks on them may be left until Dr R. F. Harper has completed his edition of the letters. Dr C. Johnston, in his *Assyrian Epistolary Literature*, has made an excellent start on this material.

The next name begins with Za..., but can hardly be restored. The name Šulmu-iškun seems to be complete. It only occurs here and is perhaps shortened, by the omission of the divine name from the beginning. The name of the last witness, Ašur-šar-ušur, was that of a witness, B.C. 682, on no. 363; of a witness and *rakasu*, B.C. 676, on no. 330; of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, of Bamâtai, B.C. 656, on no. 152; of a witness, Ep. O, on no. 16; of a seller, Ep. Z, on no. 340; of a witness and *râb kišîr*, on no. 608; of a witness, on nos. 211, 547; of an official of the Crown Prince, on no. 857, II. 32; of a debtor, on no. 813, 7; of an official, on no. 928, I. 6, III. 2; and in a different spelling, of the witness and *mukîl apâti ša êkalli*, Ep. R., on no. 642.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.' 506. No. 102. Complete. Light brown.

Nabû-šallim-aḥê, son of Pâni-Nabû-ṭême seals the document. In the text I have accidentally omitted ŠI before Nabû, i.e. *pâni*. Mannu-kî-Aššur, in the *ḫapsu* of Nineveh, in the presence of, Nabû-šallim-aḥê, before Nabû-balâṭsu-ikbi, before Kišîr-Asur, before Nabû-nâdin-aḥê, *iṣabat ina eli amêl urki iṣallam inamdini*: 'shall take and

to the creditor shall pay and give.' Here we are faced by several difficulties. The *ḫapsu* is a place, see Meissner, *Suppt.* p. 86. The *ḫapsu* of a country, of a town, of a palace, are there named. It was a place where one would hear news or meet with the king. Winckler, *A. F.* II. p. 310, suggests a meaning like *Bezirk*. But from our no. 812, lines, 2, 5, 8, B, E 3, R 3, it clearly means a place where things were bought and sold, either a market-place or a shop. The former meaning will suit all the passages well enough. Hence it was 'in the market-place of Nineveh' that these events took place. The *ina pāni* in money loans generally denotes the receiver. Hence we are to regard Nabû-šallim-aḫê as receiver. The presence of three witnesses at the transaction suggests that we have here an extract from a previous bond. In line 5, the sign of repetition is a better reading than *ŠI*. The verbs following are all presents. The verb *šabātu*, 'to take,' 'hold' is difficult here: without an object. But Winckler, *A. F.* II. p. 90, shews that *šamādu* means 'to measure out,' 'pay,' hence we may read, 'he shall pay,' *išamid*. Clearly then *ina ʿli amēl urkī* means 'to the lender,' and we are left to doubt why the lender should pay the creditor. The other verbs *išallam inamdini* also mean 'to pay.' With all reserve I regard Nabû-šallim-aḫê as the original lender to whom now Mannu-ki-Aššur pays back his loan, and he is also the *urkī*, or 'creditor.'

Now we read *mā amēl urkī inašši ubalu la iddinu*, 'and (or but) the creditor brought and produced and gave not.' That I take to mean, that Nabû-šallim-aḫê produced the pledge but would not surrender: 'since,' *umā*, 'Mannu-kî-Aššur one and a half shekels of silver to Nabû-šallim-aḫê,' *lā umaḫi urtame*, 'did not pay, kept back.' The verb *maḫû* occurs also on no. 119, 2, where it clearly takes the place of a verb meaning 'to pay,' or 'lend.' Perhaps the *tamaḫi* of no. 90, R 2, is from this root. The verb *ramû* bears other meanings, but they do not seem to suit here, and my rendering is a mere conjecture.

Then we read 'that on the day that he Mannu-kî-Aššur shall complete, *etḫirdi*, the money with its interest, the creditor shall come and bring (the pledge).' Here again, my rendering of the verb, from *ḫarādu*, is not easily deducible from the meanings usually given; but is conjectured to suit the circumstances. The whole case I take to be this. Nabû-šallim-aḫê had lent Mannu-kî-Aššur a sum of money or a pledge. On the termination of the period of the loan, the debtor came to pay, and creditor produced the pledge.

But the debtor was a shekel and a half short in his payment. The creditor retained the pledge, but gave this bond to surrender the pledge when the arrears were produced. He seems to have bargained that the arrears should bear interest. Such seems to me to have been the transaction here recorded.

The text is full of unusual words, *iṣabat*, or *iṣamid*, *urkî*, *umahi*, *urtame*, *eteḥirdi*, *ubâ*, the fixation of any one of which, in a different sense, would affect the rest probably. To add to our difficulties the text is often extremely uncertain. In reverse, line 5, there may be two or three more signs, but they are illegible and were probably erased. On the left-hand edge, line 1, instead of the first three signs, read the ditto sign, then *TI.Š*, then *AN-PA*. The name of the witness was therefore Nabû-šaknu.

The name, Nabû-šallim-aḥê, may be read Nabû-šullim-aḥê, or Nabû-šâlim-aḥê, is also that of a *râb kišir* and witness, Ep. A, on no. 325; and a specimen on App. 1, III. 19. Mannu-kî-Aššur we have already dealt with in § 409. The name of the witness, Nabû-balâṭsu-iḳbi, is prolific of varieties in spelling. As here, it is the name of a neighbour, in Kurûbi, Ep. A, on no. 623; of an *ušku*, on no. 851. If this latter is the same person, perhaps *urku* is the same as *ušku*, see § 191. Even if *uṣgu* is a misreading for *UR-KU*, i.e. *kalbu*, we must await further evidence before we can accept the meaning 'creditor.' Another spelling of Nabû-balâṭsu-iḳbi, *AN-PA-TI-su-iḳ-bi*, is the name of the witness and *râb kišir*, Ep. Q, on no. 349; and on no. 892, 5. The form *AN-AK-TIN-su-iḳ-bi* occurs on K 31, 10595, 13061; Bu. 91-5-9, 72, 87; IV. R. *Add.* p. 9, 14; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5719. A form *AN-AK-TI-su-iḳ-bi* is found on K 553; *AN-AK-TI-E*, the name of a witness, Ep. ψ, on no. 351; (*AN-AK*)-*TI-su-KA-GA*, a witness and *IV ḤU-SI-nišu*, B.C. 668, on no. 284; *AN-PA-TI-LA-su-iḳ-bi*, as a specimen, App. 1, III. 15; *AN-AK-TIN-su-E*, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5719; compare the name of the witness and *IV ḤU-SI-nišu*, on no. 537. The occurrences of Kišir-Ašur have been discussed, § 405; and of Nabû-nâdin-aḥê in § 478.

The tablet is dated, the 1st of Simânu, Ep. I, i.e. in the Eponymy of ...*ubbuti-DU*. This name has been variously read. Although badly damaged, the traces of the first character suggest, to my eye, Bêl. There are, as Bezold gives the traces, *Cata.* p. 275, one horizontal to the left certain, and one vertical to the right. He also, as his suggestion of *su* shews, felt that there could be two verticals.

This is so, but there is hardly room to the left for *su*, and I imagine there are distinct traces of two slant wedges below. Hence I read Bêl-ubbûti-ukîn. The meaning of the name is not clear to me.

There were four witnesses to this renewal of the bond. The first Nabû-šaknu only occurs here; but we may compare *Nabû-šu-KIM*, the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 674, on no. 383; and the name of the seller, Ep. Q, on no. 349. Oppert read this name Nabû-sakin. The name Kuni-Huru only occurs here. The occurrences of Ardi-Ištar are dealt with, § 472. The name Pisaniši is clearly the same as Pisiniši, the name of the witness and *râb hanšâ*, B.C. 646, on no. 197, witness probably, B.C. 688, on no. 264.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, reckons this among 'private contracts.'

507. Nos. 103 and 104. The outer tablet is only a fragment, the inner tablet is complete but much injured. Colour, red.

Êdu-šallim lent Erba-Adadi ten shekels of silver, *kaḳḳadu*. Erba-Adadi was of the city Supûri-edîti. Judging from what is left in line 5, *marâtsu* alone being certain, I think the debtor pledged his daughter. The loan was to be repaid in Simânu. What followed on the second line of the lower edge is doubtful. I fancy from the *su* at the end of the line, that 'his daughter' was again referred to. The reverse goes on, 'if he do not repay, the money shall increase, (literally, he shall cause it to increase) by half a shekel, he shall pay, if he has paid'; then comes an illegible line, the traces of which I cannot understand. Dated, the 23rd of Tišrîtu, B.C. 669, only one witness on the inner tablet, traces of five on the outer.

Owing to the illegibility of the critical phrases in lines 5, *B.E.* 2, R 5, there is no certainty concerning the nature of the transaction. Compared with others, of apparently a similar nature, I think that the scribe has repeated one or more clauses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92, Budge, *H. E.* p. 13.

The text is published in transliteration with a translation, by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 132. He calls the transaction a *Schuldschein mit Zahlungsfrist und ev. später eintretender Verzinsung*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, regards it as an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

I read the lender's name Êdu-šallim, instead of Ašur-šallim, see § 478. Dr Peiser reads Ašur-šallim. His calculation of the rate of interest seems to be wrong. A half shekel on ten shekels, if paid each month, would amount to 60 *per cent.* as he has. But if a half shekel be all the interest, it is only 5 *per cent.* For the borrower,



Erba-Adadi, see § 504. The name of the city, Supûri-edîti, only occurs here. The sign *sz* is doubtful. The meaning may be 'Wall of the flood.'

The name of the Eponym, Šamaš-kâšid-aibi, 'Šamaš conquers the enemy,' occurs on nos. 188, 310, 366, III. R. 1, VI. 2. On no. 366, he seems to have been of the city U..... The name only occurs as that of the Eponym. The name of the first witness on the inner tablet seems to be intended for Mannu-kî-Aššur, but we should expect *ER*, instead of *UR*, which is quite clear on the tablet. The sign might be meant for *DU*, but not for *ER*. For the name, see § 409. What was meant by the traces on the left-hand edge, I cannot say, perhaps the end of a title, but no more may have been written.

On the outer tablet, occurs the name of another witness, Marduk-abu-ušur. Perhaps this is also the name of the witness, on no. 114, R. 3.

**508.** No. 105. Nearly complete. Slate colour.

The first line may have had what I gave as a restoration, *kunuk Bêl-šar-ušur*, of the *amél šépâ*. The name and title recur, on line 3 of the lower edge. This then was the borrower. In line 2, the name of Ninûtai may be that of the lender, in which case the sign *šá* may have preceded it. The next line *ina eli ardânišu* suggests, that the money was lent 'upon his slaves,' i.e. Bêl-šar-ušur's. But the fourth line seems inconsistent with this. Bêl-šar-ušur *igrûni*. This seems to mean he or they quarrelled, *garû*. It is not likely that *igrûni* means, 'he hired.' But the subsequent clauses look as if Bêl-šar-ušur had wronged at least three men, Ahi-erba, in line 6, Adadi-šum-iddina, in line 7, for whom Ninûtai was to receive money, and also Latêgi-ana-Ištar, who was not to be found. These may be the slaves of Ninûtai, whom Bêl-šar-ušur had hired and not paid.

In line 5, we read *ina kaḫḫad AN-BIL šá arḫi Simâni*. I formerly read this *ina kaḫḫad Bêl ša arḫi Simâni*, and conjectured that some fixed date in the month was meant. Professor Jensen has pointed out to me that *AN-BIL*, is not Bêl, but means 'the new god,' and the phrase may therefore mean, 'on the new moon of Simânu.' The signs *SAG-DU* then would refer to the first appearance, *AN-BIL* could be read *iddišu*, but further evidence seems needed. However, it clearly denotes a fixed date. Then we read that 'at this date, Bêl-šar-ušur, to Ahi-erba, to Adadi-šum-

iddina, did not bring his *urki'uti*, in the hands of Ninûai, the *šâk šarri* did not place, his money was wanting.' Here we have the obscure word *urki'uti*: which I take to mean 'arrears.' For the form compare *pânû*, originally *pânâiu*; to which it is usually opposed. Clearly *urkiu* means 'later.' The *urkiuti* are 'things that come later,' promised, or due. Hence I believe it means 'debts,' and the *amêl urki* of § 506, may be the one to whom the debt is due, the 'creditor.' Why Bêl-šar-ušur should pay Ninûai the *urki'uti* which he should have brought to Ahi-erba and Adadi-šum-iddina, unless they were Ninûai's slaves, I fail to see. The expression *HA-A* is usually the ideogram for *halâku*, used of slaves 'running away.' But the verb means 'to fall to the ground,' 'cease to be,' and here must mean, his money 'was not forthcoming.'

That our conclusion is substantially correct is borne out by the conditions now agreed to. We read in line 11 f., *šumma urki'utišu naša ina kâtâ Ninûai isakan*, 30 *šiklê kaspi Ninûai ana Bêl-šar-ušur ša šêpâ iddina u šumma bîd Latêgi-ana-Ištar inamarûni adi sartešu iddina*; that is to say, 'if he brings his *urki'uti* and places them in the hands of Ninûai, Ninûai will give Bêl-šar-ušur, the *ša šêpâ*, thirty shekels of silver, and if when Latêgi-ana-Ištar is seen, he will pay him to the extent of his price.' Several points call for remark. In reverse, line 1, *û* is an unusual way of writing the conjunction, but I see no other way of taking it. In the same line, I take *bîd*, to be the adverb 'when,' *bîtu*, 'a house,' is impossible here. The word *inamarûni* demands a subordinate conjunction: the collocation of 'if' and 'when,' is difficult in English, but clearly means that, 'when and if,' Latêgi-ana-Ištar is seen, so and so will happen. It seems probable that Bêl-šar-ušur made excuse that he had tried to pay these men but could not find them and perhaps Ninûai had sent them elsewhere. What seems to be most strange is that Ninûai should pay Bêl-šar-ušur anything at all. But perhaps he had been allowed a sum to pay the slaves and had retained it for his own wages. Now on bringing the sum due from him to Ninûai, the latter will pay him, in full and pay the others as well, or as they are his slaves at least settle their claims. The term *sartu*, as we shall see in the case of the legal decisions later, usually means 'a fine,' 'compensation'; perhaps something was due to Latêgi-ana-Ištar, which had properly to be deducted from the sum in Bêl-šar-ušur's possession. At any rate, Ninûai seems to accept all responsibility for outlying claims, if

Bêl-sar-ušur will pay up at once. In line 3, by error I have written *i-na*, for *SE-na*, i.e. *iddina*.

The Eponym's name, Ašur-garûa-nîri, has been discussed in § 502, Latêgi-ana-Ištar, in § 478. Bêl-šar-ušur was the name of a seller, B.C. 670, on no. 202; of a witness, B.C. 648, on no. 206; of a witness and *rakbu*, Ep. B, on no. 207; of the principal and *ša šêpâ*, Ep. Z, here; of a neighbour, on no. 348; of the sellers on nos. 357, 418; named on nos. 686, 857, IV. 17; on the letters Sm. 1428; 81-2-4, 96; Bu. 89-4-26, 71, and as a specimen name, App. 3, II. 1, XII. 10. It was also borne by a king of Kišesim, who rebelled against Sargon, was defeated and brought to Assyria, B.C. 716; see Winckler's *Sargon*.

The name Ninûai is spelt phonetically, *Ni-nu-a-a*, as the name of a witness on no. 320, B.C. 691; of a witness, B.C. 665, on no. 237; of a slave sold, on no. 252; of a buyer, on no. 505; and of a witness on no. 606. We have *ÂL-Ni-nu-u-a-a* as the name of a witness from Kûrai on no. 500; but our form *ÂL-NINÂ-KI-a-a* is the name of the *šâk šarri* and buyer, Ep. P, on nos. 214, 254; and in Ep. G, on no. 250; also on no. 674. A closely allied form without the *KI*, is the name of the borrower, B.C. 681, on no. 30; of a witness and *hazânu*, on no. 244; of a witness on no. 332; a specimen name, App. 1, IV. 12. The form *NINÂ-a-a* is the name of a *râb bârû*, *bêl tēmi*, B.C. 649, on K 385. We have further *NINÂ-KI-a-a*, as the name of a buyer and *šâk šarri*, on nos. 182, 249, 260, as a variant here, and as a *ša šêpâ* on no. 872.

Aḥu-erba, or as it may be read Aḥusu, only occurs here. For the reading Aḥusu compare Aḥûsi, the name of a slave sold, B.C. 730, on no. 195. The form Aḥûsu, which may be read Aḥû-erba, occurs as the name of a borrower, B.C. 688, on no. 32. Aḥûasu, or Aḥûa-erba, was the name of a witness, B.C. 710, on no. 392; of the seller and son of Aa-aḥê, Ep. Q, on no. 308; of a seller, on nos. 209, 405; of the father of Šarru-ludâri, on no. 325; of the father of a witness, on no. 337. Also in a slightly different form, Aḥûasu is the name of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 172. These are not all the same name probably. I am inclined to recognise two separate names Aḥûsu, i.e. Aḥût-šu, and Aḥûa-erba. The former seems abbreviated from Aḥûtu-šu-lišîr, 'Preserve his brotherhood,' or something similar. The second, 'He has increased my brother,' seems odd, unless the father had married a deceased brother's wife.

Adadi-šum-iddina is also the name of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 383; and occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7504. The name of the first witness, Šalmu-šar-iḫbi, is discussed in § 465; that of the second, Uḫur-aḫê, in § 409. The name *Ilu-buluṭ-BI-E*, does not occur elsewhere. As *BI* is the suffix of the 3rd person singular, and *E* at the end of names is usually read *iḫbi*, I suggest the reading *Ilu-buluṭsu-iḫbi*. If this be correct, it may be the same name as that of the witness and *ardu ša tukulti rabê*, on no. 464, there written *AN-TI-LA-su-iḫ-bi*. The name of the next witness, Sin-ilai, is that of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 186; and of a writer to the king, K 1065. The name which Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 2189 a, reads Sin-ilai, is written *AN-BU-AN-a-a* and I read that Šêru-ilai, or Šêr-ilai, see § 486.

The name of the witness, line 10, which I read Šamaš-upaḫḫiri, see § 474, may be read Šamaš-nûri. For this name compare *AN-UD-ŠAB*, on K 751, and *Šamaš-nu-ri*, the name of the Eponym of B.C. 868, III. R. 1. 1. 43; and 1. R. 25, 92. The next witness bears the name Ninip-mât-ušur, only found here. On the edge was another witness whose name began with Šamaš.

It is noteworthy that throughout this tablet the title *ša amêl šêpâ* replaces the more usual *amêl ša šêpâ*, with which it is clearly identical. On this title see § 217. On the *mušarkis*, see § 152.

The tablet is dated, the 13th of Tišrîtu, Ep. Z. There were seven witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 100.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 7445.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among 'private contracts.'

The nature of the transaction seemed to justify a place here, but there is little to fix its place by. The next numbers, 106-111, may belong also to money transactions but are very uncertain.

**509.** No. 106. Nearly complete. Dark red.

I cannot venture to suggest any account of the transaction beyond this; the shape of the tablet and the almost certain presence of *ina pâni* at the beginnings of several lines render it probable that it recorded an advance of money to several persons. The names are all too uncertain to be worth discussing.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts it among the 'private contracts.'

No. 107. Only about half a tablet. Drab.

In the space between lines 4 and 5 a double line has been ruled across the tablet. On the reverse also there is a double line between

lines 2 and 3. From line 4, we may conclude that 'four minas of silver' were paid to Ilu.... There was a date in Tišrîtu. Three witnesses. In line 3, the beginning of *šumma*, 'if,' seems to be written.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debts.'

No. 108. About half the tablet. Black.

Sin... lends Gab..., a talent and three minas, probably of bronze, *ŠAK-MEŠ* of some god. The date is lost. Five witnesses.

In line 2, we probably should not read Ašur, but take the sign to be the end of *MEŠ*, followed by *ŠA*. We have probably here the 'Ištar heads' of § 336. We may note the spelling *bi-lat* for 'talent.' The name of the first witness began with Bêl-Harran. The next might be restored Banî, but the first sign is very uncertain. After line 6, are the traces of yet another line, a witness whose name began with Bal... may have been entered there. The name of the first witness on the reverse begins oddly, with Kašmar... apparently, to which I know no parallel. The next name began with Šêpâ... The last witness bore a name like Ilu-rîmâni, which is the name of the witness, of Abnu Pulišu, B.C. 656, on no. 152.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

No. 109. Upper portion. Dark brown.

From line 1, we gather that some money was lent. The borrower's name may be Marduk-aḥê-erba, or something similar. A date for the repayment, the 15th of Nisânu (?), appears in line 3. The line 4, may have read *ša manê I šiklu kaspi rubêšu*, 'of each mina one shekel is its interest.' Then a line seems to have been ruled across the tablet. All below was therefore probably a list of witnesses and the date. There may have been a character after *kin*. Can we suppose *mukinnu* written on an Assyrian document? Šillai is clearly the name of a witness, as on no. 275. The name is common in later Babylonian documents, compare K 433, 7, 28, two persons of the name at Erech, B.C. 648, and the witness on no. 551. The name Šillâ occurs on the letters, K 830, 974, 5463, 13191; 81-2-4, 77, 78; 82-5-22, 161; 83-1-18, 56, 124, 554; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1515. A variant is *Ši-la-a*, the name of the borrower, B.C. 687, on no. 17.

It is doubtful if anything was written after *bi*, in line 6, before *apilšu ša* 'son of.' Hence in line 7, the name ended in *-a*; followed

by *apilšu ša*. So in line 8, we have ...*UD-a, apilšu ša*. This use of *apilšu ša* is rare in our texts. The traces, in line 9, are quite unreliable. Line 1, of reverse seems to have read *mât Num-ma-(KI-ai)*, 'an Elamite?'

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

510. No. 110. Upper portion. Red.

Šulmu-Aššur, apparently the gardener, *irrišu*, of Kišir-Ašur (the *mutir pûti* of the Crown Prince), seals the document. Sinik-Ištar is named next, probably as the lender. The signs, *-tu-ra*, are perhaps the end of a place-name or of Sinik-Ištar's office. The loan was ten shekels of silver. In line 5, we read *êšip iddan*, 'it shall increase, he shall give.' The traces in lines 1 and 2 of reverse are quite illegible. The name of the lender Sinik-Ištar occurs again, probably preceded by *ana*. The first two characters in line 3 are really illegible, but point to a verb in a conditional clause, perhaps *id-dan-u-ni*, followed by *êšip*. The nominative to this verb is possibly Sinik-Ištar in line 4, but more probably is 'the money' understood. Curiously enough Kišir-Ašur is named in the next line and the names of two witnesses appear to follow. No date is preserved.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

The name Šulmu-Ašur is discussed in § 492, Kišir-Ašur in § 405, Sinik-Ištar in § 480. Kakkullânu, the name of the first witness, was also the name of the buyer, B.C. 663, on no 309; of a buyer and neighbour, Ep. A, on nos. 318, 325; a hirer and *râb kišir*, Ep. A, on no. 623; a buyer and *râb kišir*, in Ep. A', on no. 414; in Ep. E, on no. 711; in Ep. F, with addition to title, *râb kišir* of Crown Prince, on no. 621; as buyer and *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince, or simple *râb kišir*, on nos. 211, 235. In all these cases the name is spelt *Kak-kul-la-nu*. The form *Kak-kul-la-a-nu* is the name of a witness, on no. 322. *Ka-kul-la-nu* the name of a witness, Ep. S, on no. 619; *Ka-ku-la-nu* the name of a buyer, *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince, Ep. Q, on no. 308; or of a *mutir pûti* on the letter K 567; even *A-kul-la-ni* the name of a buyer and *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince, on no. 312, are evidently the same name and probably denote the same person. The name *Ku-ku-la-nu*, borne by the buyer and *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince, Ep. F, on no. 361; and of the buyer, in Ep. Q, on no. 349; of the buyer,

B.C. 688 (?), on no. 400; *Ku-kul-la-nu* the name of the buyer, Ep. F, on no. 361; *Ku-kul-la-a-ni*, the buyer, Ep. N, of no. 327; *Kul-ku-la-nu*, the neighbour and *râb kišir*, in Nineveh, on no. 349; *Kul-ku-la-a-nu*, the buyer, *râb kišir*, Ep. Q, on no. 446; are clearly the same name. The very singular thing about these names is that Kâkûlânu, Kukûlânu, Kulkulânu are the same. The person is almost always a buyer, eighteen times out of twenty-four, usually *râb kišir* and confined to the Eponyms A, A', E, F, N, Q, S. The other dates are B.C. 663, 688. We may perhaps add the name *Kul-ku-la-a*, B.C. 683, on no. 703, and the *Ku-ku-la-a-nu*, witness, son of Ardi-Nabû, B.C. 709, on no. 1141, see *S. A. V.* 4503. We have then, in all, fourteen ways of presenting the name. The Eponyms named above must obviously be near one another in date. Their order and approximate date will be discussed in the chapter on Chronology.

Marduk-šar-ušur, the name of the second witness, occurs as the name of the Eponym of B.C. 786, *šaknu* of Parnunna, III. R. I, III. 32. It was borne also by a person described as son of Gâbê, witness, B.C. 664, on no. 115; without date, as witness on nos. 116, 418, 429, 433, 611. It was the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 693, on no. 29; of a witness, son of Iazini, Ep. A, on no. 116; of a seller on nos. 174, 483; as the name of the Eponym S, *šaknu* of Kûe, on nos. 166, 311, 352, 619. The same name was borne by a *šâkû* of the Crown Prince, on no. 854; and in the letters K 1217, 7351, and on no. 1047. In these cases the name is written *AN-ŠU-MAN-PAP*. The form *AN-ŠU-LUGAL-PAP* occurs on no. 429. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-MAN-PAP* is found as the name of the witness and *mukil apâti* of the Queen, B.C. 660, on nos. 444, 445; as the name of the father of a witness, on no. 475; of the father of Lulabbir-šarrûtsu, on the letters, etc., K 186, 619, 930, 1051; Rm. II. 205; 81-2-4, 52; 83-1-18, 169, 476; K 5264, III. R. 37, 75 by Ašurbânipal as his *šût šaki*. Another form *AN-AMAR-UD-LUGAL-PAP* occurs in the letters K 1172, 1410, 3102, 5399, 7417. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-LUGAL-SIS* occurs in the letters K 1095, 1610, 1895, 5594; Sm. 1066; 82-5-22, 131; 83-1-18, 275, *AN-AMAR-UD-MAN-SIS* occurs in the letter K 7409; while finally *AN-RID-MAN-PAP* is the name of the witness, priest of Nabû, Ep. O, on no. 640; of the son of Gâbê, witness on no. 433; and of a *mutir pûti* of the Crown Prince, on. 857, II. 46.

The text is in too fragmentary a condition to be placed with certainty.

**511.** No. 111. Right-hand edge. Bright red.

The tablet was concerned with money, see lower edge, line 1, *manû kaspi*. In line 4, the *ma-ia-di* may be a word for 'interest.' In line 5, the name Latêgi-ana-Ištar occurs, see § 478. The other traces lead to little or nothing, except that a name, in rev. 2, seems to be Rîmânî. This is very likely the same as *Rîm-an-ni-i*, the name of a witness, on no. 273.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, regards this as a 'private contract.'

**512.** No. 112. Nearly complete. Dark brown.

Here, in the first line, we have so many homers of corn, *ŠE-BAR*, for the house of Šumma-ilâni. Then after a division mark, we read *ma-ka-tak-ni*, but whether one word or more, does not appear. Then, in line 3, we learn that Kidin-ilu received, *ittasa*, fifteen minas of silver from the *amêl LUL-MEŠ*, i.e. 'from the singers.' That sum he proceeded to give Šumma-ilâni. What exactly is meant by *Ū-MU iddini* is not clear. If we read *ûmu*, we may take it adverbially, 'the day on which he has given.' But there is no other sentence to complete the idea so suggested conditionally. However, there seem to have been seven witnesses. Dated, the 30th of some month, B.C. 700.

Probably we have here a note of the food and money entrusted to Šumma-ilâni, but we are unable to determine the exact nature of the transaction. In line 4, I have given the wrong form of *TA* and the wrong form of *amêl*. In reverse, line 2, the term *kišâte* conveys no meaning to me. Have we here a use of *ša* to denote *šir*? We have Unzaḥu alongside Unzârḥu. In this case we should obtain *kiširte*. The sign *KI* is not quite certain, it may really be a badly made *KA*. Until some further examples of the use are obtainable, we may suspend our judgement.

Šumma-ilâni we discussed in § 465; Kidin-ilu only occurs here, but we have Kidinia, as the name of a neighbour, on no. 376; Kidin-Bêl, v. R. 44, 56 d; Kidin-Êa, *S. A. V.* 4283; Kidin-Marduk, v. R. 44, 28 b, found also on no. 891, as the name of a son of Sapiku, a *râb bânû*, in Bâb Sapi; and Kidinu, *S. A. V.* 4286, are all very similar names.

Abdâ also occurs in the Ḥarran Census, as the name of a shepherd. A very similar name, Abda', is borne by a witness and Tartan, B.C. 694, on no. 281; by a witness and *aba*, B.C. 688, on



no. 238; by the *bêl paḥâtî* of Rašappa, on nos. 764, 853, 854. Slightly different is Abdaia, the name of the witness, B.C. 645, on no. 68. The name Abdi was borne by the witness, B.C. 674, on no. 186; the witness, B.C. 648, on no. 373; the witness, Ep. P, on no. 628; the seller on no. 254; a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 672; a serf, with his people, in the city Iada'i, on no. 742; on no. 947; and in the letter 83-1-18, 75, as of Tille. A witness and *naggaru*, B.C. 707 is named Abdi, on no. 292. Abdîa was the name of the *bêl paḥâtî* of Kar-Esarhaddon, on no. 884.

The name of the next witness only occurs heré and as a specimen name, App. 1, iv. 16. The element *kâšîr*, perhaps means 'preserver,' see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 360 b, and note *kušur libbi*, *Z. A.* x., 194 rev. 15 ff.: and compare *B. A. S.* III. 361, *kašûru* = *ausbessern, wiederherstellen*. Whether we are to take *PAP*, in line 2, as *aḥu*, 'brother,' so that Nabû-kâšîr would be brother of the *amêlu ša eli kišâte*; or whether we are to read *naḫḫar* and consider that both Abdâ and Nabû-kâšîr were *eli kišâte*; there seems little to decide. Against the latter view is the fact that also the next two witnesses are *eli kišâte*, so that the *naḫḫar* would be more appropriate in line 5. The witness, Arbailai, has been discussed in §§ 408, 477; Silim-ilu in § 475.

The name of the next witness, Nabû-râm-napišti, was also that of the father of Nabû-nâdin-aḥê, on no. 27; and occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, III. 30; App. 2, II. 10. The name of the next witness ended in *-SU*, perhaps to be read *-erba*: on the title *mutâr fême*, see § 196. The next name is Ašur-taklak, which only occurs here.

The name of the Eponym Metunu has been discussed in § 474.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

### *Advances of various sorts of property.*

513. These next fifteen texts, nos. 113-127, concern loans or advances of various sorts of property, apparently after the fashion of the *ana pûḫi* money loans with which we commenced, and clearly related closely to the corn loans which follow. The association of money and corn in nos. 113, 114, recalls the case of no. 90: but there is no close connection between the different transactions.

No. 113. Nearly perfect. Red.

Silim-Ašur advances ten minas of silver and one hundred and twenty homers of corn, with its interest, to Ḥandasâni and Marduk-šum-ušur. If they repay in Ulûlu, (well and good); if they do not pay, it shall increase by a half mina. Bêl-êreš acts as agent. Dated in Simânu, B.C. 680. Seven witnesses.

A translation has been given by Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 255, who deduces from it and no. 114 a number of remarkable results to which we shall return later. It is clear that the mention of interest, in line 2, is rather premature, but the scribe merely states the indebtedness in full and so includes the interest, if any. I think Professor Oppert is quite right in rendering line 5 by *zinsfrei werden sie im Monat Elul wiedergeben*. Also the rendering, of line 2 of the lower edge, by *Bêl-êreš leistet Bürgschaft*, is not far from the truth. What degree of responsibility Bêl-êreš took is not quite clear: 'agency' is all that I am prepared to admit. I think that Silim-Ašur was really the 'steward' of the royal household, and Bêl-êreš acted for him as 'agent' in this case. Professor Oppert regards the money as the value of the corn. But there is reason to suppose that a *gur* of corn was always worth about a shekel of silver. The money was therefore worth 600 *gur* of corn: or if the mina had only 30 shekels, at least 300 *gur*. Hence a homer of corn would be five *gur* or two and a half *gur*. Neither supposition seems likely. The relation which we took between the homer and *gur*, in § 487, would make a *gur* worth three shekels. On the whole, I regard the loans as separate. Indeed the ideogram for corn here, *ŠE-PAT*, points to corn as 'rations.' The suggestion is that Silim-Ašur advanced a quantity of corn as food for the labourers on some job and money for wages or other expenses. The advance is made in May or June, to be repaid in August or September. The business in hand was very likely harvest operations.

Another question is raised by the interest to be paid. The text only states 'a half mina.' If we regard this as the usual quarter of the sum lent, that could only have amounted to two minas in all. The interest must have been very small; even if only reckoned on the money lent, it was only five per cent. The cause for this may be sought in the relation between the lender and the borrower.

We have already discussed Silim-Ašur in §§ 420, 488. Ḥandasâni is the name of a borrower on no. 119, from Danâ, in this same year

and month, and is named on no. 855, R 3, as in charge of a troop of thirteen or fourteen hundred men. Possibly the money and rations here and the sheep in no. 119, were for the support of this troop, in Simânu, B.C. 680. The name is singular, the element *Ḥanda*, if really separate, occurs also in *Ḥandapî*, the name of a witness and *nâgîru*, son of *Ḥunzudî*, of the city *Ḥubaba*, Ep. Q, on no. 446; and is perhaps connected with *Ḥandu*, the name of a witness on no. 262; and *Ḥandî*, the name of a witness and *Ḳašî*, B.C. 682, on no. 215; of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 273; and of a witness on no. 300. These names seem to be foreign, Kassite(?).

The name of the other borrower, *Marduk-šum-ušur*, only occurs here in this form, *AN-RID-MU-PAP*. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-MU-PAP* occurs as the name of a witness, on no. 712, in the letters Sm. 152; 83-1-18, 6; in the enquiries of the Šamaš oracle, *G. A. S.*, nos. 35, 48, 91, 98, 108, 145; and on the astrological reports, K 1460, 3742, 8650, as a *bêl tēmi*, B.C. 648. The form *AN-ŠU-MU-PAP* occurs as the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 674, on no. 186; and on the letter K 13108. The form *AN-ŠU-MU-SIS*, is the name of a writer to the king on K 2701 a. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-MU-u-šur* occurs in an enquiry of the Šamaš oracle, *G. A. S.* no. 6; and in later Babylonian texts *S. A. V.* 5171. The form *AN-KU-MU-PAP* occurs on an enquiry of the Šamaš oracle, *G. A. S.* no. 85; and is a witness for the equation *AN-KU = Marduk*. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-MU-SIS* occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5171. The same name occurs on K 396, 81-7-27, 136, in the years B.C. 649-8.

In line 5, the scribe appears to have omitted *ina* before *arḫi*, though it is clearly needed to make sense. On the lower edge also, in line 2, he has omitted the dual sign after *ŠÚ*, usual in writing *ḳâtāti*. The name of the first witness is written *Nabû-la-tû-SAR-a-ni*. If we take this to be for *Nabû-lâ-tubašâni*, we must take *SAR* as an ideogram for *bašû*, as *UR* certainly is, see § 478. It is the only occurrence of the form in our documents. We might read *Nabû-lâ-tamḫirâni*, but it does not seem likely to be right.

The name *Milkaia* is singular, only occurring here. *Milkîa* we have noted in § 464. *Milkai* is the name of a witness, B.C. 684, on nos. 19, 20. *Milkî* is the name of a witness on nos. 245, 300. But often *Milki* is followed by a divine name, as in *Milki-Ašur* the name of a witness, B.C. 648, on no. 7, and on no. 877; *Milki-ilu*, as specimen name, App. 1, viii. 13; *Milki-Ištar*, the name of a witness,

B.C. 687, on no. 218. Hence we may suppose here a divine name Ia and read Milka-Ia. So the name of the witness, B.C. 675, on no. 167, may be read Milki-Ai. Alongside these names we must note those where the element Milki seems itself to be a divine name, as in Milki-erba, a specimen name, App. 1, x. 35; in Milki-idri, the name of a seller and *râb kišir*, in the city Dannai, B.C. 663, on no. 470; and a witness on no. 507; in Milki-mudammik, a specimen name, App. 1, x. 36; in Milki-nûri, the seller, *šâkû* of the Queen, B.C. 668, to B.C. 666, on nos. 287, 316, 452, 474, 494, 627; an *irrišu*, on no. 741; on no. 890 and no. 928; in Milki-râmu, the name of the Eponym, B.C. 654, III. R. 1, vi. 30; the principal, B.C. 663, on no. 56; on 83-1-18, 476; in Milki-irâm on K. 3102. Here Milki is clearly the Hebrew Melech, or Malchi seen in Malchijah, Malchi-el, Malchiram, etc.: the Aramaic and specially Canaanite מלך, *N. E.* p. 310. The shade of meaning to be assigned to Milki, in Milki-ašapa, king of Gebal, III. R. 16, v. 16; in Milki-uri, the name of a slave, B.C. 710, on no. 234; in Milki-lârîm, a specimen name, App. 2, xi. 12; must depend on the meaning of the second element in each case. Other incomplete names with the element *milki* are those, of the *râb kišir* on K 998; and of a slave sold, B.C. 686, on no. 453, perhaps to be completed Milki-baba. In Assyrian names, when not a divine name, *milku* may mean 'counsel,' 'prudence.'

The name of the next witness, Nûrânu, is found also on no. 902. The name written *ŠAB-a-nu* could be read Nûrânu, but I prefer Šâbânu in most cases. Mannu-akî-Arbaili is, of course, the same name as the more usual Mannu-kî-Arbaili, for which see § 413.

The name of the witness, in line 4, Salamame, only occurs here. One may perhaps suppose a scribal error for Salamanu, which is the name of a king of Moab, Tiglath Pileser III., B. 60; of an *irrišu*, with his people, in the city Kašpi, on no. 742; and occurs in the letters K 518, 4690, 13509; Sm. 268a; Bu. 91-5-9, 18. A different form of this name is borne by a *râb kišir* of the Queen Mother, on no. 857, II. 31, where we read *Sa-lam-a-nu*. The name Salamu occurs in the Harran Census. The curious name Salama-šarri, if that is how it is to be read, occurs as that of a witness on no. 598. In our case the *me* is very distinct now.

The name of the witness, in line 5, spelt *Nu-uš-ku-il-a-a*, is commented upon by Professor Zimmern, *G. G. A.* 1899, p. 249. He regards it as depriving Professor Jensen of his last argument

against the identification of Nusku with the נשך of the Nêrab Stele. Elsewhere in our text Nusku is always written ideographically *AN-PA-KU*. The name Nusku-ilai occurs as that of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 9; of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 576; of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 124; of a witness, B.C. 645, on nos. 24, 25, where he is called *šaḫû* of the city Kummuh; of a witness on nos. 478, 601; and in the Haran Census. The name of the Eponym has been discussed in § 478. There is nothing to be made of the traces on the left-hand edge.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'acknowledgements of debt.'

514. No. 114. A mere fragment. Drab.

The fragmentary condition of the tablet prevents full use being made of the text, but so far as preserved the state of the case seems to be as follows. Thirty shekels of silver and ten homers of corn, *ina* (*GIŠ-BAR*) *ša*  $9\frac{1}{2}$  *ka* (*êri*), were lent by Bêl-ba... to Êdu-ušur, *ana pûhi*. Dated sometime in the Eponymy of Ki.... Seven witnesses.

The similarity to no. 113 is obvious. Here however one-twentieth of the money is associated with one-twelfth of the corn. The *GIŠ-BAR* here cannot mean 'average yield,' but may be a price or estimate of quality. Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 255, considers that the phrase indicates the number of kabs to the homer. He calls a tenth of a homer a *Sechstel*, and considers that here this *Sechstel* is equivalent to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  *kabs*, so that the homer has here 95 *kabs*. The price of corn is thus  $31\frac{2}{3}$  *kabs* per shekel. In the case of no. 113, he adds to the 120 homers a quarter to give the *rubê*, and thus has 150 homers. Taking the homer to be 60 *kabs* he obtains a price of one shekel for 15 *kabs*. If he takes the homer to be usually 120 *kabs*, then a shekel would buy 30 *kabs*. But the whole calculation starts from the precarious assumption, that the money is the price of the corn. Then it further involves the assumption that the  $9\frac{1}{2}$  refers to the number of *ka* in a *Sechstel*. The calculation leads to no result that can stand and may be dismissed as fallacious.

The connecting link between this *GIŠ-BAR* and that applied to land and denoting 'average yield,' see § 276, p. 235, may perhaps be found in *GIŠ-BAR* denoting a 'wooden measure,' 'a tub,' or even 'a sack.' This would be a convenient way of keeping the corn, and the content of 'the sack' might be variable. At any rate it held the produce of a *ka* of land.

One further point deserves notice here. This advance was *ana pûhi*. Hence there is fair reason to suppose the advance in no. 113 was so as well. We have already seen, § 373, that the phrase may be omitted, when really implied. There is no mention of interest preserved.

The names of the principals are not easily restored. Bêl-balât may be intended but the *ba* is not certain. The name Êdu-uşur, written *E-du-PAP*, occurs as that of a serf, with his people, on no. 661. If *ĀŠ-PAP* is all the name here, it could be read the same. Both names may be read Êdu-nâşir. The former may mean 'Preserve the only (son),' or if, as is suggested in § 478, Êdu is a divine name, we may render 'Êdu preserve,' or 'Êdu is a preserver.'

The names of the first few witnesses, Marduk..., Ib..., Iştar..., Mannu... cannot be restored with any confidence. Aḥu-erba has been discussed, § 508. Šarru-êmurâni occurs, spelt as here restored, as the name of a witness and *šalšu*, Ep. S, on no. 352; of a witness and *râb kişir*, Ep. Y, on no. 151; of a witness and *šalšu*, on no. 312; of a *šakû* of the Crown Prince, on no. 840, II. 7; on no. 880, II. 12; and in the letters D. T. 63; Rm. 51. The form *MAN-ŠI-LAL-an-ni* was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 713, *šaknu* of Lullume, III. R. 1, v. 12; of the witness, B.C. 683, on no. 447; occurs in the letters K 1227, 1500, 7473; Rm. II. 463; and as a specimen name, App. 1, IX. 3. A phonetic spelling *MAN-e-mur-an-ni* is a variant to the last, III. R. 1, v. 12; taken probably from no. 677. A shorter form *MAN-ŠI-a-ni* was the name of the borrower, Ep. 7, on no. 45; and occurs in the letter K 650. The clipped form *MAN-ŠI-LAL-ni* occurs in the letters K 665, Rm. II. 529: cf. Sm. 754. The form *LUGAL-ŠI-LAL-a-ni* was the name of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, on no. 506; and occurs in the letters K 1413, Sm. 548, 81-2-4, 126. In the letters K 1402, 4307, we have *LUGAL-ŠI-LAL-an-ni*. The phonetic spelling *LUGAL-e-mur-an-ni* occurs in the letters K 630, 1081, 7384, 14093, Rm. II. 7. A clipped form *LUGAL-ŠI-LAL-ni* occurs in the letters K 610, Sm. 1045, Rm. II. 474; cf. K 689, 5291, 5468. Also K 2680, 2681, 2691, 5284, were dated in his Eponymy, and give the year as the xth of Sargon, and his office as *šaknu* of Lullume, see G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 85, and III. R. 2, nos. IV., VII.

The name of the last witness and scribe, *aba*, of the tablet, Nabû-šadûni, 'Nabû our mountain,' occurs also as a specimen name, App. 1, IV. 8.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

**515.** No. 115. Complete. Red.

Ten minas of silver, Carchemish standard, seventy-five sheep, one cow (?); are lent by Rîmâni-Adadi, the *mukîl apâtî*, to Arbailai, the *šanû* of Barhalzi; to Nabû-erba-aḥê, the *aba*; to Maškaru, the *šalšu*; to Ilu-nâdin-aplu, the *šalšu*; *ana pûḥi*, interest to be one-third. The sheep and the cow they shall return in the month Addaru. If they do not return the sheep, they shall breed them. Dated the 25th of Tebêtu, B.C. 664. Thirteen witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 8082.

The tablet is described in the Guide, p. 171, no. 23.

The text was published, III. R. 47, no. 1.

A transliteration and a translation were given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 158 f.; and again *Z. A.* XIII. p. 257, Oppert gives a summary of it.

In line 2, for 75, Oppert reads *ana* 15, the signs *LID-NIGIN* he renders *gravidam, vache pleine*. As a rule *GUD-LID* may be read 'cow,' *littu*, but what the force of *NIGIN* here may be is not clear. The sign may be *LID-LID-SIK*. After a repeated comparison with the older forms I am of opinion that we have here a lineal descendant of the *LID-AL* of the old Babylonian texts, see Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 367. Whether the *AL* is rightly identified there I do not pretend to say, for I have no experience in examining the older tablets. But I agree with Radau in his conclusion that the signs mean a full-grown cow. In our case there seem to be too many wedges for the usual Assyrian *AL*, but the older ideogram may have been preserved.

In line 3, I have inadvertently given *mu-kîl* in place of its ideogram *LU*. There is no *mu* on the tablet, and what I give as *kîl* is really *lu*. The two verticals which follow are possibly a badly made *a*, and then we should read, as in reverse 4 and 8, *LU a-pa-te*. Oppert of course could not read the signs as given in III. R. In line 4, he leaves *šanû* unread, but renders *viro prefecto militum urbis Halzi*. He takes *BAR* as *AN*.

In line 7, III. R. gives *e* in place of *ĀŠ-A*, so Oppert read the name Same. It is noticeable that in line 6, as in line 9, *šalšu* is written *III-SI-šu*. Here the usual *HU* is omitted from before *SI*. In line 9, the writing is also wrong. There III. R. gave the first two

characters as *II ak*, so Oppert read *II ak III gur-su* and rendered *duo ak tres gur*, and says, in the French version, *l'argent rapportera deux ak et trois gur*. What is curious is that *III* is followed in each case by *SI*. This favours Professor Jensen's suggestion that for 'one-third' we are to read *šulsu*. Perhaps here in line 6, *III SI-šu* is not *šalšu* but 'a third man,' *šulsu*.

In line 2, of the lower edge, Oppert renders *uludu* by *oves parturientes* (*vel potius natos*), in the French version, *il donnera le produit des animaux*. I think he is right. I take *uludu* to be from *alâdu*, 'to give birth,' perhaps infinitive II. 1. Either the sheep, then shorn, were to be returned, or if retained were to be put to breed. It does not follow that the debtors might retain them till the lambs were born, but they must see that the proper attention was given them, so that when returned, the sheep should not be profitless to their owner.

In line 2, of the reverse, Oppert reads *ilu BAR-BAR* as Ninip. It is now generally read as Nêrgal and was certainly one of the names of that god, but it is not clear that it was pronounced Nêrgal. For Nêrgal-šar-ušur occurs lower down written in the usual way, *L. E. 1*. Perhaps it was read Mašmaš-šar-ušur. For the occurrences of the names, see below, p. 192. The names certainly denote different persons and I have seen nothing to shew that the names ever interchange.

In line 3, of the reverse, Oppert reads the name U-a-ša-ar. The name is a puzzling one. It frequently occurs as that of one of Rîmâni-Adadi's witnesses. It is written *Ū-a-ar-bi-is*, as the name of a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 667, on no. 185; *Ū-ar-bi-is*, as the name of a witness and *šalšu* on nos. 247, 408, 471, 571; governor in Egypt, Bu. 91-5-9, 218. But the place of this witness is taken on our tablet by a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 664, called *Ū-a-ār-me-ri*. Then the same place is taken on no. 470, in B.C. 663, as a witness and *šalšu* by *U-bar-bi-si*, which also is the name of a witness and *šalšu dannu*, on no. 418. As these are all witnesses to Rîmani-Adadi's deeds and closely associated with the same set of men as fellow-witnesses, there can hardly be any doubt that the same name is meant by these varied spellings. Then if we regard Ubar, Uwar, Uar, as one element perhaps related to the Sumerian (?) Ubara, and compare the name with Ubara-Tutu, we may conclude that Bis or Bisi is a divine name and perhaps a synonym of Meri. The element Ubar will be found also in Ubaru, in the letter Sm. 1028 and in later



Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1126, etc. Even Ubar occurs as a proper name, *P. A. S.* vii. 20. We have Ubarru on the contracts K 3790, Rm. 157, in the years B.C. 679, 680: perhaps the same as the *šaku* of Babylon on Sm. 1028. For the form Uar we may compare, Uari the witness on no. 97, see § 500: and Uarzaun, of the land of Maḫutti, on K 1668 b, II. 19, in Winckler's *Sargon*.

In line 4, Oppert reads the name Ninip-šar-ušur in place of Šamaš-šar-ušur, and gives no rendering for *LU a-pate*. It is singular that this clear phonetic reading of *LU SU-PA-MEŠ* should so long have escaped notice, see § 124. In line 5, Oppert reads the name Nabû-magir and for Barruk reads Massun. In line 6, III. R. gave the curious reading *Ni-in-nu-u* for the clearly written Sakannu and the sign of repetition. In line 8, III. R. gave as the title *LU II-pa-te*. I am sure that here also *LU a-pa-te* was written, though the *a* is less distinct than in line 4. In reverse, edge line 1, Oppert read the name as Kurbasti, but in view of the variants Hūbašte, Hābasite, we must read it Aḫibašte. On line 1, of the left-hand edge, the title of the witness is given as *II-si-šu*, on which see § 155. In line 2, a comparison of no. 116, makes it clear that we must restore the name Marduk-šar-ušur; see also § 510.

Oppert considers the whole transaction a *Créance hypothécaire*. In his remarks, p. 159, he says that what he has called a *vache pleine* may on the contrary be *un taureau*. In *Z. A.* XIII., p. 257, he suggests reading *GUD LID-MAH*, which would suit the traces very well indeed. In the contracts treated by Radau, the sign *maḥ* may be a better reading than *al*. Oppert takes the value of the sheep and cow to be ten minas, but there seems no good reason for this. He would reckon a sheep as worth 7 shekels and the cow as 75 shekels. We shall return to this in the chapter on Prices.

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 157, c. 1., calls this a *Darlebensurkunde, ohne näheren Angaben*.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'private contracts concerning sales, etc., of animals, corn, wine, and other moveables.'

For the business transactions of the great Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 465. Of the recipients of the grant, Arbailai is discussed in §§ 408, 477. Nabû-erba-aḫê also occurred on no. 116, probably; was the name of a writer to the king's son, K 614; and is a specimen name App. 2, II. 13. The name Maškaru also occurred on no. 116, probably, but is otherwise unknown. Ilu-nâdin-aplu also occurred

probably on no. 116; is the name of the *šanû* of Haurîna, on no. 922, l. 6; and occurs in the Harran Census.

The name of the first witness, Nêrgal-šar-ušur as it is usually read, written *AN-BAR-BAR-MAN-PAP* occurs as that of a witness, son of Daian-Adadi, B.C. 680, on no. 631; of a witness and *šalšu*, as here, B.C. 663, on no. 470; and on nos. 116, 247, 448. On no. 408, he appears as *šalšu dannu*, and his position in the lists of witnesses renders it probable that the fuller title was generally intended in his case. The name occurs as that of a witness also on nos. 433, 471, 571, 599. On no. 596, he appears as *mukîl apâti* and witness. He is named on K 677, 1595, 7389.

The more common writing *AN-U-GUR-MAN-PAP*, is the name of a witness, *šakû* of the Crown Prince, B.C. 710, on no. 416; of a witness, son of the *mâhu* of Tarbiši, B.C. 666, on no. 258; of the witness and *kêpu*, B.C. 664, on no. 377; of a *bêl paḥâti*, B.C. 648, on K 3742; and occurs in the letters K 1051, 8872, 81-2-4, 131. What is certainly the same name, *U-GUR-MAN-PAP* was borne by the seller, B.C. 679, on no. 534; by the Eponym, B.C. 678, and *râb BI-LUL*, on no. 630; by the Eponym, B.C. 678, on no. 301; by a witness, B.C. 671, on no. 192; by a witness below on *L. E.* 1.; by a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 663, on no. 470; by a witness and *šalšu*, Ep. A, on no. 325; by a witness, Ep. D, on no. 39; by witnesses on nos. 295, 396, 439; occurs as the name of a *bêl paḥâti*, on no. 854; in the letter K 17 and as Eponym, B.C. 678, and *râb BI-LUL*, III. R. 1, VI. 3. Clearly the Eponym was not the witness, B.C. 664, onwards. The form *AN-U-GUR-LUGAL-PAP* occurs on K 13052. Another form *AN-U-GUR-LUGAL-û-sur*, occurs in the letter 83-1-18, 772, and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6345. The form *AN-U-GUR-LUGAL-SIS* occurs in the letters K 13176, and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6345. The form *U-GUR-LUGAL-PAP* is the name of a lender, B.C. 667, on no. 27; and occurs in the letter K 1086. We have *AN-PA-U-GUR-MAN-PAP* given III. R. 1, VI. 3, as variant for the Eponym's name B.C. 678. In later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6345, we have also the form *AN-ŠI-DU-LUGAL-SIS*. To this name also must be referred the traces in no. 529, R 6, witness and *mukîl apâti*; and no. 611, R 5, witness and *šalšu*. Nêrgal-šar-ušur was the name of the king of Babylon, B.C. 559-556: see I. R. 8, no. 5; I. R. 67, l. 1, where in the latter place we must restore *AN-SIS-GAL-LUGAL-u-šu-ur*.

The witnesses Šamaš-šar-ušur, Barruk, Šumma-ilâni and Sakânu, have been discussed in § 467; Nabû-šêzib in § 479; Ašur-ilai in § 500, Aḫu-bašte in § 472; Marduk-šar-ušur in § 510. The name borne by the two witnesses, in lines 8 and 9, which I read Zârûti is also that of the neighbour, B.C. 668, on no. 471; of a borrower, *râb karâni ša bîti cšši* B.C. 656, on nos. 48, 49; of a witness on no. 606; of the father of Ašur-ḫâtsu on no. 711; of a *râb kišir* on no. 815, R. III. 8, II. 8; of a *šalšu* on no. 912, 5. Further it was the name of a witness and *mukil apâti* of the Crown Prince, B.C. 667, on no. 200, as here; of a witness and *mukil apâti* on nos. 247, 439. On the latter, the two men occur together again, the second, as here, being a *râb kišir*. In the same form we find it as the name of a witness and *ḫêpu*, on no. 477. These names are spelt *Zêr-u-ti*, or *Zêr-u-ti-i*. The form *Za-ru-ti-i* occurs as the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 698, on no. 328; of a witness, *mukil apâti* of the *râb šakê*, B.C. 695, on no. 34; and as a borrower, son of Gugû, B.C. 670, on no. 44.

**516.** No. 116. Only the right half is preserved. Red.

A comparison of this text with the last shews that if not duplicates they are so closely related that one may be supposed to be an incomplete draft of the other. Perhaps one was a renewal of the grant made in the other. There are some small differences. In line 5, there is mention of a half mina; unless we are to read *ina ištên manê*. This phrase often replaces *ina ša*, which is an abbreviation of it. In line 8, an epithet *damiktu*, 'goodly' is added to the ideogram for 'cow.' We can therefore hardly suppose a bull was really meant. In line 10, we see that Rîmâni-Adadi's full title was *mukil apâti dannu ša Ašurbânipal šar mât Aššur*, as often, see § 467. This is shortened, as often, on no. 115, to *mukil apâti* simply. We may therefore assume that the shorter title need not imply an earlier date. In reverse, line 4, there seems to be no room for *uludu*. In the list of witnesses here Uarmeri is omitted, also the first *Zârûti*, and as far as I can judge there was no date unless it was on the left-hand edge, now lost. It is worth noting here that on this tablet *râb KA-SAR* is written for *râb ki-šir*.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

**517.** No. 117. Nearly complete. Slate.

Dannaia lends two camels to Iaḫuṭu, Ilu-mukîn-aḫi, and Adadi-aplu.... They shall return the camels on the

1st of the month.... If they do not return them then, they shall pay six minas of silver. Dated, the 14th of Tišrîtu, B.C. 674. Three witnesses. P.S. If they do not pay the money, interest will be charged at the rate of five shekels per mina.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93, and *S. A. V.* 4822.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts it among the 'private contracts.'

The text is discussed by Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 257, who regards *A-A-AB-BA* as a very costly substance, the so-called 'Meerwasser.' He reads the difficult second line as *sa 2A zakkarûni*, and suggests that it may mean *zweifaches Wasser*: or *welches man doppeltes Wasser nennt*. He regards this costly material as worth about 3.13 francs per litre, *wofür man jetzt schon eine Flasche Champagner haben kann*. But it is not likely that such a grand drink would be expected back. I regard *imêr A-A-AB-BA* as an ideogram for camel or dromedary: see *Del. H. W. B.* under *udru*, *ibilu*, *gammalu*. The usual ideogram for camel is *GAM-MAL*, but also *imêr A-AB-BA*, while *imêr AB-BA* is *ibilu*. For the meaning of the latter as 'camel,' see Zimmern, *Z. A.* v. p. 387: cp. the Arabic *إبل*, 'camel.' In K 152, *imêr AB-BA*, *ibilu*, is followed by *imêr TU-DU*, *šanû*, and then by *AM-SI-HA-RA-AN*, *ibilu*, again. Here it seems that an animal called *šanû* is closely allied to *ibilu*. Now on Shalmaneser's Monolith, obv. 28, we read of 7 *udrâte ša 2 gungulipêšina*, rev. 62 (cf. Layard 98, 1.), *udrâte (imêr A-AB-BA-MEŠ)* *ša šunai širišina*. Samsi-Adadi II. 56 has *imêr udrâti ša 2 (ta-a-an) iškubiti šitkuna*. These dromedaries with two or double humps would be called *šanû* very likely; at any rate the *imêr A-AB-BA* was often a double humped dromedary. On the meaning of the terms see Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, I. p. 62, f. Now the natural way to read *II-a* is *šanû*, or *šunû*. Hence I think the scribe meant here, '2 dromedaries which they call double humped.' There is a difficulty about *zakarûni*, one would expect *zakarûni*.

In line 1, of reverse, the first two signs are badly rubbed, but now I think they are clearly to be read *GAM-MAL*, but there does not seem to be any plural sign. Still *gammalê* is probably what was meant. Hence it appears these two humped dromedaries were highly valued, three minas of silver apiece. The passages from the historical texts cited above shew that they were valued as articles of tribute, and as no more than seven are mentioned

at one time, they were evidently rare. One wonders what the three borrowers wanted with a pair of such animals. Were they taking round a menagerie on show? There could hardly be any business demand for them.

The lender, Dannaia, has been discussed in § 416. The first borrower Iaḥuṭu seems to be the same person, who in no. 118, is a borrower and *šanû* of Raṣappa, B.C. 673; a witness, Ep. Q, on no. 165; and is in charge of horses, on no. 988. The name of the second borrower, Ilu-mukîn-aḥi, or possibly Ilu-kêniš-uṣur, is completed from no. 118, where also he is a borrower and associated with Iaḥuṭu. This is also the name of a slave sold, B.C. 670, on no. 266; was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 830, III. R. 1, II. 35; and is a specimen name, App. 3, II. 25. The name of the third borrower might be Adadi-aplu-iddin, Adadi-aplu-uṣur, or something similar. Of such names only the first is found in our documents. It was the name of a king of Karduniaš, father-in-law of Ašur-bêl-ḫala, king of Assyria, son of Esaggil-šadûni, circ. B.C. 1020, see I. R. 5, no. XXII. 1; II. R. 65, 34. In this case the name is spelt *AN-IM-A-SE-na*. The form *AN-IM-A-SE-ni* is the name of a witness, Ep. 7, on no. 45. Also *AN-IM-A-ÁŠ* is the name of a witness on no. 259, and occurs in the letter K 7393. The form *AN-IM-TUR-UŠ-SE-na*, probably denoting the king of Karduniaš, is found on K 6156, which is dated in his 11th year.

The name of the Eponym, Šarru-nûri, is discussed in § 477. The name of the first witness, Sikinanni, only occurs here. The name of the second I read Šulmu-šarri, though it could be Mušallim-šarru, as *DI* is an ideogram for *šalâmu* and its derivatives. We could also read Silim-šarri or Šulman. Of these other forms we have no certain case in our documents, but Šulmu-šarri was the name of an Eponym, B.C. 698, *šaknu* of Barḫalza, III. R. 1, v. 26; and on nos. 191, 198, 468, 473, 475. The name was also borne by a buyer, B.C. 712, on no. 5; by a witness, B.C. 688, on no. 243; by a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 17; by a witness, B.C. 669, on no. 310; by a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 666, on no. 627; as *šaḫû* of the land Kusai, on no. 1076, II. 5; on no. 899, III. 12; on no. 913, R. 4. The Eponym's name, written Šulum-šarri occurs on K 398, where this is said to be the vii<sup>th</sup> year of Sennacherib.

The name of the next witness, Adadi-danan, written as here, *U-dan-an* occurs in the letters K 1083; 82-5-22, 146; written

*AN-IM-dan-an*, it denotes a neighbour on no. 429; and the *sartênu* on no. 675. The form *IM-dan-an* occurs on no. 893. In the third line on left-hand edge, instead of *rab* read *GAL*, *i-GAL-bi*, that is *irabbi*.

518. No. 118. Nearly complete. Drab.

Dannai lends two hundred sheep, one hundred and fifty goats, two hundred and thirty yearling lambs, in all five hundred and fifty small cattle, to Iaḥûtu, Ilu-mukîn-aḥi and another. They are to return the animals in a certain month, or pay. Dated, the 7th of Aaru, B.C. 673. Seven witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93, and *S. A. V.* 4822.

The text is transliterated and translated by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 128 f.

In line 1, he did not see that Iaḥûtu was *šanû* of *mât Raṣappa*, but gave *KUR-RA*.... It is noteworthy that although three men are named as receiving the grant, only one, Iaḥûtu, seals the acknowledgement. The three names are probably the same as those of the receivers in no. 117. In line 2, I have given the scribe's oddly made *ûa* as *ḫi-zib*. There is no doubt however as to the meaning. As pointed out by Dr Peiser, the scribe has added up the numbers incorrectly. We may note that *LU* includes all sorts of small cattle. Dr Peiser recognised the nature of the transaction so clearly as to say in his note, *K. B.* p. 129; *die Schafe sind vom Eigenthümer in die Obhut des Jaḥuṭi und seiner Genossen verstellt worden*. He indexed the document as *Lieferungstermin*. It is clear that here as in no. 115, the animals are consigned to the care of a head herdsman or shepherd. On what terms we may ask? He had to restore them or pay for them and take all due care of them in the meantime. What profit had he, or was he simply a hired servant? It seems to me that a well-known rate of profit was allowed him, which lay at the root of the fine he had to pay for retention of his charge overtime. I think he took the cattle out to pasture, and had to bring them back and then was paid.

Although the principals are the same as in no. 117, the witnesses are not. The first, who seems to bear the name Baṭudanu, was a *râb âsû*. The *su* is not now preserved. The name does not occur again in our documents. The next name, Adadi-nâṣir, written *U-PAP-ir*, is that of a witness, B.C. 669, on no. 310; and of a seller, *aba*, son of Nabû-nâṣir, B.C. 660, on no. 362. The form

*AN-IM-PAP-ir* was the name of the seller, B.C. 687, on no. 624; of the seller, B.C. 686, on no. 374; of the seller, *aba ša bīti Ašur-lī'*, B.C. 660, on no. 444; of a neighbour on no. 643; and a specimen name, App. 3. II. 7. A form *AN-IM-na-ši-ir* occurs as the name of the father of Ninip-aplu-iddina, *temp.* Merodach-Baladan I., see IV. R. 38, II. 32.

The name, Aḫi-nūri, written *PAP-ŠAB*, was that of an *aba* and witness, B.C. 688, on no. 238; of a witness and *rāb kišir*, B.C. 681, on no. 127; of a seller, son of Silu, Ep. A, on no. 318; occurs in the letter K 4779; in the Harran Census; and as a specimen name, App. 1, IX. 42. The form *PAP-nu-ri* is the name of a neighbour, on no. 347; *SIS-nu-ri*, of a slave sold, on no. 246.

The name Aplai, written here *TUR-UŠ-a-a*, could be read Šumai, as Dr Peiser suggests. It was borne by the buyer, B.C. 698, on nos. 473, 474; by the lender, B.C. 683, on no. 51; by the witness and son of Mušallim-Ašur, *ḫēpu* of Kar-Šamaš, B.C. 682, on no. 363; by a neighbour in Singâra, B.C. 660, on no. 444; was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 769, *šaknu* of Mazamûa, III. R. 1, IV. 1; of a *nâgir êkalli*, on no. 1131; and occurs in a letter K 13188. Another form, *A-a-a*, was the name of the buyer on no. 436; of a *šakû*, B.C. 671, on no. 829; of an Elamite officer, III. R. 37, 75 a; and is a specimen name, App. 1, IX. 33. The Eponym's name has a variant Aplîa, which goes to confirm the reading Aplai. Aplîa, written *A-ia*, was the name of a lender, B.C. 690, on no. 55; of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 650, on no. 533; of a seller and *aba*, on no. 93; of a witness, *bél âli* of Ḫubaba, on no. 171; of a witness and *tamkaru*, Ep. E, on no. 711; of the father of Ša-pî-Bêl, son of Kiltî, of the guild of boatmen, a servant of Nabû-bêlšunu, dedicated to Bêl, on no. 889; and is named in the letter Bu. 91-5-9, 12. The form *A-ia* was the name of a buyer, *šalšu* of Ardi-Bêlit, the Crown Prince, B.C. 694, on no. 201. The form *TUR-UŠ-ia* is the name of a lender, B.C. 686, on no. 28; of the father of Bûluṭ, of the tribe of Nûr-Sin, on no. 891; and occurs in the letter K 571. The form *A-ia-a* occurs in the letter 83-1-18, 44, as the name of a *pirḫînu* of Ištar of Arbela.

The name Atar-ilâni, or Atar-ilê, only occurs here in this form. The more usual form Atar-ili was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 673, *bél paḫâti* of Laḫiru, III. R. 1, VI. 8 and on no. 8; on the Cylinder B, 48-11-4, 315; I. R. 47, VI. 73. It was also the name of the seller and *rāb urâte*, B.C. 666, on no. 627; and of the buyer, *šakû* of the

Crown Prince of Babylon, B.C. 670, at Lahiru. Another form Atri-ili for the Eponym is found on nos. 53, 431. Hence the name is not 'Atar is god,' but 'the *atru* of god.' Now *atru* or *adru* is a variant to *idru*, as shewn by the name Adria variant to Idrîa, on no. 360; compare Adru in the Harran Census. Hence Adru must mean 'help,' like *idru*. We must therefore read Adar-ili, 'the help of god,' or Adri-ilê, 'help of the gods'; and the name is not a compound of the divine name Atar.

The name Sin-nâdina-aḥê can hardly be meant, we have here to read Sin-iddina-aḥê, against the rule that the verb in the second member is a participle. This is the only example of the name, but Sin-nâdin-aḥê, *AN-XXX-SE-PAP-MEŠ*, is a specimen name, App. 3, IV. 18. A nearly allied name Sin-nâdin-aḥu, *XXX-SE-PAP*, occurs as the name of a seller, on no. 262. The name of the last witness, Ašur-ilai is discussed in § 500.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts this among the 'private contracts concerning sales, etc., of animals, corn, wine, and other moveables.'

**519.** No. 119. Nearly complete. Bright red.

Dannai lends seventy-two sheep to Handasâni and Marduk. They shall return them in Âbu, or if not, shall pay for them according to the market rate in Nineveh. Bêl-êreš acts as agent. Dated in Simânu, B.C. 680. Four witnesses.

The only phrase that seems to call for remark is that in line 2 of the lower edge. Although much defaced that line seems to have read *ana mithar ina Ninûa kaspu iddanu*. Whether this means 'to the full value they shall pay cash for them in Nineveh,' or only 'according to their market value in Nineveh they shall pay'; seems to me to be difficult to decide. In one sense both come to much the same thing, but the meaning of *ana mithar* still seems open. The rare word *umahu* has already been discussed in § 506. It clearly takes the place of the usual words for 'advance.' The presence of *šû* is very curious. It must be used to denote the whole lot of sheep.

It will be noted that it is Dannai who again farms out the cattle. The name of the first receiver, Handasâni, has been discussed in § 513. Marduk is peculiar, being usually a divine name, Merodach, but is the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 11; of a neighbour Ep. Z, on no. 340; of a *bêl narkabti* on no. 857, III. 43; of a *kalû* on no. 851; of the son of Bau-êreš, father of Bêl-Harran-šadûa,



on no. 889; occurs in the letters K 544; Sm. 267; 83-1-18, 39; Bu. 91-5-9, 85, 90, 113; and in later Babylonian tablets, *S. A. V.* 5134. A closely allied name Marduka occurs in the letters K 5380, 5398, and later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5137. Mardukate is the name of a witness and *aba*, on no. 259. Marduku is the name of a witness, possibly, on no. 80, and occurs in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5134; see § 486. It is natural to compare with these names the Mordecai of the Book of Esther.

The occurrences of Bêl-êreš have been discussed in § 474, of Nabû-aḥê-iddin in § 499. The name Gabbu-êreš only occurs here, but is similar to Gabbu-ilâni-êreš, § 487, of which it and Gabbu-êreš are probably abbreviations. The next name may be read Kassu-nâ'id, only occurring here, and compared with Kassu-ai, the name of an inhabitant of Aššur, on K 1078. The doings of Aplu-ušur, are discussed in § 486.

520. No. 120. Complete. Red.

The *šakintu* grants a thousand sheep with their lambs (?) to Nabû-nâdin-aḥi. Dated, the 10th of Addaru, B.C. 693. Four witnesses.

Here again I have written *ḫi-zib* for *ûa*, but the tablet is badly crumpled. In line 2, the tablet probably originally had *lu* where I give *ku*, and instead of *sa-ar-ti* was some sign followed by *MEŠ*, but I am unable to say what the sign was. It can hardly be *ARAD*. It may be *NUM*, hardly *ZIK*, but Del. *H. W. B.* p. 205, would read both *girru*, 'lion.' My conjecture that the signs indicate lambs is quite a guess. According to the view of *sartu* taken later in the chapter on Legal Decisions, *LU sartu* might mean 'the profit' which these sheep should yield to their mistress. The scribe then has stated the whole property which was expected back, 'a thousand sheep and their increment,' just as in no. 113, he states 'the money and corn with its interest.' The lambs would be the profit intended. So the two readings yield much the same sense.

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 258, has translated this text. He suggests that *lu* should be read for *ku*. He regards *sartu* as *das Accessorium*, deriving it from אָסַר, 'to bind,' *es ist damit das principale verbunden*. But it has a further meaning, as from *ligare* comes *obligatio*, and is frequently used in that sense. He regards the case in no. 94, as meaning a female slave with her *accedens*, *adi sât sartisa*. We shall return to the sense of *sartu* later, its

existence here is very doubtful. Oppert regards the name of the Eponym here as Anki-qiba, not El-ittiya. He also regards the clause in line 2 as implying 'lambs.'

The occurrences of Nabû-nâdin-aḥi are given in § 470. Marduk-danâni only occurs here. The name in my opinion throws light on the many names ending in *danan*. This is spelt *DAN-an*, and has often been read *da-an*. But the ending *anni* often exchanges with *âni*, hence we may read our name as ending in *danâni*, for which *danân* may be an abbreviation. On the other hand *DAN* may be an ideogram for some verb, not yet recognised. A reading *kullimâni* has been suggested, and if *DAN* or *DAN-AN* is an ideogram for *danânu* we may read *udanin* and *udaninâni*. So far, I have not met with any good ground for adopting either suggestion.

Nabû-aḥu-uṣur, written as here, *AN-PA-PAP-PAP*, was the name of a witness and *râb kallê*, B.C. 698, on no. 328; of a witness, B.C. 693, on no. 162; of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 51; of a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 279; of an *aba*, Ep. K, on no. 329; of a seller, son of Nargî, Ep. A, on no. 318; of a witness, Ep. O, on no. 163; of a witness and *râb êkalli*, Ep. O, on no. 640; of a witness, Ep. θ, on no. 31; of a witness and *aba*, on no. 598; of an *irrišu*, sold, on no. 429; also possibly, of the witness and *mutir pûti*, B.C. 684, on nos. 19, 20; and of a witness, Ep. μ, on no. 679. It also occurs, with a variant *AN-PA-SIS-PAP* on K 638, in the letter 82-5-22, 128; and as a specimen, App. 1, 1. 2. Another form, *AN-AK-SIS-u-ṣur*, occurs in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5704. The next name Mannu-kî-Ištar is discussed, § 492, Latubašâni-ilu, in § 480.

The name of the Eponym I take to be the same as that usually written *AN-KI-ia*. This name was that of the Eponym, B.C. 694, *šaknu* of Damascus, III. R. 1, v. 30, dating nos. 58, 140, 201. 272, 281, 427, and K 75, where the year is also stated to be the xith of Sennacherib. The same name is borne by a neighbour, B.C. 692, in Nineveh, on no. 324; occurs in the Harran Census, and as a specimen, App. 1, ix. 6; xii. 41. Our form *AN-KI-E-a* occurs also III. R. 1, v. 30, as a variant to the last and on no. 162, from which the variant was probably taken. By assigning this to B.C. 694-3, III. R., G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 89, and Bezold, Catalogue, p. 1881, identify with *AN-KI-ia* and I entirely agree with them. Professor Oppert's reading Anki-qiba is like nothing

else I have ever seen. Another form *I-lu-KI-a* is the name of a witness, of the city Kurai, on no. 500. The reading of these names as *Ilu-ittîa*, 'God is with me,' is so far open to doubt that it is not certain that *KI* is to be read *itti*. There is an Assyrian *kî*, which means 'like,' and the Aramaic rendering of *KI-AN-UD* is כִּי־אֶשׁוּד, see *N. E.* p. 295. Hence we may read the name *Ilu-kîa*, with a variant, in our case, *Ilu-kêa*. This is easier to suppose than that *e-a* is written for *i-a*. But the usual reading is quite likely to be the correct one.

It is interesting to note that the *šakintu* was such a great sheep-owner.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, reckons this among the 'private contracts concerning sales, etc., of animals, corn, wine, and other moveables.'

**521.** No. 121. The left half or two-thirds. Drab.

Rîmâni-Adadi entrusts five hundred sheep, sixteen oxen, thirty *purîmê* to Arbailai, the *šanû*, Išdi-Nabû and Adadi-ilai. In Nisânu they shall return them; if not, they shall pay the full value of them in (Nineveh?). Dated, the 1st of Nisânu, B.C. 671. Four witnesses.

The animals here denoted by *imêr EDIN-NA*, usually read *purîmê*, and rendered 'wild asses,' are apparently domesticated. On the obscurities of the name, see § 340. What the traces, in line 1, of reverse point to, I cannot say. In line 2, there is nothing to point to Nineveh, but it is the most likely. The loan seems to be for a whole year, the inside of a month is improbable. In line 2, there may have been 40 *purîmê*.

The affairs of Rîmâni-Adadi, § 467; of Arbailai, §§ 408, 479; Sasî, § 486; Isanai, § 482; Didî, § 470; have been considered already. Išdi-Nabû, here one of the receivers, appears as the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 734, on no. 415; of a witness, B.C. 680, on nos. 3, 26; of a witness and *râb kišîr*, Ep. A, on no. 325; of a neighbour, witness and *râb kišîr*, Ep. A', on no. 414; of a witness and *râb kišîr*, Ep. C, on no. 641; of a witness, Ep. D, on no. 622; of a witness, Ep. E, on no. 711; of a neighbour, witness and *râb kišîr* of the Crown Prince, Ep. F, on no. 621; of a witness and *râb kišîr*, Ep. N, on no. 327; of a witness, Ep. O, on no. 163; same and *râb êkalli*, on no. 640; witness and *râb êkalli*, Ep. R, on no. 642; witness and brother of Aplu-ušur and Bêl-bušu-eṭir, on no. 385; witness and *rakbu* of Crown Prince, on no. 312; a

neighbour in Nineveh, on no. 343; a witness on nos. 169, 456; his son is named on no. 394; he is a frequent writer to the king, K 11, 589, 1000, 1048, 1583, 13737. In all these cases the name is written, *GIRI-AN-PA*. The other form, *GIRI-AN-AK*, occurs as the name of a witness and *râb kišir*, Ep. F, on no. 361; and is named on K 13035. There is a *primâ facie* case for supposing that the witness and *râb kišir*, generally a witness for Rîmâni-Adadi, is the same person throughout, and it is extremely probable that he is identical with the *râb êkalli*. Hence there is good reason to group together the Eponyms A, A', C, D, E, F, N, O, R. The subject of their order will be discussed in the chapter on Chronology.

Adadi-ilai is also the name of a witness, on no. 85; and of a serf, with his people, on no. 661. The name of the Eponym, Tebêtai, occurs as the Eponym of B.C. 671, III. R. 1, VI. 10. Also, as already given, *S. A. V.* 3489, the traces of the name are probably given for the Eponym of B.C. 666. Hence there is some doubt always attaching to dates in which his name only is given. On nos. 258, 420, 421, as on nos. 192, 331, he is entitled *šaknu* of *Bit ešši*, or *bêl paḥâti* of *Bit ešši*; while on no. 266, as Eponym he is *Sartênu*, as also is the witness, on no. 470, in B.C. 663. Now on no. 258, Rîmâni-Adadi is the *mukil apâti* of the king, on no. 420, of Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria. These two dates are therefore later than B.C. 667. Hence we may fairly date nos. 192, 258, 331, 420, 421, as in B.C. 666–5, and regard Tebêtai as then 'ruler of the New Palace.' Further, no. 627 is a lease of an estate by Adar-ili to Milki-nûri, which the former bought in B.C. 670, and must therefore belong to the later date. On no. 60, also, Rîmâni-Adadi is already *mukil apâti dannu ša šarri* but as he was *mukil apâti ša šarri* in B.C. 670, the earlier date is possible. Now when the second Eponymy of Tebêtai had arrived, it is reasonable to expect that care would be taken to give the Eponym his correct title, but in B.C. 671, the reason for this would not appear. Hence we may suppose nos. 41, 121, 257, 266, to belong to the Eponymy of Tebêtai, the *Sartênu*, B.C. 671–670. But there must remain some doubt as to the first three of these documents. Tebêtai was the name of a witness and neighbour, B.C. 687, on no. 624; again witness and neighbour, B.C. 686, on no. 374; witness, B.C. 682, on no. 21; witness, B.C. 667, on no. 204; borrower and *rakbu*, B.C. 665, on no. 128; witness, B.C. 648, on nos. 206, 333; neighbour, witness

and *ràb kišir*, Ep. A, on no. 325; seller and son of Nabû-rihtu-ušur, Ep. F, on no. 307; witness in Ep. Ω, on no. 435; in Ep. τ, on no. 45; father of Bâni-aḥê, on no. 446; seller on no. 504; witness, on nos. 568, 611; donor and father of Adadi-uballit, on no. 779; father of Adadi-uballit, on no. 780; a neighbour, time of Sin-šar-iškun, *Z. A.* xi. p. 47; in letters, K 662, 671, 82-3-23, 137; writer of Astrological Report, K 711; as serf, with people, in Dûr-Nanâ and Alahîna, on no. 742.

Balasû was the name of a borrower and *kêpu*, B.C. 687, on no. 17; of a buyer on no. 441; of a *ràb kišir* on no. 675; of a *mašmašu* on no. 851, I. 3; of the father of Ša-mudammik-zêr, grandfather of Itti-Marduk-balâtu, of the family of Mulubšû, on no. 889; in the letters K 4268, 8535; Bu. 89-4-26, 20, 71; the name of the *apil Dakûri*, in II. R. 67, 26; compare I. R. 45, II. 52; III. R. 15, III. 27: also the *šangû* of Ḥarran, on no. 981. But the name may be differently restored. We may have Balasi, which was the name of a witness and *ràb bîti*, B.C. 665, on no. 128; and occurs in the letters K 484, 954, II. R. 69, no. 3. Balasî was the name of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 688, on no. 400; of a witness and *ràb kišir ša šêpâ*, on no. 235; of a son of Nabû-nâkil, witness and *ràb kišir*, Ep. Q, on no. 308; of a witness and *ràb kišir*, Ep. A, on no. 318; of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, Ep. A, on no. 325; of a witness and *ràb kišir*, Ep. A', on no. 414; same, Ep. F, on no. 361; same, Ep. A, in Kûrubi, on no. 623; witness, on no. 585; is the name of a writer of Astrological Reports, K 185, 484, 703, 706, 712, 774, 784, 786, 795, 855, 1301, 1327, 1333; Sm. 1027; 80-7-19, 18, 335; 83-1-18, 37, 109, 207, 300; Bu. 89-4-26, 160; and perhaps K 86, 11046. This name occurs also as the writer of many letters, K 546, 555, 565, 569, 4281; 83-1-18, 17, 83, 102, 152, 154; Bu. 91-5-9, 45: compare also K 1335, 5997; 80-7-19, 21; 82-5-22, 94, 169, Bu. 91-5-9, 12. A form of the name, *Bal-a-si-i*, may be read as that of a witness and *ša šêpâ*, B.C. 698, on no. 475; and part of one or other of these names may be suspected on no. 206, as the name of a witness, B.C. 648; and on no. 532, as the name of a witness. Whether Balasi, and Balasî are genitives of Balasu, and whether that has anything to do with Balâtu, 'Life,' does not seem altogether clear to me at present.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, calls this a 'private contract.'

522. Nos. 122 and 123 are the inner and outer tablets of a case pair. The former is nearly all preserved, the outer has lost

a large piece from the right-hand top corner, both of obverse and reverse. Drab.

Mannu-kî-Ninûa entrusts two homers thirty *ka* of wine to Tamtâma. It is to be repaid in Nineveh, in Aaru; if not, the balance is to be paid for at the market rate in Nineveh. Dated, the 26th of Tebêtu, B.C. 683. Eight witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91, and *Hist. Semach.* p. 20.

Extracts are given *S. A. V.* 6548, 7928, 8499.

It is interesting to notice that delivery was demanded in Nineveh, clearly carriage was a consideration. The name *UT-TA-A-MA* is quite unique; and its reading as Uttâma is of course conjectural. In line 4, of no. 123, some other sign appears to have been written, consisting perhaps of two slant wedges, followed by two short horizontals, possibly a badly made *šâb*, or *pir*. Hence it is possible that the name is to be read Pirtâma. The reading of the number of *ka* as 30 depends on the number of *ka* in the homer or *gur*. It may be 50. According to the market rate is here expressed by *kî mahîri* and not by *ana mithar*.

A transliteration and translation are given by Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 252. He reads the receiver's name as I do, Uttâma. He omits the reading of the extra quantity of wine above two homers. In other respects the rendering is practically what I give.

In line 6, of no. 122, the scribe has written *PAP* for *NU*, a scribal error probably, as *PAP* does not mean *lâ*, 'not,' as *NU* does. In reverse, line 1, the inner tablet appears to give the date as 'the 26th,' while the outer case has 'the 25th,' but the sign for 6 may be 5 badly written. It is scarcely likely that the inner tablet was written after the outer. On no. 123, in line 2 of the reverse the scribe has omitted *PAP* from the name Šamaš-nâsir, of course in error. In line 4, in place of *zêr*, in the name Zêr-Ištar, he has clearly written Rîm, or *LID*. Unless we are to credit him with another error, we must admit a value *zêr* for *LID*, Brünnow's no. 8866. In line 5, he seems to have written *LID-AN-UD* in place of the *LID-DU-AN* of the inner tablet. Which is right, I cannot say, Rîmût-ili is a known name. Unless we again read *LID* as *zêr*, and the whole name Zêr-Šamaš, I do not see what *LID-AN-UD* could be. The scribe at any rate was careless in the former cases and I expect that *LID-AN-UD* was an error for

Rîmût-ili. Besides I think he erased the *AN*, before *UD*, so in my edition I did not give it.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, recognised this as 'a private contract concerning sales, etc., of animals, corn, wine, and other moveables.'

The affairs of Mannu-kî-Ninûa are dealt with in § 474, the Eponym Mannu-kî-Adadi in § 473, Sanânu in § 469, Rîmût-ili in § 409. Êdu-šallim, Šamaš-taklak, and Zêr-Ištar in § 480.

The name of Šamaš-nâsir was borne by an ancient Babylonian ruler, v. R. 44, 11 b, where the form *AN-UD-na-šir* is given. Our form was the name of a borrower on no. 138; and of a witness, B.C. 679, on no. 462. We have the form *AN-Ša-maš-PAP-ir*, on no. 880, as father of Aḥu-li', and *AN-UD-SIS-ir* is given as a specimen name, App. 1, vi. 8. There was a city, Šamaš-nâsir, see K 63 b, *H. A. B. L.* p. 162. The name Nabû-nasaka only occurs on this document. The second element, *nasaka*, is curiously spelt.

Nabû-taklak, spelt as here, was the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 576; of a witness, on no. 601; occurs in the letters K 5138, 5517, 5537; Sm. 911 (with Šamaš-taklak). The form *AN-PAtâk-lak* is the name of a witness, on no. 493; of a lender, B.C. 692, on no. 33. The form *AN-AK-tak-lak* was the name of a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 631; and occurs in the letters K 588, 835, 8301.

523. No. 124. Complete. Bright red.

Silim-Ašur entrusts five homers of wine, according to the standard of the royal *ka*, to Išdi-Ḥarran. On the first of Nisânu he shall return the wine; otherwise, he shall pay for the wine according to the market rate in Nineveh. Dated, the 5th of Addaru, B.C. 674. Five witnesses.

Here the market rate is expressed by *akî maḥiri ša Ninûa*. The tablet having been recently cleaned, in reverse line 4 we may read Aḥi-dûri in place of Aḥi-li. In the next line, after *bu*, the next sign may be *um*, then *u* and *te*. But on the whole I prefer my old reading *U-bu-uk-ki*.

A translation is given by Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 252, where in line 2, he reads *ina atir qâbi sa sarri*, and renders 'nach dem Kab des Königs.' He also notes that the word *kaspu*, 'money,' is lacking, but to be understood. It is interesting to note that there was a royal *ka*, as a royal mina, and royal cubit. It is my impression that these were generally meant, even if not stated.

The Catalogue, p. 1766, states that this records 'a sale of wine,'

and p. 2000 b, puts it among the 'private contracts concerning sales, etc., of animals, corn, wine, and other moveables.'

The affairs of Silim-Ašur have been discussed in § 420, 488, Nusku-ilai in § 513, Ubukku in § 473, Nabû-aḥê-iddin in § 499.

Išdi-Ḥarran occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 688, on no. 32; of a witness and *ràb kišir*, Gimirrai, B.C. 679, on no. 364; of a witness and *šalsû*, B.C. 666, on no. 627; as witness on nos. 159, 585, and on no. 880. The name sometimes has the determinative of city before *KAS*, sometimes not. On no. 880, it has the dual sign after *KAS*. The name Gurrai as a proper personal name only occurs here, but *Gu-ra-*<sup>2</sup> was the name of an *irrišu*, with his people, over against Arbaḥa, on no. 742. Compare the folk name Gurrai, in Rm. II. 463, *H. A. B. L.* p. 404, in Sabaḥâni.

Nabû-šar-ušur, *AN-PA-MAN-PAP*, was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 785, *šaknu* of Kurban, III. R. I, III. 33; of the Eponym of B.C. 682, *šaknu* of Marḥasi, III. R. I, v. 42. As Eponym of B.C. 682-1, he dates nos. 21, 129, 132, 136, 143, 166, 215, 222, 276, 363, 370, 437, 679. The date on no. 213, is the year after the Eponymy of Nabû-šar-ušur, B.C. 681. Another Eponym of this name, Ep. E, was *aba mâti*, on no. 711, and probably Post-Canon. This was the name also of a witness, B.C. 670, on nos. 202, 266; of a witness and *šalsû*, B.C. 666, on no. 627; witness and *ràb kišir ša šêpâ* of the Crown Prince, B.C. 663, on no. 470; and is named on no. 696, in B.C. 648. As witness, Ep. D, on no. 622; witness and *daialu*, also as *aba* and plaintiff, Ep. G, on no. 160; as witness and *ràb kišir*, Ep. Q, on no. 349; as witness and *ràb êkalli*, Ep. O, on no. 640; witness and *ràb kišir* on no. 477; witness and *šakû* on nos. 344, 386; witness on nos. 267, 342, 503, 601, named on no. 700, and a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 612; we may well suspect the name to denote more than one person. Actually on no. 857, there are three of this name at one time, the *ràb kišir*, *ràb šakê*, II. 27; an officer of the king, III. 18; and a *ràb kišir* of the Crown Prince, IV. 9. This was the name of the *bêl paḥâti* of Nineveh, of the *kišir eššu* of Sennacherib, on nos. 853, 854; as a *bêl paḥâti*, on no. 814; the *ràb MUGI* of Ašurbânipal, on no. 899; *ràb kišir* of the Crown Prince, on no. 860, *ràb kišir* of the King on no. 211; also a *mulir pûti*, on no. 860; the servant of Nabû-aḥê-šallim, on no. 922; named in various connections on nos. 754, 840, 880, 925, 1006, 1010, 1021, 1024, 1030, 1041. The same name occurs in the letters K 1042, 5637; Bu. 91-5-9, 12.



Other forms of this name are, *AN-AK-MAN-PAP*, name of a witness and *ràb kišir*, Ep. A', on no. 414; in the letter, 83-1-18, 118; *AN-PA-LUGAL-PAP*, name of a witness, B.C. 672, on no. 53; *AN-AK-LUGAL-PAP*, the name of the *ràb šakê* of Ašurbânipal, to whom the charter in no. 646, was granted, B.C. 655; and of the same person on K 1288, 11446, 11450, in the last a *ràb MUGI*; *AN-AK-LUGAL-SIS*, a *šangû* of *Bît Êki*, on K 16; a *ràb kišir* on K 82, 1374; and in K 830; *AN-AK-LUGAL-u-šur*, in enquiry of Šamaš oracle, *G. A. S.* no. 67.

The name, which I read Aḥu-li, occurs in the same spelling on no. 126, as a witness in the same year; and as a gardener, with his people, in the city Apsû, on no. 742. In the form *PAP-li-i*, it was the name of a witness and *sukallu* of Neribi, B.C. 645, on nos. 24, 25; of a seller, son of Bêl-Ḥarran-dûri, on no. 193; of an *irrišu*, with his people, in the city Ilu-šalê, on no. 742; on no. 741; the son of Šamaš-nâšir on no. 880; and as a variant of the Eponym's name, Aḥê-ilai, on a letter between Ašurbânipal and Indabigaš, 83-1-18, 263. On the other hand, if we are to read, Aḥi-dûri, this name has already been taken, § 470.

524. No. 125. Nearly complete. Red.

So many shekels, Carchemish standard, were given by...abûa to Bêl-aḥê, for nine homers of wine, *ina GIŠ-BAR ša IX Ka*. In Bît Zamâni he shall deliver them. If not, he shall pay for them at the market rate of Nineveh. Dated, the 3rd of Kislîmu, B.C. 687. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90 and *Hist. Sem.* p. 17.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 7551, 8216.

It would have been very interesting to know the price of the wine, as it might have thrown some light upon the vexed question of the meaning of *GIŠ-BAR* here. As the expression means 'average yield' when applied to land, it may mean here the quality of the wine. Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 255 f. has discussed *GIŠ-BAR* at length, without making its meaning apparent to me. The nine *ka* he takes to imply 90 *ka* to the homer. But, at present, I see no ground for that. In line 4, the scribe has omitted *GIŠ*. He writes the sign for wine all through exactly like *AL*.

How the name of the buyer should be completed I do not know. Ninip-abûa, or perhaps Aḥi-abûa. The name Bêl-aḥê is discussed in § 474, Ubuku in § 475, Mannu-kî-Ninûa in § 474; Sin-aḥê-erba in § 504.

The name Ribai only occurs here. Batîti is also unique, but perhaps we may compare Bitatî, in § 483. Šêpâ-Ašur was also the name of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 679, on no. 161; of a borrower, B.C. 676, on no. 37; occurs in K 596, 8134. The name Ubûku I regard as the same as Ubukku in our last number. The name Nabû-bêl-ilâni only occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, 1. 45, 50; App. 2, 11. 1, 4.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

525. No. 126. Complete. Drab.

Silim-Ašurlendsto Si'-imme the *râb alâni* of...husite, four homers at least of wine, *kaḫḫadu*. He shall return them in Âbu. Meḥsâ is the agent for the wine. Dated, in Aaru, B.C. 674. Three witnesses.

A translation is given by Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 253, where he enlarges chiefly upon the meaning of *kaḫḫadu* as the sum without increment, and on *bêl qatê*, which he renders by *Bürge*. He says that this was denoted in Babylon by *nasû*, and in older times by *qabû*, 'sagen.' He thinks the idea is the lifting up of the hand in gesture of intercession. But the *bêl kâtâti* is a mere agent, here as elsewhere. Oppert has made some queer names out of the characters I give, Siême, Mir-malik, Akal-usur, are surely misprints in *Z. A.*

The name Si'-imme is a compound of Si', so common in the Haran Census, and of *imme*, seen also in Aḥu-imme, Ilu-imme, Mannu-kî-imme, Šamaš-imme, Šulmânu-imme, etc. The same name was borne by a slave sold, B.C. 683, on no. 278. Here the name is very indistinctly written, but I can make no better reading of it. Perhaps it is the same name as that of the seller on nos. 282, 283, there spelt *Si-e-i-me*. The name of the city may have been Kar-husite, the space left is just enough for that. I have not met the name elsewhere.

Silim-Ašur, the lender, is discussed in § 420, 488; Nusku-ilai in § 513, Aplu-ušur in § 488, Aḥu-li in § 523, the Eponym Šarru-nûri in § 477. Meḥsâ is new, compare the Hebrew, מְחֹסֶה, 'Refuge.' In line 7, after *kâtâ*, the plural sign seems to have been written, though very indistinct.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

526. No. 127. Complete. Red.

Šumma-ilâni advances six homers of pure oil, *ina GIŠ-BAR ša 10 ḫa êri*, to Ašur-bêl-ušur, the *râb bîti* of Carche-

nish. In Šabâtu he shall repay the oil; if not, it shall increase *adi mithar*. Dated, the 21st of Âbu, B.C. 681. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92, *Hist. Senn.* p. 22, Budge, *Hist. Esarh.* p. 13.

It is described in the Guide, p. 176, no. 49.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 5147, 5701, 7885.

Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 252, gives a translation, much as I do. He thinks that *adu mithar* may mean 'nach dem Brauche der Stadt.' It may mean 'to its entirety,' i.e. 'as much again,' or in other words 'at the rate of *cent per cent*.' He also renders the epithet of the oil, *halšu*, by '*reines*.' Perhaps we can compare the Arabic خُلص, *sincerus, integerrimus*. In line 3, the use of *GIŠ-BAR* may denote a measure, giving the homer 100 *ka*, as Oppert takes it. But why then the addition of bronze? I take it that the quality is such that 10 *ka* of bronze is the price of one *ka* of oil. Unfortunately we do not know the price of the whole amount, or we might solve the question how many *ka* went to a homer of oil.

This advance was made to the *râb biti* of Carchemish. The title is usually rendered Major domo. If this be correct, we may suppose that Esarhaddon was at Carchemish, in Âbu, B.C. 681.

The name of the borrower, Ašur-bêl-ušur, occurs as the name of the Eponym, B.C. 797, *šaknu* of Kurrurî, III. R. 1, III. 20; of the Eponym, B.C. 773, *šaknu* of Kalhu, III. R. 1, III. 45; and is also the name of the Eponym of B.C. 695, according to *S. A. V.* 858. As such he dates nos. 31, 34, 569, 616; appearing as *šaknu* of some province, on no. 569. This should therefore be the reading of III. R. 1, v. 29, see G. Smith, *Hist. Senn.* p. 15. This was the name of the seller, on no. 399; of a slave sold, on no. 241; of a serf, with his people, on no. 672. It also occurs in the letters K 1044, III 148.

The name of the lender, Šumma-ilâni is discussed in § 467, Aḫu-nûri in § 518, Ištar-bâbi-sapi in § 480.

The name of the Eponym is given III. R. 1, v. 43, as of B.C. 681, *šaknu* of Samalla; he dates also no. 277, Sm. 1037. Here the name is given as *AN-PA-PAP-MEŠ-PIN-eš* as in III. R. On Sm. 1037, it is *AN-PA-PAP-ME-KAM*; on no. 277, *AN-PA-PAP-MEŠ*..... These spellings would suggest a reading Nabû-aḫê-êreš. But on nos. 30, 231, we have *AN-PA-PAP-PIN-eš*; as the name of a brother of Paliḫ, K 679; and as a specimen,

App. I, II. 31. On nos. 59, 269, 279, 635, we have *AN-PA-PAP-KAM-eš* as Eponym and *šaknu* of Samalla. These two forms we should read Nabû-aḥu-êreš. Hence it seems probable that both names were really read Nabû-aḥêreš, that is to say, in pronunciation it would be hard to tell whether *aḥê* or *aḥu* were meant.

The name of the first witness, Bêl-šarr-ibni, occurs as the name of the father of Bâni-Ai, on no. 161, with the same spelling. The form *EN-MAN-KAK* is the name of a witness, Ep. σ, on no. 45; of the father of ...ilai, on no. 256; and of a slave sold, on no. 287. The name of the next witness, Bêl-aḥu-ušur, appears as that of the bearer of the letter, Sm. 378, and in the letter 82-5-22, 108. I have omitted *AN* before *EN* in this name, it is clearly on the tablet and my first copy. The next name Marduk-êreš is not on the tablet. I had noted its presence from *S. A. V.* but although I noted its absence from the tablet in my notes, I omitted to erase it from my copy. The name Zêr-napišti-lîšir only occurs here. In the last line, for Ištar we may read *AZAG*. As *AN-AZAG* is perhaps a name of Bau, we may perhaps read Bau-sapi. For the element *sapi* compare the name Sâpu, son of Aḥi-Nanâ, on no. 652; the town-name Sâpi, capital of Bit Amukkani, II. R. 67, 23, T. Pl. III. B. 23; with its variants Sapîa, II. R. 67, 27; II. R. 52, 43 b: Sapia on K 1227, Sapiai on Rm. II. 529. There was an expedition to Sapîa, B.C. 731. Perhaps we may compare also Sapiku, the name of a principal and *aba*, on no. 533, in B.C. 650; an *aba* of Kûtu, father of Aḥûnu, on no. 891, and another, father of Kidin-Marduk, on no. 891; also see the letter K 186. Perhaps some meaning like 'help,' 'defence' is possible.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 a, puts this among the private contracts.

#### *Advances of corn.* Nos. 128—150.

527. These form on the whole a very distinct class. For the most part they are of the shape called in the Catalogue heart-shaped. Excellent illustrations of these will be found in plate 1 of Catalogue, Vol. v., where figures 3 and 4 are reproduced from photographs of nos. 134 and 133. The places where the string or thong entered and left the clay can be seen, on figure 4, at the upper corners. On the same plate, figure 2, is a good likeness of what is meant by a pillow-shaped, or inner case tablet. It corresponds

to my no. 167, and gives some idea of what is intended by the words 'well preserved,' 'complete,' 'clearly written' as applied to private contracts in the Catalogue. Some beautiful reproductions will be found in the *Tabulae, fasciculus primus*, to *Tomus I*, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, *Tab. III.* nos. 42 a, b, c; 38 a, b; 39 a, b, c; 43 a, b. The places at which the cords or thongs were inserted can be plainly seen in these reproductions. Such tablets seem to have been made by rolling the clay into a little cone and then flattening it between the palms of the two hands. It then assumed a shape which, if the original cone had its vertical axis about equal to the diameter of the base, might be called 'heart-shaped.' Some are much more pointed, more like a spear head, or axe of the stone age.

All do not, however, take this shape, one is a little cylinder about the thickness of a stout pencil. Others take the ordinary form of a sale tablet. There is no marked peculiarity about the script. Of course, on a piece of clay so shaped the writing could not run in parallel lines, unless they were made very short towards the thin end. Sometimes the writing must have hung vertically, though more often horizontally. It is often written on the slant, or over the edge.

All, however, have this feature in common. They deal with advances, or, as they have generally been called, 'loans,' of corn. They were 'loans' in this sense, that the corn had to be returned. But they certainly were not simple loans, in the sense in which a banker would lend money now, nor in any ordinary trade sense. They were advances, made by one who did not expect profit from the transaction. The rate of interest to be paid is still stated, it is true, but with the understanding that nothing is to be paid, if the corn is returned by a specified or implied usual date. Such was no ordinary trade transaction. Professor Revillout has already compared these loans with the *metayer* system.

Without, however, hampering our freedom of investigation by a definite equation with modern systems, it seems clear that in Assyria the great landlords, especially the King and his stewards, acting for him, were accustomed to advance corn to certain persons, presumably tenants on their estates. These advances were to be returned after harvest, and, if promptly paid, would not be charged for. The charge for delay would press most heavily when harvest was late and poor. In the case of persons unrelated to the lender,

such a method of borrowing could never have been popular. It might be, if they were tenants of his. For then, in all probability, the landlord suffered proportionately with his tenants, or at any rate would deal leniently with them. Their rent was almost certainly a fixed proportion of the crop, not a fixed and inelastic sum. The cases of leases, dealt with later, where a sum in cash is paid, do not affect this contention, for the lessees were not tenants properly speaking.

528. For what purpose the corn was lent is not evident at first sight. A very plausible conjecture would be that it was intended for seed. Out of a total of twenty-four cases those dated number twenty-one. Of these, six are dated in Nisânu and six in Aaru, one in Simânu, two in Du'ûzu, two in Ulûlu, one in Tišrîtu, one in Kislîmu and two in Šabâtu. Now harvest began not later than May, and therefore in the majority of cases the corn was borrowed just before the harvest, when corn would be dearest to buy. It could not be for seed. In several cases the reapers, *êsidê*, are named. It is difficult to see why they should be named, or their number stated, unless they in some way conditioned the amount of corn. Harvest operations were clearly in the minds of the parties to the transaction.

In all probability, the ordinary staff of the farm was insufficient to deal with the rush of labour at harvest time, so labourers had to be hired and fed. The corn then was for the keep of the harvesters. The occurrence of a demand for this sort of advance would not be entirely out of place in Du'ûzu. On the other hand, in Kislîmu and Šabâtu we may think of sowing. But even then the tenant may in some cases have needed corn for himself or the hired labourers he had to employ. In Ulûlu and Tišrîtu, food must have been the sole purpose, seed corn, or food for harvesters, seems out of question then.

We may now enquire what was the kind of grain in question. It is generally denoted by *ŠE-PAT-MEŠ*, the Assyrian reading of which is unknown. Dr Peiser renders the ideogram by *Korn zum Unterhalt*, which is a literal rendering and gives a meaning suited to what we have already concluded as to its purpose. It does not, however, give any clue to the kind of grain. Rawlinson suggested 'rice,' *J. R. A. S.* '65, p. 226. The Aramaic dockets on several of these tablets give שערן, which De Vogué, *C. I. S. passim*, reads *seoran*; and Oppert consequently reads the ideogram, *serani*, *C. I. S.*

p. 43, and often. There is as yet no evidence that this was the Assyrian reading. The meaning of *seoran* is taken to be 'barley,' cf. the Hebrew *se'ôrâh*. Barley, rather than wheat, was the food of the lower classes and is to be expected as food for the reapers. The period at which the return was expected is rarely stated, once it was Arahšamna, the corn being lent in Šabâtu; once in Aaru, once in Âbu. These dates do not give much information as to the kind of grain, but are consistent with what is said above. Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII., p. 253, suggests that *sê-pat-ê*, as he reads the name, is 'Weizen.' It is usually construed as feminine.

The grain, mentioned in nos. 148, 149, was clearly, in the first case, for the reapers, *êsidê*, mentioned in the last line. In the second case, being advanced in Kislîmu it was possibly for seed. Here its ideogram is *ŠE-GIG-MEŠ*. No Assyrian reading is known. It was lent in Aaru to be repaid in Ulûlu. This gives no assistance. The grain was also connected with the land of Jaudi, which may be the Syrian land of Iaudi, named by Panammû, see Winckler, *A. F.* p. 1 f. In the later Babylonian tablets we have *GIG-BA*, *GIG-BI*, *Cyr.* 54, 59, *Nbd.* 618, and often.

The grain, if it is grain, in no. 150, is denoted by *GIR-NUN-NA šûme*. Is it possible that here we have 'onion seed'?

The ideogram *ŠE-BAR* is a more inclusive term for grain, which includes both *ŠE-PAT-MEŠ* and *ŠE-GIG-MEŠ*. It is a variant of the former in nos. 124, 152, 780; of the latter in no. 148. In no. 121, it was received for the house of Šumma-ilâni: compare no. 469. Delitzsch, *B. A. S.* III. p. 389, discusses its meaning very fully. It is a food for fowls, *Camb.* 209, 266, 259. It is white, *Dar.* 387. It is construed as feminine, *Nbd.* 263, 369, *Cyr.* 59. The writing *ŠE-BAR-su* shews that its Assyrian reading ended in *-t*. He concludes that *ŠE* is probably the determinative prefix and that we are to look for its pronunciation under the sign *BAR*, in vocabularies yet to be discovered. It may well be, however, that some of these data are specifications of use or quality rather than descriptions of *ŠE-BAR* itself. Thus there may have been a white *ŠE-BAR*, needing to be marked by the epithet, and it may not always have been a white grain.

The discussion by Zehnpfund, *B. A. S.* I. p. 515, deserves notice, for its registration of previous results. He would read it *kipatu*. But he also shews, from a comparison of proper names, like *Nâdin-šê-im* with *Na-din-ŠÊ-BAR*, that *ŠÊ-BAR* was also read *šêu*.

529. It will be observed that most of the corn loans are *ana pûhi*. Two meanings here appear possible; either they were lent 'on acknowledgement,' a mere note of hand, or promise to pay; or else they were lent as 'management expenses.' In the former case, which preserves best the meaning of *paḥû*, 'to exchange,' these documents are 'bonds.' In the latter case, which serves best to keep up the connection with *paḥātu* 'an administrative district,' they were bonds still; but the phrase expresses the purpose of the loan, rather than the nature of the document. The phrase *ana pûhi ittiši* (or *ittasu*) occurs in nos. 131, 132, 134, 136, 138, 141, 143, 146, 149. In each case the loan was made by Baḥiānu: except in no. 146 where the name of the lender is lost. In nos. 129, 130 and 152, the corn is stated to belong to the King's son, who acts through an agent. The phrase for acting through an agent is *ḫâtâ* or *ša ḫâtâ*, 'by the hands of.' The title given to the agent is *šanû*, continually used as meaning 'deputy,' or *bêl paḥâti*. This latter term confirms the meaning 'administration,' for *paḥātu*. A very frequent term, which occurs elsewhere, is *bêl ḫâtâ* or *bêl-ḫâtâti*, which can hardly mean anything else than 'agent.' Consequently the expression *ḫâtâti* I take to be a colloquial formation from *ḫâtâ*, a plural, according to its usual writing, or an abstract, if the word *ḫâtâtu* existed. It is possible therefore that *ḫâtâtu* meant 'business,' in general, and that *bît ḫâtâti* was a 'business house,' or perhaps 'shop' (see however Del. *H. W. B.* p. 599 a).

In no. 137, the corn was the property of the *šakintu* (probably of Dûr-Sargon). In no. 128, it was owned by Nabû-dûri, whose agent was a *râb kišir*. It would be unfair to conclude that *râb kišir* meant 'agent,' for he is not said to be the *râb kišir* of Nabû-dûri: while above, the agent (in no. 152) is said to be *bêl paḥâti* of the king's son.

In nos. 139, 140, 142, 144, 145 and 147 the phrase *ana pûhi* is omitted either because the text is too concise, or too defective to preserve it.

530. In no. 128, the city Maganiši; in no. 137, Dûr-Sargon; in no. 148, Nineveh; are named as the places where repayment is to be made. In no. 147, payment is to be made *ina* (or *ana*) *adri âl Argazu*, in no. 133, simply *ina adri*. The way in which the phrase occurs points distinctly to a place of some kind. It would perhaps be going too far to render 'market place,' but some enclosed place such as a 'court' is possible. In K 629, *H. A. B. L.*



p. 60 f. we find Nabû-šum-iddin reporting to the King's son, that he himself was about to attend to a procession of Nabû of Kalḫu from his shrine into the gardens and back. The route is described in lines 15 ff. thus, *ilu ina libbi adri êkalli ušša šā libbi adri êkalli ana kirî illaka*, 'the god will go forth into the midst of the court of the palace, from the midst of the court of the palace he will come into the garden etc.' In no. 416, we have a plot of land *adru mešil kirû*, 'a court, half of it garden'; in no. 409, another plot is named *adru*: in no. 623, with a plot of land, *adru kirû tabriû būru* 'a court, a garden cultivated (?), a well etc.': in no. 415, we have a field with *adru kirû ina libbi*, 'a court and garden in it'; in no. 412, we have a plot of 9 *ka* which is an *adru* in *âl Du'ua*, bordering on so and so, further referred to as *adru šuātu zarpat* shewing *adru* to be feminine; in no. 420, we have a plot of 12 *ka adru* in *âl Tîl-Nahiri*; in no. 404, we have a field with an *adru tabriû būru ina tarbašu*, that is 'a court cultivated (?) with a well in the fold': in no. 779, we have a plot one quarter *adru* and three quarters *tabriâti*: and in no. 643, a votive dedication of an estate, by a *šakintu*, for the life of the King, the estate is specified as 'fields, houses, *adru* (plu.), garden, well, *tabriû* etc.' In the census lists, among the possessions of the families enumerated we find so many homers of land, houses, *adru* etc.

When therefore we read, in no. 385, that 'whoever shall dispute the agreement then made shall forfeit the price paid, so many homers of barley, and shall pay it to Nabû *ina adrišu*,' we cannot avoid the conclusion that here we have to do with the 'court of the god,' and also may think it very likely that the same court is meant as in K 629 above. Further, when, in no. 151, we find that a quantity of hay or straw, *tibnu*, was contracted for by three men with Kišir-Ašur, the *râb kišir*, and the transaction is said to have taken place *ina adri tibni*, we may hazard the rendering, 'the straw yard': it could hardly be a 'straw market,' but a place where straw was stored; a 'straw loft' would assume an upper chamber, which is going too far. It is noteworthy that in this case the agent, *bêl-ḫâtâti tibni*, is one of the recipients and sealed for the whole party.

I am not so bold as to assert that in every case where *adru*, *aṭru*, or *atru* (for it may be read either way) occurs, it means a 'court' or 'yard,' or other enclosed place. This meaning, however, seems to me to fit all these cases. The size of an *adru* when given

is much less than a homer; it is generally associated, when not alone, with a garden, often with a well, or a fold, and is said to be *tabriu*. This last term applies also to gardens, it can hardly mean 'fenced,' for that would not suit no. 779: if Scheil's text be correct.

**531.** In the corn tablets, as in the money and produce loans, we have mention of interest. In many cases it is simply stated that interest is to accrue. It would be hazardous to conclude that these advances were made with a view to profit. It is more likely that in every case it was understood that interest would only be charged for undue delay in repayment.

As we have already seen, in nos. 128, 148, 150, a date and place are named for the repayment, and the interest is expressly stated to be a consequence of not repaying the advance, when due. In nos. 133, 147, a place is named, and interest follows on non-payment. It is hardly likely that the place was so important a consideration as to deserve mention alone, a date must be implied here also, the usual term being assumed. In the other cases, where neither time nor place is named, they must yet be implied. This is strongly supported by a comparison of nos. 134 and 135. In the former, two homers were lent to Nabû-nûr-nammir and one each to Latubašâni-ilu and Šabtânu. Seven months later, the two latter repay, each their homer, and no more. Nabû-nûr-nammir was a defaulter, he did not pay. For such cases as his, it was usually inserted that if payment was not made, interest should be charged. In no. 134, however, neither date for repayment, nor interest was set down. Perhaps that is why no. 135 does not add, that when Nabû-nûr-nammir did pay, he should pay his interest as well. At least we are certain that corn could be obtained for seven months free of interest.

The rate is always 30 *ka* per homer: that is apparently one tenth: it is very likely that this was a monthly rate: giving over *cent. per cent., per annum*.

The *ša* or *GAR*, which, in nos. 129 and 133, follows the 30 *ka*, is not a numeral four, in my opinion, but is the ideogram for *iššakan*, 'he shall lay down,' that is, 'pay.' It is not likely that it is an abbreviation of the phrase *ša arhišu*, 'per month.' On the other hand, as it is followed by *tarabbi*, shewing *ŠE-PAT-MEŠ* was considered a feminine, some feminine form of *šakânu* may be read. In some places it is possibly the feminine possessive pronoun.

**532.** A very large number of these tablets record the transactions of one man. If we cared to adopt the popular style of some Assyriologists, we might easily write up a 'story of an Assyrian corn dealer,' and even perhaps work in a few Jews into the business. As a fact, I believe the corn in every case belonged to the king, and was advanced by some one holding the position of a steward.

From B.C. 704 to B.C. 667, Baḥiānu plays a very prominent part in these affairs. In Nisānu, B.C. 704, he lent three homers of barley to Šamaš-aḥu-ušur, no. 141. In Du'uzu, B.C. 693, he lent twenty-three homers of barley to Nabûa, no. 133. In Ulûlu, B.C. 686, he lent two homers of barley to Nabû-nûr-nammir, and one each to Latubašāni-ilu and Šabtānu, no. 134. In Aaru, of the next year, the two latter returned their homer each to Baḥiānu, but Nabû-nûr-nammir was a defaulter, no. 135. In Simānu, B.C. 684, Baḥiānu advanced ten homers to some one whose name has perished; and again, in Kislīmu, advanced four homers of corn to Lāmašši-Bêl, nos. 142, 149. In B.C. 682, in Aaru, he lent corn to several persons unknown, no. 143. In B.C. 667, probably in Aaru, he lends Šumma-Adadi some corn, no. 139. So when we find a Baḥiānu lending four homers of barley to Gabû, in Nisānu, in the Eponymy of Nabû-šarru...; although, as Dr Bezold says, Catalogue, p. 94 note †, 'It cannot be decided from the tablet whether anything was written here,' that is, after *šarru*, yet it seems impossible to doubt that Nabû-šarr-ušur is meant, and that what I have called Ep.  $\mu$ , is really B.C. 682; no. 132. Further, when we find that Baḥiānu lent varied amounts of corn to Sin-šarru-ušur, Nêrgal-ašarid, Rimutti-ilu and Daian-Kurban, in Aaru, of an Eponymy Nabû-šarru..., we can hardly hesitate to say that what I call Ep.  $\lambda$ , is B.C. 682; no. 136. On the other hand, when we find that in Nisānu, in the Eponymy of Ašur-danin-šarri, he lends two homers of barley to Astakumme, no. 131, it will be impossible to place this Ep. M, as I call it, long after B.C. 667.

Baḥiānu did not confine himself to corn loans. As early as Nisānu, B.C. 707, he officiated as witness; no. 292. In B.C. 700, he bought and perhaps set free a slave Mannu-kî-Arbaili; no. 176. In B.C. 695, in Kislīmu, he lent Bêl-lîšir ten minas of bronze; no. 31. The date, which Dr Bezold suggests, Catalogue p. 75, viz. B.C. 773 (?), is out of the question. Already Strassmaier, *A. V.* 858, gives B.C. 695. In B.C. 693, or 688, he lends seven minas of bronze to Kabti-ilāni, no. 29; and perhaps in the same

year, in Nisânu, he appears as a seller and *râb-alâni* of the city Pirhînite (?); no. 491. In B.C. 692, he bought some slaves and land from Lukimama and Zêr-lišir; no. 440. In Âbu of an Eponymy Nabû-šarr... he appears as a witness, obviously in B.C. 682; no. 679. Beside these dated transactions he is mentioned as advancing corn also in nos. 138 and 720: and as a neighbour in no. 337. In the latter case he seems to have lived near the city Maganiši, which occurs on other corn tablets not apparently connected with him.

We find our hero also named in a letter to the king; Bu. 91-5-9, 172. There his death is mentioned, and the spoliation of his goods. The letter is too fragmentary for us to be certain who was the destroyer, but apparently the old steward had prospered in his day, for we read of three minas of gold, two talents of silver, five mules and ten camels. We must probably place his death not long after B.C. 667, because he began his public career at least as early as B.C. 707, and we can hardly expect him to have been actively engaged in his duties much over forty years. He lived, as we see, still in office, up to a Post Canon date. We cannot date his death after B.C. 644, and as there is a vacant space in the conjectural Canon List given by Oppert, *Le Droit de Retrait*, p. 30 (591), after B.C. 665-660 we may take this as his *obit*.

Consequently we have for his *floreat*, B.C. 707-660.

533. The Aramaic legends on these corn tablets are something more than mere docketts. Either at this time Aramaic writing was the general script in use amongst the commercial classes and lesser officials or these people were Aramaeans. The names of the persons, to whom the corn was advanced, are often not Assyrian in type. Some were Aramaic, or at any rate similar to those found in the Census of Ḥarran.

Starting with Baḥiânu, which in form at least is identical with the name of a Hittite king, and going through these corn tablets, we find as lender, agent, or steward, Taḫûni, and as recipients, farmers, or tenants, Ḥamaṭuṭu, Astaḫumme, Gabû, Šabtânu, Ḥudapî, Kilamši, Adûniḥa, Atarsûri, Padî, Urdai, Rapai, Abdilîme, Kurûbi, Iaisi. Among the witnesses too we find Basûa, Dandaru, Abi-ummi, Ištar-tâzi, Arzizu, Mamê, Abilurê, Girtu, Kimama. These names either are foreign, or stamp the native population as being of a different stock from the pure Assyrians.

The Aramaic legends generally give an abstract of the trans-

action, often as full as the Assyrian text itself, and usually giving some additional information. For example, we find the name of the corn advanced given as שַׁעֲרָן or *seoran*; on nos. 128, 129.

The amount advanced is stated in homers on no. 129.

The number of months, for which it is lent, is generally given, introduced by the preposition *bi*, as in no. 129, 7 months; in K 3785, *C. I. S.* p. 45, Aramaic only, 7 mo.

The number of reapers is stated, usually the same as the number of homers of grain advanced; no. 129, K 3785.

*Abstracts of nos. 128-150.*

**534.** No. 128. Complete. Heart-shaped. Drab.

Nabû-dûri advances thirty homers of corn, *ina GIŠ-BAR ša 10 ka*, to Tebêtai, the *rakbu*, son of Abu-ul-îdi, from the city of Maganiši, by the hands of Unzarhi-Ištar, the *ràb kišir*. He shall pay the corn, in Araḥsamna, in the city of Maganiši; or pay the full value of it in Nineveh. Dated, the 17th of Šabātu, B.C. 665. Eight witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

The text is given by Pinches, *C. I. S.* p. 48, with transliteration and translation by Professor Oppert. The tablet is there described as *in speciem conii effictus*. Oppert reads *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ* as *serani*, and renders *hordea*. In line 2, he renders *ina GIŠ-BAR ša 10 ka* by *palmi cubo continente decem cabos*, which seems to be the best rendering yet given. In line 5, he reads the title *avil narkabti* and the name as *Abu-ul-la*. The text of *C. I. S.* gives a sign, in place of *ZU*, that is not easily recognisable. In line 7, Oppert renders *ša kâtâ* by *per manus*, and *ràb kišir* as *taxator*. In line 2, of lower edge, we see that *ŠÊ-BAR* covers *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*. In reverse, line 3, Oppert reads *mithar* as *hubulli* and renders *addito fœnore*. In line 5, he reads the title of the Eponym as *ris sarri* and renders by *capite regis*. In line 6, he gives no rendering of the title; in line 7, he renders *salsu* by *satellite*.

The Aramaic docket apparently reads, in three lines,

- a. שַׁעֲרָיָא
- b. מִקְשָׁרָן
- c. זִי עַל נִבְדָּרִי

which seems to mean, 'the barley, the assignment, which is from Nabû-dûri.' The word מְקִשֶּׁר seems formed from קִשֶּׁר, which may be the Aramaic for the Assyrian *kašāru*. But the readings are by no means certain, although I am unable to improve them. The fact that the assignment is made by a *rāb kišir* seems some support to this.

The date given in *C. I. S.* has the month Araḥsamna, not Šabātu, as I give. Bezold in the Catalogue, p. 1450, also gives Araḥsamna; probably they are right, but the sign seems to lack the first horizontal.

Nabû-dûri is the name of a witness, B.C. 707, on no. 292; of a witness, on no. 12, in both cases his title is *bél za....* The name was also borne by a writer on K 12969, and is a specimen name, App. I, II. 35. Tebêtai is here a *rakbu* and it seems possible that the corn was for the troop which he commanded. For other occurrences of the name, see § 521. The name of his father Abu-ul-îdi is discussed in § 494. The city Maganiši is named also in nos. 337, 347, but without any clear indication of its locality. The name Unzarḫi-Ištar is also borne by a witness and *NU-kiri* on no. 600. The name Unzêrḫu-Ašur occurs as that of a witness and *rāb kišir*, Ep. F, on no. 361; of a witness and *rāb kišir* of the Crown Prince, Ep. F, on no. 621; of a witness and *rāb kišir*, Ep. N, on no. 327; and of a witness and *rāb kišir* on no. 312. The simple form Unzêrḫu is the name of a witness, *šangû* of the god *KUR-NUN*, on no. 255. The writer of the letter K 5291, *H. A. B. L.* p. 231, Šarru-êmurâni calls himself an *amêl unzarḫu* and also an *ardu ša šarri*. Also there was a plot of land called an *unzarḫu*, see no. 425.

The name of the Eponym, Mannu-kî-šarri, dates also nos. 35, 237. This is the only place where a title is given him. I follow G. Smith in assigning him the date B.C. 665, for reasons to be set out in the chapter on Chronology. The name is that of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 202; of a *mukîl apâti* on no. 857, IV. 1; of two men, one a *šaknu* (?), on no. 860, III. 2, 8. A clipped form Mankî-šarri occurs as the name of a *rāb MU-GI*, B.C. 661, on no. 993; and on no. 1041.

Among the witnesses, Balâsi has been considered in § 521; Nabû-nâdin-aḥê, in § 480; Ša-Nabû-šû in § 478; Aḫu-dûri in § 470.

Ardi-Bêlit was also the name of the Crown Prince, B.C. 694, on no. 201; he was a son of Sennacherib, see Vol. I. Preface, p. xiv. This was the name of a neighbour, Ep. A', on no. 414; and of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 621. Nabû-aḫu-iddin is the name of an *aba*

and witness, B.C. 694, on no. 427; of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 335; of a witness in B.C. 693, or B.C. 688, on no. 32; of a witness and *šangû*, B.C. 680, on no. 360; of a witness and *râb mâti*, Ep. C, on no. 641; of a *bêl kâtâti*, Ep. S, on no. 166; of a witness, Ep. V, on no. 63; of a seller on no. 251; of a witness on nos. 288, 300, 388, 536; of a slave of Zêrûti on no. 912; occurs in the letters, K 510, 820, 1585, 1591, 1875, 4286; 82-3-23, 136; and as a specimen name, App. I, II. 14. In all these cases the name is spelt, as here, *AN-PA-PAP-ÂŠ*. A variant *AN-AK-PAP-ÂŠ* is the name of the father of Balâsu, on Bu. 89-4-26, 20. Another variant *AN-AK-PAP-MU* is the name of a witness, on no. 241. Another, *AN-AK-SIS-MU*, occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5698, where it is apparently the same name as Nabû-aḥê-iddin. Lastly on no. 253, we have the name of a witness given as *AN-PA-PAP-SE-na*. If, as is possible, the name is really not distinct from Nabû-aḥê-iddin, see § 499, it was probably pronounced simply Nabû-aḥiddin.

The name of the last witness can be read Akbar, Aḳbar, or Agbar. With the same spelling, it is the name of a slave sold, on no. 180. Also *Ak-ba-ru* is the name of a slave sold, on no. 251; and in III. R. 15, IV. 19 is the name of a king of Elpiati; compare *Z. A.* XI. p. 221. In this form also the doubt as to the first consonant remains. A similar name *Ak-bu-ru* is borne by the seller, B.C. 670, on no. 202; and *Ak-bur* is the name of a *šâbu*, in the letter K 581. In the latter form we are guided to read Agburu, Agbur, by the name of a witness, spelt *A-ga-bu-ru*, on no. 500. Hence we may perhaps prefer Agbar, compare the Aramaic אגבר, *N. E.* p. 207 a: but note also the Canaanite עכבר, which means 'mouse.' This last name seems more like Ugbaru.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 a, puts this among 'the acknowledgements of debts.'

**535.** No. 129. Complete. Heart-shaped. Drab.

Five homers of corn, belonging to the Crown Prince, were advanced by Taḳûni, his agent, to Hamatûtu of the city of Ḥanduate. The corn shall bear interest at the rate of 30 ḳa per homer. Dated, the month of Tišrîtu, B.C. 682. Five reapers.

For the text, by Pinches, with transliteration and translation by Professor Oppert, see *C. I. S.* p. 43 ff. See also Brünnow, *Z. A.* III. p. 238 ff., and p. 414. Another translation, by Oppert, appears, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 253.

Here 'agent' is expressed by *šanû*, which *C. I. S.* renders *mandatorio*. In line 6, *C. I. S.* gives *ša*, at the end of the line, reads it *ga*..., and leaves it unrendered. The *ša* may of course be a pronoun, as the *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ* is taken to be feminine. But I prefer to take it as the ideogram to *šakânu* and read *išakkan*. Oppert reckons 60 *cabs* to the homer, reading *V imeri serani* and rendering *quinque homeri (trecenti cabi)*. He takes the whole of line 6, as giving a fine, *hordea uno homero et triginta cabis (nonaginta cabis) ex mulcta auctitabuntur*. But all this is very doubtful. I consider the homer as possibly 300 *ka*, and the increment 30 *ka*, on the assumption that the *gur* had then 180 *ka*.

The Aramaic docket has five lines, which seem to me to read,

- a.      שערן . . . זי
- b.      בר מלכא על
- c.      חמטט מן חדוה
- d.              5 ב 7 ו
- e.              הצדן 5
- f.      לאם רבסרם
- g.              נבסרצר

This is discussed in *C. I. S.* p. 44. The discussion might now be improved. In line *a*, there was perhaps nothing lost after *seoran*, unless it was the numeral 5. The *zî* is the usual Aramaic 'of,' corresponding to the Assyrian *ša*. Whether we read *bar malkâ* or *bîr malkâ* in line *b*, we have the Aramaic rendering of the Assyrian *mâr šarri*, 'Crown Prince.' The preposition על, is always used in these dockets to mark the recipients and therefore supplies a rendering for the Assyrian *ana pânî*, 'to.' There is no mention of the agent here. The name in line *c* supplies a check on our Assyrian reading *Ḥamaṭuṭu*. The preposition מן answers to the Assyrian *ša*, denoting the place of origin, 'from.' A rather marked change is the Aramaic rendering of the city name *Ḥanduâte* by *Ḥaduah*. There is therefore good reason to suppose this name to be the same as the *Ḥadatti*, which appears in the *Ḥarran Census*. In line *d* we have the numeral 5 followed by ב, then the numeral 7, followed by ו. *C. I. S.* rightly discerned the purpose of the 5, it denotes the number of homers of corn. The ב was puzzling. Apparently De Vogüé recalled the ב which occurs on the *Lion*



Standard weights, already long misunderstood. He therefore fancied it might have regard to the standard of measurement, *metiendi rationem*. I have shewn that 𐤁 on the Lion Standards is only the common Aramaic preposition, 'for,' here used of 'time,' see § 296. For examples of 𐤁 as denoting 'time' see *N. E.* p. 232 a. The numeral 7 which De Vogüé does not explain must mark a space of 'time.' I take it to be the duration of the loan, 'Tisrîtu to Nisânu inclusive, or to Aaru exclusive. On page 45, *C. I. S.* gives the text of a precisely similar Aramaic document, K 3785, where also the same numerals and prepositions occur. But there the lines are differently divided. The 𐤁 precedes 7, in a line by itself. Hence the 𐤁 goes with the 7. Also in the next line the 𐤅 goes with הַצֶּרֶן and must here also be the conjunction 'and.' This De Vogüé saw correctly. The name of the 'reapers' in Aramaic is הַצֶּרֶן, which lead Oppert to read *amêlê ŠÊ KI-KUD-MEŠ* as *êšîdâni*. This form may have existed alongside of *êšîdê*, for which no. 132 gives the spelling *e-ši-di*: see § 172. It is worthy of note that in this and K 3785 the number of homers of corn and the number of reapers are the same. We may probably conclude that a homer of corn lasted seven months for a man. In the later Babylonian texts we find the allowance to be a *ka* per day for a slave: see § 292. This would give a homer about 210 *ka*. But the allowance for a reaper may have been more, and there may have been more persons to feed than the five 'reapers.' If we could reduce the time to six months, we should have a homer with 180 *ka*, exactly the amount of a *gur* in later Babylonian times. The number 210 *ka* can scarcely be accurate.

An important piece of information is given by the Aramaic rendering of the date. As in K 3785, *limmu* appears as לִמְמָ. The Eponym Nabû-šar-ušur is, however, said to be רַב־סַרִּס, Rabsaris. Of course De Vogüé and Oppert render this title '*Eunuchorum dux*.' The offices held by the Eponyms of the name of Nabû-šar-ušur will be found under that name in § 523. The Eponym of B.C. 682 was *šaknu* of Marḫasi. The Eponym E was *aba mâtî*, which I regard as equivalent to *aba êkalli*. Perhaps then Rabsaris is equivalent to *aba mâtî* and this transaction is to be dated in Ep. E. But Nabû-šar-ušur was also a *râb šâḫê*, and a *râb MU-GI*. We cannot well identify Rabsaris with Rabshakeh for they occur together in the Old Testament. There is perhaps a chance that *râb MU-GI* is the Assyrian form for Rabsaris.

It is perhaps desirable to notice some of the more prominent opinions that have been held on the Aramaic terms here given. The term שַׁעַר was taken by P. Berger to be the name of the corn, i.e. 'barley.' In all probability this is right: see the references *N. E.* p. 381. But R. Duval, whom De Vogüé seems inclined to follow, regards it as the שַׁעַר of the Talmud and Targums, in the sense of 'taxation,' or 'revenue.' Apart from the difficulty about the form there is nothing to point to any revenue collection: and the purpose of the corn is indicated by the ideogram ŠÊ-PAT, 'corn food.' De Vogüé thought the king's son was acting as a collector of revenue, and compared 1 Kings xxii. 16; Jeremiah xxxvi. 26; xxxvii. 6. Brünnow, *Z. A.* III. p. 241, considers that we should read it שַׁעַר, and then take it to mean 'interest.' But while the roots may be the same, this is an 'advance' rather than 'interest.' I do not cling to the idea of 'barley' so much as to the fact that this was corn advanced to meet the needs of a tenant. But 'interest' it was not.

The gap after שַׁעַר has been variously filled. Berger read יפה which he rendered 'pulchra.' The objection that a singular adjective would thus be attached to a plural noun is not of great weight in view of the Assyrian *tarabbi*. But the reading is doubtful, Duval and Brünnow both give זבה, which Duval and De Vogüé take to be 'this.' But there was a plant called *zibû*, II. R. 42, b. 33-35: if this was the name of the sort of corn, there would be ground for the presence of the word. A mere demonstrative seems quite superfluous. But the signs do not look to me like what these scholars have read, though I cannot suggest a better reading now. Dr Stevenson may have recognised them, but at present I do not.

Brünnow, p. 242, note 2, also suggests that the 7 may denote the month: only he takes it as the '7th month,' which agrees with the date Tišritu, and then we should have perhaps only one month as the duration of the loan. But a homer of corn per month is surely a large allowance, unless, as Oppert thinks, the homer had only 60 *ka*, which would give a reaper 2*ka* per day. Brünnow, however, reads the 5a, at the end of line 6, as a numeral 4, making the increase on a homer to be 34 *ka*. He also read the title of Nabû-šar-ušur as ברנרי, which is clearly wrong, from his facsimile, *Z. A.* III. p. 414.

Until we are in a position to say exactly what was the amount of grain in a homer, or *ka*, many of the interesting questions raised by this and similar tablets must remain unsolved puzzles. But it is

clear that the same rate of increase was always expected from a loan of grain: namely 30 *ka* per homer, if the *gur* was then 180 *ka*.

The agent, or *šanû*, in this case was Taḫûni, who is clearly the same as the lender and agent for the Crown Prince, on no. 130. The same name is borne by a slave (or seller?), on no. 487. The name of the borrower Ḥamaṭuṭu only occurs here. The city Ḥanduate appears also in no. 130, spelt Ḥanduata. As stated above, I am inclined to identify it with Ḥadatti, of the Ḥarran Census, also perhaps with the Ḥadattâ of III. R. 35, no. 6, III. 42 said to be in *mât Maš*, or *madbar*, the Syrian desert. We may compare the list of city names, Ḥadeth, Ḥadatha, in Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 1207. Of these our city may be the one on the Euphrates, but there is little to fix the locality by.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 a, calls this a private contract 'concerning the payment of interest.'

**536.** No. 130. Portion of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Brown.

Five homers 48 *ka*, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, belonging to the Crown Prince, are lent by Taḫûni, his agent; three homers to Iâisi and two homers 48 *ka* to Gabbu-ilâni, of the city Ḥanduata. Same rate of increase as in the last case probably. The number of reapers was stated, but is now lost. The date is lost.

The text, by Pinches, with a transliteration and translation by Professor Oppert, is given, *C. I. S.* pp. 46 ff. The Aramaic docket was published also, II. R. 70, no. 11. Brünnow, *Z. A.* III. pp. 239, 240, quotes from it.

Oppert, in *C. I. S.*, renders *ḫâtâ* by the word *mandatorio* and *šanû* by *procuratore*. He further gives a translation, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 254. He there raises the question whether by *mâr šarri* is really meant the 'king's son,' adding that in Hebrew the phrase did not imply such filial relationship.

The Aramaic inscription here is very fragmentary. Of the first line only שערן is preserved. Of the second only בר and the מ of *malkâ*. In the next line only וי appears, which De Vogüé takes to be the conjunction ו, 'and,' followed by part of על, 'to.' In the next line only ח is preserved, probably the beginning of the city name Ḥadduah. Except that, so far as it goes, it supports the readings for no. 129, this docket is of no value to us.

Because of its interest for comparison, we may here add the

Aramaic inscription of K 3785, given *C. I. S.* p. 45. It is perfectly preserved, on a 'heart-shaped,' brown tablet. We have there,

- a.* שערן וי בר  
*b.* מלכא על נבירבן  
*c.* מן עירן 5  
*d.* ב 7  
*e.* וחצרן 5  
*f.* לם סרנרי

In line *a*, we have 'corn of the son': in line *b*, 'of the king; to Nabû-erbâni': in line *c*, 'from (the city) Airan; 5 (homers)': in line *d*, 'for seven months (or the 7th)': in line *e*, 'and reapers 5': and in line *f*, 'Eponymy of Šarru-nûri.' Here we have a most valuable substantiation of the readings in no. 129. The proper names are interesting. The borrower bears a name which is unique. We have discussed Nabû-erba in § 467, Nabû-erba-aḥê in § 515. Nabû-erba-aḥêšu is a specimen name, App. 1, III. 24. Nabû-erba-aḥi is named on K 590, K 9650, and occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, I. 12; App. 2, II. 14. But these are all on a different model. Nabû-erba-šunu is more like this name. It occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, II. 56. The place name is difficult to identify, because it is not easy to say how it would be written in Assyrian. Perhaps it is the city Iaranu named in no. 630; or we may have the place Arana, named by Tiglath Pileser III., A 32. The Eponym, Šarru-nûri, or as the Aramaic would have us read it, Šar-nûri, was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 674; see § 477.

The agent here, Taḫûni, has been discussed, § 535. The recipient Iâ-isi, if that is the way to read the name, only occurs here. Perhaps it is a compound of a divine name, Ia: but that is doubtful as long as we have no other compounds with *-isi* to compare. The name Gabbu-ilâni is discussed in § 487. The place name Ḥanduata is discussed in § 535.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 a, calls this a private contract 'concerning the payment of interest.'

537. No. 131. Complete. Heart-shaped. Red.

Two homers *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ* are lent by Baḥiânu to Astaḫumme, *ana pûḥi*. The interest shall be 30 *ka* per homer. Dated, the 27th of Nisânu, Ep. M.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

The tablet is described in the Guide, p. 171, no. 22.

The text was published by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 154 f. in transliteration and translation. Little need be added to improve his treatment. In line 5, he seems to be a little puzzled by the *a-a* after the 30 *ka*. This is specially common after *ka*, and gives a distributive sense. Thus here it emphasizes 30 *ka* as being *per* each homer. Dr Peiser calls this a '*Verpflichtung, Korn gegen Quittung zu liefern.*'

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, puts it among the 'private contracts concerning sales, etc., of animals, corn, wine, and other moveables.'

The occurrences of Baḥiānu are discussed in § 532. The recipient here is Astakumme. The name does not recur. The name of the Eponym, Ašur-danin-šarri, was also borne by a witness and *mukil apāti*, B.C. 667, on no. 27; and by the writers of the astrological reports, K 3161, 3791, both dated B.C. 649. It is clear from the dates at which Baḥiānu lived that Ep. M is not long after B.C. 667.

538. No. 132. Complete. Heart-shaped. Brown.

Baḥiānu advances four homers, ŠĒ-PAT-MEŠ, to Gabû, *ana pûhi*. Interest as before. Four reapers. Dated, the 21st of Nisānu, Ep.  $\mu$ .

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91; and *Hist. Senn.* p. 21.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 5863.

Dr Peiser published the text, in transliteration and translation, *K. B.* iv. p. 150 f.

G. Smith, Strassmaier, Dr Bezold, and apparently Peiser, all take the date to be Post Canon, but as I have shewn, § 532, it must really be B.C. 682.

Peiser's readings and renderings are correct as a whole. He, however, points out that in this case the interest amounted to 50 *per cent.*, i.e. 30 *ka* on a homer of 60 *ka*. But there is no proof that the homer had 60 *ka*. Indeed, in no. 130, the presence of 1 *PA*, which on this scale is 48 *ka*, is admissible, but there are cases of more than 60 *ka* standing after the homer; see § 270.

Dr Peiser calls this a '*Verpflichtung, Korn gegen Quittung zu liefern.*'

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, classes this with the last number.

Gabû, the receiver, only occurs here. The father of Marduk-šar-ušur is called *Ga-bi-e* on no. 418, and in the letter 82-5-22, 131, at Erech; *Gab-bi-i* on no. 115; *râb BI-LUL* of Barḥalza on 83-1-18, 75; *Ga-bi-a* on no. 429; *Gab-e* on no. 116.

539. No. 133. Complete. Heart-shaped. Drab.

Baḫiānu advances twenty-three homers, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, to Nabûa. In the Court he shall return the loan in full. If not, interest as before. Dated, the 2nd of Du'ûzu, B.C. 693.

This very perfect specimen is photographed and reproduced in the Catalogue, Vol. v. Plate 1, no. 3.

The meaning of line 4, *ina adri ana kaḫḫadu išakkan*, is discussed, § 530. Here *ŠA* at the end of the line may be the possessive pronoun, feminine to agree with *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, but I prefer to read it as an ideogram for *šakānu*: as also below, at end of line 6. The meaning of *kaḫḫadu* here is 'full amount.'

That we are to date this B.C. 693 is due to G. Smith's view, see § 473. The name of the recipient has been discussed, § 486.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

540. No. 134. Complete. Heart-shaped. Red.

Baḫiānu advances two homers, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, to Nabû-nûr-nammir and one each to Latubašâni-ilu and Šâbutânu, *ana pûhi*. Dated, the 29th of Ulûlu, B.C. 686.

The Catalogue, Vol. v. Plate 1, no. 4, gives an excellent reproduction of this fine specimen. On p. 2003 a, it is placed among the private contracts. The loan here made was partly returned in Aaru, next year, see no. 135. On the significance of this, see § 384.

The name of the lender and first recipient of the loan are discussed in § 532 and § 480. Šâbutânu only occurs here and on no. 135, where the same person is referred to. Here we have *Šâbu-ta-a-nu*, there *Ša-bu-ta-a-nu*. I am inclined to compare the name *Ša-ab-da-a-nu*, mentioned by Ašurnâširpal, I. R. 23, 20, as brother of Nâbû-aplu-iddin, king of Babylon, defeated and taken prisoner by him. Also we have *Šab-da-a-nu* as the name of a *mukîl apâti* on no. 675; *Ša-ib-da-a-nu*, a witness, B.C. 672, on no. 64; and *Šab-da-nu*, a witness, Ep. W, on no. 221. Perhaps we should read all the forms as Šabutânu, or Šabitânu, 'snatcher' (?).

Nabû-nûr-nammir did not repay his loan, see no. 135. The name does not occur elsewhere. Bêl-êmurâni, the name of the Eponym of B.C. 738, *šaknu* of Rašappa, III. R. 1, iv. 32; of the Eponym, B.C. 691, *šaknu* of Carchemish, III. R. 1, v. 33; of the Eponym, B.C. 686, Tartan, III. R. 1, v. 38; dates nos. 28, 443, 482, as *tartan*, which are therefore put in B.C. 686. These cases have the name written *EN-ŠI-LAL-an-ni*, which is also that of a witness,

B.C. 710, on no. 234. The form *EN-ŠI-LAL-a-ni* is the name of the Eponym on nos. 232, 374, 453, 612; also possibly on no. 410: it is also the name of a witness, B.C. 700, on no. 176; of a buyer, on no. 407; of a witness, B.C. 693 or B.C. 688, on no. 32; compare nos. 247, 320. The form which we have here, *EN-ŠI-a-ni*, occurs as the name of the Eponym on no. 9; and III. R. 1, v. 38. A clipped form *EN-ŠI-LAL-ni* occurs in the letters K 1021, 7532. A fuller form, *AN-EN-ŠI-LAL-an-ni*, is the name of the Eponym on no. 285.

541. No. 135. Complete. Nut-shaped. Slate.

Šabutânu and Latubašâni-ilu return the corn borrowed from Baḥiânu, each paying one homer. Nabû-nûr-nammir did not pay. Dated, in Aaru, B.C. 685.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90; and *Hist. Senn.* p. 19.

This tablet does not record a loan, or advance of corn, but is so closely connected with the last as to deserve a place next to it. The two men, who, in no. 134, borrowed each one homer, in Ulûlu, B.C. 686, seven months before, now repay each just one homer. Hence interest was not charged on loans *ana pûhi*, if repaid at the customary date. Further one homer was all that some men borrowed for seven months: see the Aramaic dockets above. The third person, who on the same day borrowed two homers, does not now repay anything. Probably he had to pay interest later.

The date of the Eponym, Ašur-daninâni, is given by III. R. 1, v. 39 as B.C. 685. The name was, however, borne by the Eponym of B.C. 734-3, III. R. 1, iv. 36; and by the Tartan of Tiglath Pileser III., II. R. 67, 42. Our Eponym is probably the same as the *šaknu* of Kûe, who dates no. 274. The same Eponym dates nos. 430, 753. Traces of the name may be recognised as those of the Eponym, B.C. 903, III. R. 1, i. 8. The form of name is the same in all these cases, but III. R. 1, iv. 36 also gives the variant Ašur-daninanni. The other names we have had before.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

542. No. 136. Complete. Heart-shaped. Fawn.

Baḥiânu lends, *ana pûhi*, one homer 12 *ka*, *ŠÉ-PAT-MEŠ*, to Sin-šar-ušur; a homer 6 *ka* each to Nêrgal-ašarid, Rimutti-ilu, and Daian-Kurban. Dated, the 25th of Aaru, Ep. λ.

The date is almost certainly B.C. 682, see § 532 above. The tablet does not shew the end of the name so clearly as I give it, and Dr Bezold, as well as G. Smith, seems to have been unable to

recognise the name. That the signs in lines 3, 4, 5 are to be read one and a half homer is not likely. Whether the *PA* and *BAR* really denote 12 *ka* and 6 *ka*, I am not in a position to say.

The name of Sin-šar-ušur has been discussed in § 476; of Rîmutti-ilu in § 409; of Daian-Kurban in § 487; of Nêrgal-ašarid in § 488.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

543. No. 137. Upper portion. Drab.

Two hundred (homers) of corn, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, *kaḫḫadu*, belonging to a *šakintu* are advanced to Ilu-amar, the *ràb karmâni*. He shall return them in the month of Âbu, in the city of Dûr-Sargon. If not, interest was probably stipulated for. Dated, in Nisânu (?). Traces of five witnesses.

We may perhaps conclude that the *šakintu* of Dûr-Sargon was the owner. The meaning of *kaḫḫadu* here is 'full amount.' The recipient Ilu-amar appears, on no. 427, as seller and *ràb karmâni* of Maganuba, which was the old name of Dûr-Sargon, B.C. 694. The name is given as *Ilu-a-mar-ra*, seller and *ràb karmâni*, on no. 508, with a variant *Ilu-a-ma-ra*. It is clear that a penalty followed below the second seal impression. There are more traces of a seal impression on the edge of the tablet.

What the first witness was called I cannot conjecture. Tebiš... does not suggest any other name to me. Šarru-iḫbi seems a likely restoration, see § 492 for its occurrences. The next name may begin with Milki. The name of Nabû-kudur-ušur is a likely restoration. The name was borne by the two kings of Babylon, Nebuchadrezzar I., circ. B.C. 1130 and Nebuchadrezzar II., B.C. 604 to B.C. 561, son of Nabû-aplu-ušur. For their inscriptions see the Catalogue, p. 2124 a. The name was borne by a witness and *ḫêpu* of the Tartan, Ep. H, on no. 50; by the writer of K 822; and occurs as a specimen name, App. I, I. 11. These names are spelt as I have restored our traces. The form *AN-PA-KU-KU-PAP* is on K 710, III. R. 52, no. 1; also *AN-AK-ŠA-DU-SIS* occurs in the letters 82-5-22, 131 and 132. Besides these spellings we have *AN-PA-ku-dur-PAP*, II. R. 65, no. 1, II. 8; *AN-AK-KU-KU-ri-u-šu-ur*, I. R. 53, 1 a; *AN-AK-ku-du-ur-ri-u-šu-ur*, E. I. H. VI. 63; *AN-Na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-šu-ur*, I. R. 65, 1 a; *AN-AK-KU-KU-ri-SIS*, I. R. 5, no. 7, 1; *AN-AK-ŠA-DU-u-šur*, S. A. V. 5807. There is no other name known to me beginning *Nabû-ŠA-DU*.....

The Catalogue, p. 1743, calls this 'part of a private contract



concerning a sale of corn'; with which agrees its entry on p. 2000 b. But there is no trace of any money having been paid for the corn. The words *ina libbi*, in line 4, are followed by the name of a month, not by a sum of money.

544. No. 138. Upper half, or more, of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Red brown.

Baḥiānu lends corn in varied amounts, mostly a homer each, to at least twelve men, *ana pūḥi*. Dated, in Nisānu.

The Catalogue, p. 1880, calls it 'part of a list of names of persons, probably connected with the census'; and, p. 2102 b, puts it among the 'lists of persons.' But the shape of the tablet is exactly like our group of grain loans, 'heart-shaped,' a flattened cone, with a seal on the apex. The presence of Baḥiānu's name, preceded as usual by *šá*, the phrase *ana pūḥi it...*, in line 5 of reverse, the numerals at the side, with the subdivisions of the homer, all render the nature of the transaction unmistakable.

Some improvements may be made in the readings. In line 8, for *TA* we should probably read *SU*. In reverse, lines 2, 3, for *XV* read *AZAG*. On the left-hand edge perhaps *ma* is better than *GIŠ*.

The names of the recipients are not easily restored for the first four lines. In line 5, Galul is almost certain. This name, thus spelt, was the name of a witness and *kēpu* of the palace, on no. 255; of a neighbour on no. 429; of a *mašsar bīt-ili* in the letter 83-1-18, 13; and a specimen name, App. 1, xi. 6. The form *Gal-lul* is the name of a witness and *rāb kišir*, B.C. 670, on no. 266; and *Ga-lu-lu* is the name of a witness and *kēpu*, B.C. 681, on no. 218. The name Išdi-aḥē occurs on no. 857, II. 28, and in the letters K 1187, 1555. The fuller form Išdi-aḥēšu is the name of the son of Ardi-Ištar, pledged, B.C. 748 (?), on no. 67; of a neighbour, B.C. 648, on no. 373; and of a witness, Ep. P, on no. 628. The occurrences of Šamaš-nāsir are given in § 522. The name in line 8 is Erba-ilāni, which also occurs as the name of a buyer and *tamkaru*, B.C. 698, on no. 328. The related name Erba-ilu was that of a buyer, on no. 314; of a witness, on no. 388; and a specimen name, App. 3, III. 7.

The name Aḥūni is remarkable for the unusual extra *i* at the end, the only example known to me. The spelling *PAP-u-ni* is found as the name of a son of Nargi, brother of Nabû-aḥu-ušur, Ep. A, on no. 318. The common spelling *A-ḥu-ni* is used for the names of the borrower, of Kar-Bêlit, B.C. 673, on no. 8; of the

witness, *kišir šarri*, B.C. 682, on no. 276; of the famous *mār Adini*, in Ašurnāširpal's inscriptions, I. R. 24, 55, 61, 63; III. R. 7, I. 20 etc.; Shalmaneser III., see *K. B.* I. pp. 156, 158 etc. It is also a specimen name, App. I, x. 33. That it is the genitive of Aḫunu, I do not maintain, but probably both mean 'Our brother.' We find *A-ḫu-nu* as the name of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 44; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 267. The writing *PAP-u-nu* occurs on no. 899, as resident in Ḳarti-ḫaldi; as son of Sapiku, *aba* of Cuthah, on K 90; and in the Ḫarran Census.

The name, in line 1 of reverse, which I read Ḳurdi-Ištar, is also borne by a neighbour, in Bīt Dagan, B.C. 707, on no. 350; by witnesses on nos. 493, 602; and occurs in 81-2-4, 100, probably. The next name is not Ištar-bâbi-aḫu-iddin, but probably Bau-aḫi-iddin: the spelling with the former reading would be unique. We have, however, *AN-Ba-ú-PAP-ÁŠ* as a specimen name, App. I, XII. 30; and II. R. 65, 24 add.: compare I. R. 31, IV. 24; I. R. 66, 96. So the next name is to be read Bau-ilai. With the former reading compare the name of the slave sold, Ep. Q, on no. 446; the name in the letter 79-7-8, 234, *H. A. B. L.* p. 351; and the name of the witness, B.C. 679, on no. 150.

The name of the Eponym could not have come on line 6; hence I suspect it was on the left-hand edge. The reading *ma-as-ḫa-at*, if that is correct, reminds us of the *mashâti* of v. R. 65, 51 b: the meaning of which is doubtful. But it seems to me possible that this is really to be read *Ma-aš-ša-u-at*, a variant perhaps of *Manšuate*, the name of the city of which the Eponym was *šaknu*. Now Danânu was *šaknu* of Manšuate, B.C. 680, see no. 359. The town occurs also II. R. 53, 39 b, and II. R. 52, 21 d, where we learn that there was an expedition to it, B.C. 797. It is also named II. R. 53, 59 d, and on K 1533. The change in spelling would be parallel to Mazarnie for Manzarnie; and as that name is also spelt Mannu-zarnê, so Manšuate appears as Mannu-šuate. The date B.C. 680 would fall within Baḫiânu's time. But this is only a conjecture.

545. No. 139. The left-hand portion is destroyed. It is a little cylinder about as thick as an ordinary pencil. Slate colour.

Baḫiânu lends some corn, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, to Šumma-Ramân. Dated, the 5th of Aaru, B.C. 667.

The nature of the transaction is clear, from the terms and the presence of Baḫiânu.

The Catalogue, p. 1291, calls it a 'private note': and enters it on p. 2112 b as a 'memorandum.'

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94. The tablet had not been numbered then.

The name of the recipient only occurs here. It would be a witness for the existence of a god Ramân, only it is so badly preserved that no great reliance can be placed on the reading. The first sign after the break may be *ŠAL*, followed by *NIN*, then *AN-RA* is quite certain, but of *MANI* now see only a trace. How to read the name, except as I give it, I am unable to suggest.

The name of the Eponym is also much effaced. The *GA* is certain, but *AD* may be the next sign, and *GAL* the last. But G. Smith's previous reading supports mine, as does Bezold, Catalogue, p. 1291.

**546.** No. 140. Upper portion of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Red brown.

Some one advanced one homer of corn, *ŠĒ-PAT-MEŠ*, *kaḫkadu*. The name of Ašur-ibni which follows may be either that of the lender or recipient. Dated, in B.C. 694.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89, and *Hist. Senn.* p. 15.

The name Ašur-ibni only occurs, with certainty, here. A name, written *ÁŠ-ŠUR-KAK* which could also be read Ašur-bâni, or Ašur-êpuš, occurs as that of a witness, *Ep. ψ*, on no. 351. The Eponym is discussed, § 120.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, enters this as a 'private contract.'

**547.** No. 141. Nearly complete. Heart-shaped. Drab.

Baḫiânu advanced three homers, *ŠĒ-PAT-MEŠ*, *kaḫkadu*, to Šamaš-aḫu-ušur, *ana pûḫi*. Dated, the 1st(?) of Nisânu, B.C. 704.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 88, and *Hist. Senn.* p. 11.

The formula is here reversed, the corn is said to be taken 'from,' *ištu pâni*, the lender. Hence the nominative to *ittiši* is the receiver, and the verb can have its proper sense, 'has taken.' The receiver, Šamaš-aḫu-ušur, bears the same name as a *rêu iššurâte* and witness, B.C. 694, on no. 58; and a seller, on no. 477.

The Eponym, Nabû-dîni-êpuš, is given by III. R. 1, v. 20, as Eponym, B.C. 704, *šaknu* of Nineveh; also dating K 3068, III. R. 2, 40: in 1st year of Sennacherib. The name also occurs in the letter K 12953.

The Catalogue, p. 2001 b, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

548. No. 142. Upper portion of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Baḫiānu advances ten homers, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, to persons whose names are lost. Dated, the 21st of Simānu, B.C. 684. Three witnesses.

The Eponym, whose name here appears as *Ma-za-ar-ni-e*, is clearly the same as the *Ma-za-a(r-ni-e)*, on K 2760, III. R. 2, 59, there given to be Eponym of the 22nd year of Sennacherib and *šaknu* of Kullānia, i.e. B.C. 684. The form *Man-za-ar-ni-e* is given as that of the Eponym, on no. 230, where the double date, 22nd year of Sennacherib, and the title *bél paḫāti* of Kullānia are added. On no. 19, duplicate of no. 20, the form is *Man-za-ár-ni-e*, which of course may also have been the form on no. 20. The form *Ma-an-za-ni-e*, on no. 149, loses the *r*: perhaps the scribe omitted the *ar* in error. There can be no doubt that Mazarnê was the native form, to which a desire for some Assyrian sense finally gave the shape *Man-nu-zî-ir-ni-e*, in III. R. 1, v. 40, as the name of the Eponym for B.C. 684. The reading given, G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 91, Man-zar-ile seems to me to be a printer's error, for on p. 68, we have Mannu-zir-îe. I fancy both endings are meant for *-ne*. That the form Mannu-zîr-nê has a good Assyrian meaning is not clear to me. The name may have been Mazaranu, Mazarnu, from some place Mazara.

The witness, Sin-aḫu-iddin, bears the same name as the witness and *aba*, *Ep. Q.* on no. 349; the father of a witness, on no. 589; and a seller, B.C. 676, on no. 256. The next name, Basûai, only occurs here, but we may compare *Ba-su-u-a*, a witness, B.C. 671, on no. 266. But the sign *su* is perhaps really *la*, and then we should have Balâi, a gentilic, compare Sargon, Ann. 40.

The name of the scribe, *aba*, was probably Dandaru, also the name of a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 752, 22.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, makes this a 'private contract.'

549. No. 143. Part of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Baḫiānu advances corn to a number of persons, whose names are now lost; *ana pûḫi*. Dated, the 20th(?) of Aaru, B.C. 682.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91; and *Hist. Senn.* p. 21.

The trace of a recipient's name, in line 1, may possibly be restored Au-iddin. But it is impossible to say how much preceded the *A*. The names with Au are somewhat rare, see § 476. Professor

Jensen has suggested to me that *A-U* may be an ideogram, *A* = 'son,' and *U* = *Adad*, or *Râmân*. Then it may be read *Mâr-Râmân*, or *Bir-Addi*, with which we could compare *Benhadad*. The name of *Benhadad* has been much discussed, see Winckler, *A. T. U.* 68 ff. : Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76-78. But it seems clear that *Ben* has been written for *Bîr*, either to translate it, or as an error. The king was certainly called *Bir-dadda* by the Assyrians. Then the second *Benhadad* seems to be the same as the *Mari'* of *Adadi-nirâri III*. Was this an error for *Mari-IM*? If so the name would be the same as *Mari-iddi*, in no. 742, the name of an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in the city *Basrê*.

The Eponym has been discussed in § 523.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, puts this among the 'private contracts.'

**550.** No. 144. The top edge of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Some homers of corn, *ŠÉ-PAT-MEŠ*, were advanced to *Ḫudapî*, and perhaps others. Dated, in B.C. 700.

The Catalogue, p. 1278, calls it a 'private note,' and, p. 2112 a, puts it among the 'memoranda.'

The name of the receiver only occurs here. The name reminds one of *Ḫandapî*, in § 513, and this comparison suggests that *Ḫu* is the name of a god, as *Ḫan* may be. Are we to read *Bag-dapî*?

The Eponym is discussed in § 476.

**551.** No. 145. The edge of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Only the date is left, the 23rd of *Du'ûzu*, B.C. 693. There are traces of a line before line 1. The seal was the same as on no. 133. It may be the lower edge of the tablet.

The Catalogue, p. 2003 a, puts it among the 'private contracts.'

The Eponym is discussed, § 473.

**552.** No. 146. Lower portion of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Slate.

Some corn probably was advanced, *ana pûḫi*, to at least three persons. Dated, the 23rd of *Nisânu*. The Eponymy may have been on the edge.

The Catalogue, p. 2002 a, puts it among the 'private contracts.'

The only legible name, in line 3, seems to be *Kilamši*, compare *Kil-lam-ši*, the name of a witness, B.C. 679, on no. 462; and the specimen name, *Ki-i-la-an-ši*, App. 1, XI. 14. Did it mean, 'By her side,' or more probably 'Like a colossus,' *lâmaššu*?

**553.** No. 147. Complete. Red brown.

*Rimâni-ilu* advances two homers thirty *ka* of *KUR*-

ŠŪ' to Bêl-šû. He shall repay it in the Court of the city Argazu. If he do not repay it, interest will accrue at the rate of 30 *ka* per homer. Dated, the 22nd of Aaru, B.C. 648. Irisu-ilâni and Šulmu-aḥê are agents for the *KUR-ŠŪ'*. Five witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 96.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 7442.

The tablet is described in the Guide, p. 176, no. 50.

That *KUR-ŠŪ'* is a sort of grain follows from the measurement by homers: and from the rate of interest being the same as for corn. That we are to read *mât Su'* is improbable from the fact that two men are agents for the corn, they could not be agents for a country. Professor Oppert would make them guarantees. The corn, in lower edge line 1, is taken to be masculine, not feminine, as *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ* usually is. There was a garden plant called *karšu*, see *H. W. B.* p. 356 b.

The occurrences of Rîmâni-ilu are given, § 473; Šulmu-aḥê in § 480; Šêpâ-Ašur in § 524; Ardi-Ištar in § 474.

Bêl-šû is a somewhat rare name, but is found in the letters, K 10363, 12991.

The name of the Eponym Bêl-šadûa occurs as that of the Eponym, B.C. 757, *šaknu* of Parnunna; and also in B.C. 648 as a variant of Bêl-Harran-šadûa, see III. R. 1, VI. 36; IV. 13. In our form it dates no. 7, and K 1292, 4537. He was a *šaknu* of Tyre, *Surri*. The longer form occurs III. R. 1, VI. 36, and dates nos. 696, 705, K 297, 312, 10532, 13190, 82-5-22, 91. Without the final *a* this name dates no. 206, and occurs on no. 889, and in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1009. I am quite satisfied with G. Smith's date B.C. 648, and shall return to the reasons in the Chapter on the Chronology.

The two agents, or guarantees, as Professor Oppert considers them, in my opinion acted for Rîmâni-ilu, and furnished the grain to Bêl-šû. Irisu-ilâni only occurs here. The first member reminds one of Erêsu, king of Sillu, III. R. 16, no. 1, V. 21; III. R. 27, 128.

The name of the first witness Šâr-Ašur only occurs here, unless we also read *IM-AN-III* as Šâr-Ašur. This form was the name of a slave sold, B.C. 685, on no. 232. The name of the second witness Rîmûa only occurs here. The form Aplâia, if that is the proper reading, only occurs here, see Aplai, in § 518. But perhaps we are to read Apil-aplîa.

The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, calls this 'an acknowledgement of debt.'

**554.** No. 148. Complete; perhaps an inner tablet. Light red. Adûni-iḥa advances to Atar-sûri three homers of *ŠÊ-GIG-MEŠ*, *ina GIŠ-BAR ša mât Iaudi*. The grain belonged to Padî. In Ulûlu, he shall repay to the full value, in Nineveh he shall give it back. If not, it shall increase at the rate of 30 *ka* per homer. Dated, Aaru, perhaps in B.C. 660. Three witnesses. Two reapers.

The Catalogue, p. 1918, considers this 'a sale of corn.' There is no doubt that *ŠÊ-GIG-MEŠ* is corn of some kind, but there is nothing to indicate a sale. Dr Bezold did not commit himself as to the date. Professor Jensen suggested to me that for Girizakanni we should read Giri-ṣapuni. The sign *kan* may be a badly written *pu*, but there are five slant wedges before the horizontal, which also slants somewhat. In any case the date omits the day, and the word *limmu*. I am inclined to think the Eponym, of B.C. 660, is intended.

What is meant by the *GIŠ-BAR* here is not clear to me. If the tribute of the land Iaudi was paid in corn, then the *GIŠ-BAR* may be the corn so paid, regarded as a fund from which the advance is made.

I am disposed to think that not Judaea, but the Syrian land of Jaudi, is here intended. The names Adûni-iḥa, Atar-sûri, Padî, Iṣtar-tâzi and Bîr-Šamaš are all Syrian rather than Jewish. The loan is to be repaid in Nineveh, which suggests that the Syrian collector advanced the corn from what was in his charge and destined for transmission to Nineveh. The advance was clearly made to a Syrian, probably tenant of a royal estate in the land of Jaudi, or perhaps he was a tenant of Padî. Who this person was does not appear. Was he the vassal prince of Jaudi?

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 254, gives a translation of this document. He makes no scruple of taking Girizabuni as the Eponym and dates the transaction in B.C. 665. He reads Adûni-iḥa as Adonia and Atar-sûri as Aḥassuri. He also discusses at length the meaning of *GIŠ-BAR ša mât Iaudi*. But the grounds on which he bases his theory are not at all convincing, and the relation of the homer to the *ka* is not elucidated.

On the Syrian land of Iaudi see specially Winckler, *A. F.* pp. 1-22. It was later known, from the name of its chief city, as Kullâni. It lay between the northern boundary of Unḫi, the modern 'Amḫ, and

the south border of Sam'al, on both sides of the Kara-Su. For references, see Winckler, l.c. and *Sendscherli* i. p. 53. That the language of the country was Aramaic can hardly be doubted.

Adûni-iḥa only occurs here. The compounds of Adûni are few in our documents; for Adûna-izi see § 408. Adûnu-ba'li occurs in III. R. 8, 94, as the name of a king of Šiana, a land not far from Iaudi. Adûnu-mât-ušur is a witness on no. 513. Adûnu-nâdin-apla is a buyer on no. 346. Adûni-tûri seems to have been the name of a slave sold, B.C. 688, on no. 240. As a rule compounds of אדון are Phoenician, Hebrew, or Canaanite, rather than Aramaic, see *N. E.* p. 208 f. The second element could be read *aḥa*, 'brother,' but I am rather inclined to compare the Phoenician יהו in יהובעל, יהומלך, יהומלך.

Atar-sûri is like Atar-sûru the name of the seller, B.C. 692, on no. 324. The god Atar is Aramaic, see *N. E.* p. 348 a, and Ḥarran Census. The element *sûru*, as Dr Jensen has pointed out, is the Aramaic שור, 'wall.' Compare the Palmyrene עתרשור. With עתרעזה compare Adûna-izi, in § 408. For the ending *sûru* compare Atâ-sûru, the name of the witness and *aba*, Ep. B, on no. 207.

The name Padî was borne by the king of Amḡârûna, Ekron, I. R. 38, 70; I. R. 39, 7, 25, who was deposed by his subjects and sent captive to Hezekiah, just before B.C. 701. This is not likely to be the same person. The witness, Ep. F, on no. 621, is nearer our date: the *râb naggaru*, on no. 814; and the vigniard in the city Šaidi of the Ḥarran Census, bear the same name. We may compare the Punic פדי, *N. E.* p. 349 b; Hebrew Pediah (?), and the specimen name Paddû-ili, App. 3, III. 32.

The name of the Eponym here probably Girišapûnu is written *Gîr-ša-pu-nu*, as dating nos. 12, 362, 444, and restored on III. R. 1, VI. 20, for the date B.C. 660; see G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 95. The compounds of Gîr are generally formed with a divine name as second element. Hence Šapûnu is probably a god, compare the Phoenician צפן, *N. E.* p. 359 b.

The name of the first witness Abi-umme only occurs here. Is it possible that it means 'My father was my mother'? I incline to think *umme* here means 'people': the Aramaic עמ, *N. E.* p. 342. The name would then mean 'Father of his people.' The next name also Ištar-tâzi only occurs here. The second element I consider to be feminine singular, corresponding to *izi* (masculine singular), of a verb עזה, seen in Adûna-izi above. Compare also the Phoenician



(Neo-Punic) name תאצער. We may question whether in our case *XV* may not be the ideogram for Atar, rather than Ištar, and so read the name Atar-tâzi.

The name Bîr-Šamaš was also borne by a witness and *tamkaru*, B.C. 694, on no. 281. Compounds of Bîr are rare in our texts; Bîr-Atar is the probable reading of the seller's name, Ep. K, on no. 329; Bîr-Ammâ of a witness and *šalšu* on no. 476; of a commander of troops on no. 855, 18; Bîr-Dadda was the name of a king of Arabia, father of Uaite', III. R. 36, no. 1, IV. 3; V. R. 9, etc. Bîr-iamâ, a *mukil apâti* of the Queen-Mother, on no. 857, IV. 5, seems to be a variant of Bîr-ammâ. The name ברשמיש is Palmyrene, *N. E.* p. 246.

On a review of these names, the North Semitic affinity will be very clear. Further, a strong Phoenician or Canaanite influence is apparent. Hence the location of this land of Iaudi, near Sam'al, is strongly confirmed.

In line 2, before *mât* read *šá* rather than *ša*. In line 3 of reverse, the scribe seems to have written *a* at the end instead of the *e* which I give. On the edge, line 1, before Šamaš is to be seen only *BAR*, not *AN*, which of course was intended.

**555.** No. 149. Nearly complete, 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Baḥiânu advances four homers, *ŠÊ-GIG-MEŠ*, to Lâmašši-Bêl, *ana pûhi*. Interest to be 30 *ka* per homer. Dated, in Kislîmu, day lost, B.C. 684.

The Catalogue, p. 1590, compare p. 2000 b, calls this 'a private contract concerning a sale of corn.' I admit the 'corn,' but not the 'sale.'

The recipient Lâmašši-Bêl only occurs here. For the form of the name we may compare Lâmassi-Papsukal, V. R. 44, II. 23, written *La-mas-si-AN-PAP-LUḤ* and *AN-KAN-UL-AN-KAL-RA*; and the female name Lâmašši, name of a slave pledged, B.C. 677, on no. 72.

**556.** No. 150. Nearly complete: probably inner tablet. Drab.

Mannu-kî-Arbaili lends so many homers, *GIR-NUN-NA-ŠU-ME*, to Pilaḫḫu-supinune. Urdâ is agent. In Aaru he shall return the loan. If not, he shall pay twenty minas of silver (at least) to the king. Dated, the 15th of Šabâtu, B.C. 679. Six witnesses.

The Catalogue, p. 1932, calls this a 'contract concerning a sale of corn,' and p. 2000 b, adheres to this view. Consequently, feeling

sure that Dr Bezold probably had good grounds for his views, I placed the text here. But as yet I have been unable to find an example of *GIR-NUN-NA* elsewhere. The ideogram *NER-NUN-NA* is read *parû*, *H. W. B.* p. 539 b, and taken to mean 'mule.' But this is not the same ideogram. In our case also, there is no sign *ŠÊ*, and in the penalty for not returning the loan, no interest is charged, but a fine in money. One would expect so many *ka* per homer, if we had to do with grain. The terms rather recall the loan of the camels in no. 117.

In any case, it is not a 'sale.' The terms *ša*, indicating the lender, and *ina pâni*, indicating the receiver, are not used in sales: there is no price named. The property, whatever it was, was owned by the king, to whom the fine was to be paid.

The lender, Mannu-kim-Arbaili, as the name is here written, was discussed in § 413: the Eponym, Ištu-Adadi-aninu, in § 488; Aḫubasate in § 480; Ašur-ilai in § 500.

The borrower bears the quite exceptional name *GIŠ-PAL-SU-PI-NUN-E*, which appears to be entirely ideographic. But *GIŠ-PAL* may be read *pilakku*, and *supinnu* is a word often associated with *pilakku*: compare the name *Pilakḫîa*, § 466. But in any case the reading remains very doubtful. Urdâ is a rare name, only occurring here. On the other hand Urdu is common. This name was borne by a witness, B.C. 734, on no. 415; by a neighbour, B.C. 664, on no. 377; by a witness, B.C. 648, on no. 333; by a witness and *râb kišir*, Ep. A, on no. 325; by a witness, *nuḫatimmu* of *bît ili* of Nabû, Ep. O, on no. 640; by a buyer, on no. 259; by a witness and *râb šelappai*, on no. 394; by a witness and *išparu*, on no. 357; by a witness and servant of the *amêlu ša pâni êkalli*, on no. 464; by the father of Marduk-erba, on no. 311; by a receiver, on no. 931; a *šelappai*, on no. 769; a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 752. A genitive case, *Ur-di*, appears as the name of a neighbour and witness, Ep. A, on no. 623; and another probably, *Ur-di-i*, as the name of a witness, son of Sûsû, B.C. 691, on no. 320. The name also occurs in the Harran Census. It will be noted that he was a servant of the *amêlu ša pâni êkalli*, on no. 464; which seems, from no. 204, combined with the Aramaic docket on no. 39, to have been the title of Mannu-kî-Arbaili. Urdâ is therefore probably the same person as Urdu, and servant of the lender here. Hence he was agent for the lender, who himself probably acted for the king.

The first witness, Arzizu, seems to bear the same name as the father of Parutânu, on no. 160; and as a receiver on no. 931, where Urdu also occurs. I think that his title here is certainly *râb kišir*, not *rakbu šépâ šarri* as I gave in my text. With the name compare the city Arzizu, i. R. 21, 73, named by Ašurnâširpal as in Zamri. The next name Mamei only occurs here and on no. 602, where he is also witness and *râb kišir*, thus confirming the reading *râb kišir*, for line 4. In line 6, perhaps *tu* should be read rather than *tc*. In line 7, before *ba* traces of *AZAG* are now to be seen, therefore read Bau-ilai, see § 544.

On the edge, the first name, Abi-lurê only occurs here.

557. No. 151. Complete. Drab to brown.

Kišir-Ašur, the *râb kišir*, advanced ten shekels of silver to Rapâ, son of Abdilime, the *amêl LUL*. The transaction took place in the straw market. Rapâ shall give sixty *maḡarûtu*, Ḳurûbi and Šašmai twenty each; in all, one hundred *maḡarâte* of straw, for the ten shekels of silver, in the city Šidiasika. If they do not give the straw, the debt shall bear interest on its whole amount. Rapâ is agent for the straw and seals the document. Dated, the 15th of Nisânu, Ep. Y. Nine witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 100.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.*, 4383, 4822, 7442, 8168.

The tablet is described in the *Guide*, p. 117, no. 52.

The text is published, *III. R.* 50, no. 1.

A transliteration and translation are given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* pp. 244 ff.

Here, as I understand the transaction, the ten shekels are the worth of a hundred *maḡarât* of straw. We may perhaps conjecture that here, *ina adri ŠÊ IN-NU-MEŠ* means 'as the price of the straw.' If so, we may here have an example of the *atru*, which occurs in the Babylonian contracts in the phrases *kî pî atra*, *kî atir*, *kî atri*, and which Dr Peiser, *K. A. S.* 111 b, would read 'according to.' Feuchtwang, *Z. A.* v. 29, compares the Talmudic עֵטָרָה, 'document'; see also Jensen, *Kosm.* p. 385. Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* 10, note 1, distinguishes *atru* from *maḡîru* 'the market price,' as a sort of extra payment, something thrown in to close the bargain, a sort of addition to the price to secure the goodwill of the seller. The augmented price, *maḡîru* and *atru* together, was called *šîpirtu*. In this case the *pî* may be read *w*: and we should have *kî watra*,

*kî watri* which go back to a root ותר 'to exceed.' See, beside the references in the lexicons, *B. A. S.* II. p. 559. It is certainly true that here ten shekels may have been the *atru*, or price paid down to close the bargain, but it is very unlikely that it was an addition to the market price. The Talmudic derivation would suggest *atru* and serve to connect with *eṭēru* which means 'to pay,' and 'to receive,' or 'buy,' see Tallqvist, *Spr. Nbd.* pp. 36 f.; but also compare Jensen, *Z. A.* VI. 349, who read *edēru*. Hence we may think of an *atru*, or *adru*, here as 'the price.' But there is also another *adru*, discussed in § 530, which means 'a court,' or part of the grounds of a temple, palace, or house. This seems to be usually associated with a farm, see *A. D. B.* p. 20, and may very well be a market-place, also in a city. Hence if our *adru*, or *atru*, is a place, a good rendering will be 'straw market'; but a 'straw yard,' or storehouse may be meant.

We are as yet uninformed as to the contents or weight of a *maḫarātu*. There was a sort of utensil mentioned *Nbk.* 92, 5, called *maḫarātu*, which may well be a chaldron, or large pot: such as was used for a measure in England, and still denotes a definite amount, 36 bushels for coal, 48 bushels for coke. If used for weight, perhaps the root of the word is the same as that of *carat*, the diamond and gold weight.

The tablet is somewhat carelessly written. In line 5, the *ka* is written as if the scribe had begun to write *te* or *kar*. In line 1, of reverse, I have given wrongly *ša* for *šá*. In line 5, it is hard to say whether *zêr* or *mu* was meant in the name. In the title, the scribe has omitted *su*. In line 7, I have omitted *ŠI* after the ditto sign, and the scribe omits *AMEL* before the title, as he also does in line 3 of obverse.

The renderings given by Oppert are noteworthy still. He renders *adru* by 'area'; *ŠE-IN-NU* by *hordeus*, and *ina mithurgal* by *erit in tributo generali*. He calls the whole transaction a '*partage d'une redevance en Grains*.'

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 161, says this is perhaps to be taken as a simple 'Quittung.' In the Catalogue, p. 93, he considered it a simple 'private contract'; on p. 2000 b, he adds that it concerns 'a sale, etc., of animals, corn, wine, or other moveables.'

The principal contractor for fodder was Rapâ, if that is how we are to read the name. With the name we may compare, *Ra-pa-ia*, the name of a witness, on no. 422: and *Ra-a-pi-*, the name of a

*nasiku* of Hindara, *Sargon, Ann.* 269. Compare the Palmyrene רפא and the form רפא, רפי, *N. E.* p. 370. But *RA-PA* is an ideogram, and *AN-RA-PA* is read *Šululu*, with which we may compare the name *Šu-lu-lu* in K 1015 and *Šu-lu-lu-luḫ-ḫi-a* on K 823. This man Rapâ signed or sealed for himself and fellow contractors. We seem here to have a real contract, or undertaking to supply goods, at a stated price.

The name of the second contractor only occurs here, and might be variously read, owing to the polyphony of the sign *PAP*. I compare the city name *Ḳurûbi*, spelt *GUR-U-BI*, on no. 623, but also *Ḳu-ur-û-bi*. The name of the third contractor only occurs here, it may mean 'one born in time of war,' like the month names; or perhaps 'warlike one.'

The occurrences of *Kiṣir-Ašur* are dealt with in § 405, the Eponym, *Nabû-sâkip*, in § 492; *Šarru-êmurâni* in § 514; *Ḳurdi-Adadi* in § 496; *Silim-Ašur* in §§ 420, 488; *Girtu* in § 406; *Matilai*, § 409.

The city *Šidi-asika* only occurs here.

The name of the first witness, as I give it, *Šarru-zêr-ukîn*, only occurs here. *Šarru-šum-ukîn* with *MU* for *zêr* is clear in no. 619, as the name of a witness, Ep. S. The reading of *Šarru* as *Šamaš* would make this name identical with the very frequent *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, the name of the king of Babylon, brother of *Ašurbânipal*. The appearance of *Kiṣir-Ašur* as witness raises some doubts. Would he witness his own deeds? or were there two of the name, in the same office, at the same time? *Ašur-napištu-irâm* is a name that only occurs elsewhere as that of the father of *Nusku-bêl-ušur*. *Šamaš-šum-ušur* was also the name of a neighbour, B.C. 698, on no. 328; of a witness and *šangû* on no. 255.

**558.** No. 152. Complete. Chocolate Brown.

*Bêl-dûri*, the *bêl paḫâtî* of the Crown Prince, advances thirty-two homers thirty *ka* of corn, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, and a cow in calf(?), belonging to the Crown Prince, to *Nargî* of the city of *Bamâtu*. In lieu of the corn and cow he shall serve *Bêl-dûri*. When he shall have served out the value of the advance, he shall go free. Dated, the 28th of *Ulûlu*, B.C. 656. Eight witnesses.

The Catalogue, p. 1591, calls this 'a private contract concerning a sale of corn.' Though there is undoubtedly some corn, I fail to see any evidence of 'a sale.' It seems to me to be an advance of

keep in lieu of service. The Catalogue, p. 2000 b, adheres to the above description.

The tablet is described in the *Guide*, p. 178, no. 60. It is there called 'a sale.'

The text was very difficult to read and I spent hours in fruitless attempts to read some places, which cleaning shews to have been written over. The script itself is unusual. At the end of line 5, in my opinion the scribe began to write *ba* and then turned it into the sign *GIRI*, Brünnow's no. 4809: or he may have meant, *ba-ma-MEŠ*, that is, *bamâte*. This is generally read *išdu*, but in v. R. 29, 59 a, *ZAK* means *išdu*, and in the next line also = *bamātu*. Hence I conjecture that *GIRI* also had the meaning *bamātu* and that we are to read *GIRI-MEŠ* = *bamâte*. Line 2, of reverse, shews that the name of the city was *Bamâtai*. In line 8, the first two characters, *ŠÁ MAN*, are hardly to be read *ša šarri*. A reading *šaniš* would hardly fit in either; one expects a word meaning 'until.' It is known that *šanîtu* means 'time,' in the sense of repetition, but Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 674 b, leaves *šaniš* without a meaning. This passage is, however, hardly enough to fix the sense, because the characters are written over others partly effaced. Hence the reading is not certain.

In reverse, line 1, it is now certain that in place of *ÁŠ-ŠUR* we should read *AN-PA*. Also in reverse, line 7, I have omitted *PA* after *AN*, in the name of the witness.

The epithet applied to the *alpu ardu*, in line 2, *pataritte* points to a female animal. The verb *patâru*, *H. W. B.* p. 555 a, is associated with *pitû*, 'to open.' Hence I think *pataritte* means 'a cow in calf,' or 'that has just calved,' hence a 'milch cow.' In line 8, the scribe has added the plural sign, but he may have regarded the whole advance, corn and cow, as a plural.

In reverse, line 7, the reading of the signs is conjectural, but seems to be correct. In line 8, I conjecture that *Takpulišu* is the name of a place, but we could read (*abnu*) *pulišu*. Perhaps the name meant 'The Quarries,' of *pulu* stone.

There is no mention of a return of the advance. On the whole, I am inclined to think that *Nargî* was to earn the corn and a cow by personal service.

The lender, *Bêl-dûri*, bears the same name as the husband of *Amat-Su'la*, *šalšu* of the spearmen, B.C. 692, on no. 324; a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 330; a witness, B.C. 668, on no. 284: the father of

Zêr-ukîn, on no. 446; the buyer and *râb bîti*, on no. 467; of a buyer, on nos. 485 and 495; of a witness, on no. 323; a serf, with his people, on no. 752; an official, on no. 843; an *amêl šépâ*, on no. 860. The name also occurs in the letters K 530, 535, 1142, 13034. On no. 324, a variant of the name occurs, in reverse, line 3, which seems to shew that *U=dûru*, in names at least.

The name of the receiver has been discussed in § 409; Nabû-šar-ušur, the first witness, in § 523; Ardi-Ištar in § 474; Ilu-rîmâni in § 509; Nabû-rîmâni in § 466; the Eponym, Ša-Nabû-šû in § 478.

The city Bamâte, or Bamâtai, only occurs here, but a name like 'The high places,' may have been common. The name of the second witness, Ašur-li', was also borne by the Eponym, B.C. 873, III. R. 1, 1. 38; and was the name of the *bêl ali* of Kāralla, named by Sargon, see Winckler's *Sargon* passim. A more phonetic spelling, *AN-A-ŠUR-li-i*, occurs on no. 713. The form *AN-HI-ZU* occurs on nos. 444, 445, where his *aba* is named in B.C. 660. Compare also Sm. 935. The allied name Ašur-li'âni was borne by a witness and *kêpu ša êkalli*, on no. 255. The name Ašur-rê'ušunu only occurs here.

The name Bêl-abu-ušur was also borne by a seller, in the time of Sargon, on no. 255; by a seller on no. 259; and occurs on K 4767, 10919. The name Kimama was that of a witness, B.C. 661, on no. 586; of a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 213; of a witness, on no. 633; of the father of Šadu-nâdin-aḥi on no. 446. The name is unusual in type, compare Lukimama, the name of a seller, B.C. 692, on no. 440; and of a witness, servant of the *râb nâdin akli*, on no. 464. Bêl-Harrân-abu-ušur only occurs here.

**559.** Nos. 153 and 154. A pair of case tablets. The former, or inner tablet, is quite complete. The outer case, cracked in several directions, has lost some small portions here and there. Drab.

Êdu-šallim, on the 22nd of Aaru, shall deliver Au-killâni, son of Riza, to Gabbu-ḫâtâ-ili. If he do not keep and deliver him up, slave for slave, he shall give. Dated, the 26th of Aaru, B.C. 663. Five witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

The text is published in transliteration and translation, by Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 136.

The name *ĀŠ-šallim*, written with the horizontal *ĀŠ*, can be read Ašur-šallim, as Dr Peiser reads it, but as *ĀŠ* is also an ideo-

gram for *êdu*, and as the name Êdu-šallim is phonetically spelt in nos. 73, 74, I read the name here as Êdu-šallim; see § 480. In line 3, Peiser gave the slave's name as (*ilu*) *Ha(?) -di(?) -la-a-ni*, a very unlikely form, it is really (*ilu*) *A-u-kil-la-a-ni*. He also groups up *Ri-za-u-ba-la*, as one name. This is quite clearly wrong. The form *ubala* is so common, for bringing anything as a deposit, that we should wonder at its absence here. The case pretty clearly is, that Êdu-šallim is to keep Au-killâni, for a year (save a fortnight), and then hand him over. There is no mention of any money at all, neither a debt in lieu of which the slave was pledged, nor a value set upon the deposit. The stipulation *ardu akî ardišu iddan* shews that the deposit is expected back. Why the slave was deposited does not appear.

Dr Peiser calls this a *Verpflichtung, einen bestimmten (Haft-) Slaven zum bestimmten Termin zu liefern, ev. Ersatz*.

The name of the slave only occurs here: on the god Au, see §§ 476, 549. The name Riza seems foreign and only occurs here. The name Gabbu-âtâ-ili only occurs here, but is doubtless the same as Gabbu-ina-âtâ-ili, 'All is in the hands of God,' App. 1, VIII. 20.

The name of the Eponym is given III. R. 1, VI. 17, and is dated B.C. 663, by G. Smith, *Ep. Can.* p. 94. With this dating I agree. This Eponym dates also nos. 56, 309, and probably no. 780; see *O. L. Z.* 1. 365. From these contracts we learn that he was a *tartânu* of some country, perhaps of Kumuhhi. The date on no. 470, gives a phonetic spelling, *Bêl-na'-di*. The name was borne by a witness and *tukultu* of the Crown Prince, B.C. 690, on no. 625; by a witness, Ep. Q, on no. 349; by a testator, Ep. S, on no. 619; by the father of Ardi-Ištar and another, Ep. O, on no. 640; and occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, v. 15; App. 3, i. 6. The Catalogue, p. 1991, dates this tablet B.C. 644-3 (?).

The name Busi-ilâni only occurs here. On no. 153, the *ša* may really have been written, in line 3, of reverse, before the sign *ŠI*. The title on both tablets seems to have been *amêlu ša pâni dinâni*, 'the officer who is before the presence.' The next name Uburaki, with its variant on no. 154, *Ub-ra-ki*, only occurs here. The name Munêpuš-ilu only occurs here, but *Mu-ni-piś-AN*, the name of a witness and *hazânu*, B.C. 717, on no. 391, is very similar: and *Mu-ni-pi...*, the name of a witness on no. 518, is perhaps to be restored from these. On no. 153, the scribe has omitted *pu* entirely.



That Nabû-dûr-bêli is all one name seems probable from no. 154, where it is followed by *amêl*. But possibly he was *bêl* of some *amêlê*. As seen in § 534, Nabû-dûri was a *bêl za*.... The name Nabû-dûr-bêl seems to occur also on no. 12, as that of a witness, B.C. 660: and as the name of a witness, B.C. 707, on no. 292. But in every case there is some doubt whether this is certainly intended. The name Nabûa is discussed, in § 486.

On no. 154, we have some other points to notice. In line 4, the end of *ubala* is just recognisable on the tablet. In line 6, there is a space between *na* and *ša*, but it is not easy to say whether anything was written there. The sign *ru* is not certain: *rid*, *ta*, or some other character may have been written. On no. 153, the horizontal also is not very certain, but on the whole *našâru* seems the most probable reading in both places. On no. 154, reverse 13, the name of the witness is quite uncertain, and there are several more traces than I give, but I cannot read any of them. On the edge line seems to have been the name of a witness ending in *KAR*, this is probably *eṭir*. On no. 153 also, in line 1, the date 22nd was intended. The second wedge is there, though faint.

#### *An acquittance.*

560. No. 155. Complete. Drab.

The four minas of silver, interest, *ḥabûli*, belonging to Šamaš-ilai, which were due from Sailu, Sailu has paid and given to Šamaš-ilai. One with the other, neither party shall litigate. Dated, the 7th of Simânu, B.C. 683. Three witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91.

This contract shares with no. 9 the honour of being published in the Catalogue, p. 1411, where it is said to be 'a private contract, concerning a sum of money.' It seems to be of the nature of a receipt for a sum due. The Catalogue, p. 2001 a, most admirably terms it 'an acquittance.'

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 274, reckons this to belong to the class of 'legal decisions.' He renders *uṭuru* by *Ausgleich*; and takes it with the following words. He reads the clause, *uṭuru ultu pân aḥiṣ manama anu la idabubu*, which he renders *gegenseitig werden sie keine Klage führen*, stating that it recalls the Babylonian clause, *ana aḥavis ul iraggamu*. Otherwise his rendering is very

similar to mine, but he takes *ḥabûli* as *Zinsen sammt Capital*. However, he would class it with the 'legal decisions.'

The word *uṭuru*, permansive, II. 1, of *eṭêru*, 'to pay,' see § 242, occurs in a very similar connection in no. 780, line 8, but is otherwise unknown to me. The parallelism with *usalim*, *ittidin*, leaves us little room for doubt that it means 'he has paid.' What shade of difference divides its meaning from these other verbs does not appear clearly.

The creditor, who now gives his receipt for the four minas, Šamaš-ilai bears a name which was also that of the Eponym, B.C. 820, III. R. 1, II. 45; of a witness and *mukîl apâti*, B.C. 694, on no. 427; of a witness and *râb kišir*, B.C. 672, on no. 14; of a witness *ša bîti šanû*, B.C. 668, on no. 284; of a seller, official in Dûr-Sargon, B.C. 666, on no. 185; of a witness *ša bîti šanû* on no. 537; of a witness on no. 532; of a slave sold, on no. 316; of the servant of Išbutu, on no. 182; and occurs in the letter K 669. In all these cases Šamaš is written *AN-UD*, but the phonetic spelling *Ša-maš* occurs in the name of a witness, Ep. G, on no. 173 and in that of a witness, Ep. H', on no. 178.

The name of the debtor Sailu, in line 4, has its genitive *Sa-i-li*, in line 3. Hence the name must have ended in *i-lu*. The name is that of a witness, of the city Te-aldu, on no. 500; of the Eponym Ω, a *râb nuḥatimmê*, on no. 435. Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 1767, seems to imagine that this name could be read Sakap, which is against the above evidence.

The Eponym's name, Mannu-kî-Adadi, is discussed in § 473. The name Sâeru is also borne by a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 683, named twice on no. 273. It is clearly the same as *Sa-i-ru* the name of a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 667, on no. 185; and as *Sa-a-e-ru*, in the letter K 186, where he inhabits the city Darâti. There was also a town called Sâeru, named in nos. 383, 414, and K 146.

The name Šarru-nâ'id is discussed in § 492. The name Rîmût-Bau only occurs here. The signs at the end of the name seem to have been written over and are therefore very unreliable.

561. The last two documents are abnormal. They each might be classed by themselves. But they seem fairly to be appended to the class of 'acknowledgements of debt,' or to those recording advances or loans. The next four fragments of outer cases have so little inscription preserved that no one can say what they were.

As they are members of case pairs, we may assume, from the previous examples, that these were acknowledgements of debt of some sort. Hence I decide to place them here.

*Fragments of outer cases.*

No. 156. A mere fragment. Red.

It is possible that in line 1, we have the beginning of *ina pâni*, indicating a borrower, and in line 2, the beginning of *ER*; possibly the name of the debtor's city followed. The other lines seem to have contained the names of five witnesses.

The Aramaic docket is published, *C. I. S.* pp. 42 f. and consists now of the one word אגרת, 'document,' perhaps here in the sense of 'bond.' That confirms, as far as it goes, the opinion that this was an 'acknowledgement of debt.'

No. 157. A fragment of an outer case. Red.

I fancy that the ends of the names of several witnesses are preserved. The text is not very easy to be sure about. In the first line, the name seems to have ended in *êmurâni*. What the signs *HI dan-niš* could be the end of, I cannot conjecture at all. There was perhaps another line, between lines 2 and 3, ending in two verticals. In line 3, the name seems to have ended in *ilai*. Then line 4 ends in *la-si*, perhaps the name was Balasi. Another name, in line 5, seems to have ended in *iddin*. In line 6, in place of *AMEL*, there is now only what look like *ša*, in place of the two verticals we may read *sa*, and then perhaps traces of *li*. The trace in line 7 may be part of *pa* or *di*. On the reverse are also some traces, perhaps the beginning of *ba*, or *ka*, or *alu*.

No. 158. Portion of the left half of a case tablet. Drab.

On the obverse, the position of *bél*, at the beginning of the line, just before the seal, looks suggestive of a deed of sale. The traces on the reverse, lines 1, 2, 3, are also suggestive of the formula at the conclusion of such a deed. Then followed the names of at least five witnesses. The last of them was clearly the *aba*, scribe of the tablet. The date was in Nisânu, B.C. 692. The name of the Eponym is discussed, in § 476.

No. 159. A fragment of a case. Drab.

The ending of line 1, *šipîa*, does not lend itself readily to a restoration. On the other hand, in line 2, I am inclined to read *na* in place of *du*. If so, the name may have been Ninip-napî,

compare Si'-napi', on K 2017, in the Harran Census. In line 3, I do not think the first sign is the end of either *har*, or *su*, but is complete. The name was therefore almost certainly Aštamašti. This is clearly a foreign name. With *Ašta* we may perhaps compare *Asta*, in Astanânu, the name of an *irrišu*, with his people, in Asihî, on no. 742; and also in the name Asta-ḫûmi, in § 537. If this be legitimate, then perhaps the element *mašti* is the name of the Elamite goddess, see Jensen's *Elamitische Eigennamen*, *W. Z. K. M.* iv. pp. 57 ff. We should then read Ašta-Mašti.

The name Tabalai has been discussed in § 474; Gabbu-ilâni, in § 487. The date is very clear, the 27th of Simânu, in the Eponymy of one who was a *sukallu rabû*. This was the office held by Silim-Ašur, B.C. 659, see §§ 420, 488. But others were also *sukallu* and the probability is that the *rabû* was not always written, though intended.

By the kind permission of Dr E. A. W. Budge, a cast of the interior was taken for me. The signs are of course blurred and it is difficult to rely upon the readings. If these are correct, it would seem that the tablet was concerned with the *ŠA-MEŠ* of Ašur. What follows I cannot read: *Arḫu* is most unlikely but I am unable to make anything else of it. Whatever it was seems to have belonged to Kibit-Adadi, the *amêl ŠA*. The name is like Kibit-Ištar, Kibit-Našḫu, and so is likely to be right, but only occurs here. The next name appears to be that of a witness, Išdi-Ḥarrân, on which see § 523. There was another witness.

562. Some of the fragments, published in the Additional Cuneiform Texts, in Vol. II., certainly belong to the classes we have been considering; consequently they will be treated here for the sake of completeness.

No. 720. Part of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Baḫiânu advances thirteen homers of corn, *ŠÊ-PAT-MEŠ*, to Aa-iddin (?), Šulmu..., Mar-bi'dî, Nadîn-apil-ili (?), Adadi-bêl-ušur. The date, and usual statement of rate of interest are not preserved.

The Catalogue, p. 9591, entered this as a 'list of names of persons, probably part of a private letter'; and on p. 2112 a, it is entered under 'memoranda.'

For the business dealings of Baḫiânu, see § 532. The first three receivers seem to have had three homers each, the last two, two homers each. The first name may not be complete. Hence the sign *ÂŠ* may also be read *nâdin*. I have had considerable hesitation

about the reading of names beginning with Aa. We could read Ai. But *ilu A-a* is to be read *Malkatu* in some cases, and if we do not do this, we may think of Malik, or combine with Ia, and others. Hence I have determined to write *Aa*, and hope that this will not be misunderstood to mean that I have fixed on its pronunciation.

How the second name is to be completed is difficult to say. I fancy *Šulmu-KAN-eš*, i.e. *Šulmu-êreš*, would suit the traces. This was the name of a slave of Ašur-šallim, Ep. O, on no. 163; and the form *Šul-mu-PIN-eš* occurs in D. T. 317. The name Mar-bi'di only occurs here. The ending *bi'di* is seen also in *Ilu-bi'di*, *Sagil-bi'di*, *Adadi-bi'di*, *Au-ba'di*. These names suggest an Aramaic nationality. We may compare with this ending בערי, see Hoffmann, *Z. A.* xi. p. 228; Jastrow, *Z. A.* x. pp. 222 f. It may mean 'surrounds,' 'protects.' There are also some examples of ביר which may belong to this root, e.g. בירא, with its transcription, βαῖρα, genitive, and ביראל, see *N. E.* p. 235 a. Hence we may expect Mar here to be a divine name, doubtless the Aramaic מר, 'lord,' see Hoffmann, *Z. A.* xi. p. 237. The next name is puzzling, because it ideographically represents a divine name, *Šulû ša dîni*, see Brünnow, no. 70. But as *ĀŠ* is usually the ideogram for *nadānu*, in proper names, I prefer to read *Nâdin-Apil-ili*, taking *Apil-ili* to be a divine name. The name only occurs here.

The name *Adadi-bêl-ušur* is that of a witness, B.C. 642, on no. 586; and occurs in the Harran Census.

563. No. 785. A mere fragment of the right half. Brown.

Some money said to be the *kaḫḫadu* of a lender, whose name ended in *ilâni*, was advanced to Atar-sûri. Whether the characters, in line 3, are the end of a proper name, or of a title, is difficult to say. I think the latter more probable, though I cannot recognise the title. Dated, the 10th of Ulûlu, in an Eponymy whose Eponym bore a name ending in *ušur* or perhaps *aḫi*. The traces of the reverse appear to belong to the names of witnesses. The *sik* may be the end of the title *A-SIK*, i.e. *mâr šîpri*. The name Atar-sûri is discussed in § 554.

No. 792. Part of an outer case. Red.

Baḫiânu gave seven shekels of silver to Ḥalê-abu. Ištu-Adadi-aḫûtu was perhaps a pledge, guarantee or agent. This is of course a money loan. We have discussed Baḫiânu in § 532. The name Ḥalê-abu may be incomplete. It only occurs here. The name

Ištu-Adadi-aḥûtu, I should restore after *TA-AN-IM-SIS-u-tc*, the name of a witness, B.C. 663, on no. 780; and *TA-AN-IM-SIS-u-tu*, an *irrišu* with his people in the city Bêl-iḫbi, on no. 742.

No. 794. Part of a 'heart-shaped' tablet. Drab.

Some one lends three homers, of corn probably, to a person, whose name is lost, *ana pûhi*. The usual interest, 30 *ka* per homer, is given. How to complete the title of the borrower, in line 4, seems difficult. No names are preserved.

No. 800. Part of an outer case tablet. Black.

There are traces of a line before line 1, which also began *ina pâni*. The name which followed seems to have begun with *Ia-ḥu-ṭu...*, but nothing is certain. Then came *ina pâni Ilu-mukîn-aḥi a-(ba)*. The name could also be read *Ilu-kêniš-ušur*, see § 517. The next line reads *ina pâni Adadi-aplu-iddin amêl šalšu*. For the name see § 517. Then we read, *ina ûmi I(KAN) Arḥi samna*, 'on the first of Araḥsamna.' The next line reads *mât Rašappa iddunu*, 'in Rašappa they shall pay.' There are a few indistinct traces of another line.

Now a reference to § 517 will shew that in no. 117, the borrowers are *Iaḥuṭu*, *Ilu-mukîn-aḥi* and *Adadi-aplu...* There can be little doubt then that the traces above line 1, are those of *Ia-ḥu-ṭu*: and that the third name in no. 117 is to be restored to *Adadi-aplu-iddin*. These three people also occur together, as borrowers, on no. 118. Now in no. 117 there is no mention of *Rašappa*, but on no. 118 we see that *Iaḥuṭu* was *šanû* of *Rašappa*. Hence, I think, here we may restore *Ilu-mukîn-aḥi*'s title as *aba*, and then *Adadi-aplu-iddin* was *šalšu* of *Rašappa*. A question arises whether the scribe did not mean the *Rašappa* of line 4, to be in line 3. At any rate these three were probably at that time the three chief officials of *Rašappa*; below the *šaknu*, of course. If the scribe really intended to write *Rašappa*, in line 4, he must have meant to indicate the place where the payment was to be made. It is not unlikely that this tablet was the outer case of no. 117, or of no. 118. I have been unable to satisfy myself of this.

564. Before we pass on to the next group of documents, a few remarks of a desultory character may be made by way of *résumé* and conclusion.

As a rule we find only one lender advancing money or corn. On the contrary, in no. 22, there were two lenders, pointing to a partnership: compare no. 68.

A list of the principal lenders who occur in these texts may be of some service :

Aplai.	Baḫiānu.	Kiṣir-Ašur.
Mannu-kî-Arbaili.	Silim-Ašur.	Šumma-ilāni.

The amounts advanced, both in money and corn, are very various and no general conclusions can be drawn from them. The most frequent amounts of money are ten shekels, half a mina, and one mina. These loans are most often to one man, but may be to two, or more, up to as many as seven, at the same time. The largest amount is twenty minas of silver. No gold loans occur, but the majority are silver ; copper occurs in five or six cases.

The old British Museum labels, or the descriptions given on the boxes containing the tablets, the descriptions given in the table of contents prefaced to III. R., or in the old *Guide* to the Kouyunjik Gallery are for the most part of mere antiquarian interest. The *New Guide* to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities appeared after most of this chapter was already written down. The excellent descriptions there given, carrying with them the weight of high authority, will be referred to in future when they concern our documents. But in these earlier documents, they do not offer any notable contribution to the solution of the difficulties which these involve.

It may be worth recording here that, although I have followed the generally accepted view that in these documents interest was charged at 25 *per cent.*, or that *ana rebûtišu* means 'to its fourth part,' involving an addition of one quarter, there is good reason to doubt the correctness of this view. It may well be that the words mean 'fourfold': which would agree well with the agricultural rate of interest then common, namely one-third *per* month. This is quite in accordance with other penalties for non-fulfilment of contract.

565. For the information of the beginner in cuneiform studies a short summary of the customs and formulae in use in Babylonia may be appended here. A more advanced student will naturally wish to study the works of Professor Oppert, Professor Kohler and Dr Peiser. Professor Oppert gave a very useful summary of results in *Z. A.* XIII. pp. 275 f., Dr Meissner in his *Altbabylonische Privatrecht*, pp. 7-10, gave a useful review of the results for the early times. Dr K. L. Tallqvist, in *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nâ'id's*, analyses the contents of Strassmaier's great works, *Babylonische Texte, Inschriften*

*von Nabonidus* ; *Inscripfen von Nabuchodonosor* ; and *Inscripfen von Cyrus* ; pp. xi, xii. These will serve at any rate for a start on the subject.

Loans of money in the earlier times seem chiefly to have had in view the expenses of harvest. The wages and food for the labourers, harvesters, were usually the destination of the loan. But there were also loans expressly for seed as well as for food ; these were generally in corn, rather than money. Other things were also lent, as sesame, bricks, etc. The money was usually to be repaid at the time of harvest *ana úmê ebûri*. The verb 'to borrow' was clearly *lakû*, literally 'to take.' The verb 'to return' or 'give back' was *apâlu*, or *turru*. The verb 'to be lent,' used of the money, is *îšû*, recalling our *ittiši*. That the sum should be repaid 'in full' is expressed by *ina šalmu u balzu*, which Dr Meissner considers, p. 107, to refer to the bodily and mental condition. He could take *balzu* as for *balatsu*, and then perhaps *balâtu* may have been used for *balâtu*. But I think it possible that *šalmu* and *balâtu* may be used here quite simply in a metaphorical sense, as we say 'safe and sound,' even of inanimate things. Besides, as Dr Meissner notes, the word *baltu* means 'fulness,' and *šalmu* may have a similar meaning. In our documents *šalâmu* means 'to pay,' like *acquietare*.

The lenders in early times were most often priests, so much so that Dr Meissner is justified in saying that almost the whole business of banking was a temple monopoly. The god himself is often said to own the money. This is quite in accordance with our documents ; see § 367. Private bankers or lenders appear but seldom, and I think in nearly every case the loan may be supposed to be made to a tenant of the lender or of the temple.

Dr Meissner concludes that if the loan was for a short time, ten days to a month, it would be without interest. The usual rate of interest was, on small sums, one-sixth, but on a sum as large as a mina or more, it was rather more, one-fifth, or twelve shekels *per* mina *per annum* ; one shekel *per* mina *per* month. The rate on corn was much higher, one-third, which was also the usual share of produce taken by the landlord as rent. It was this rent consideration probably which fixed the rate of interest. In our documents we have seen it to be 30, or 50, *ka per* homer. This suggests that the homer was at least 90 *ka*. In the series of paradigms concerned with legal terms, v. R. 40, 66 a b, we have mention of compound interest, *šibit šibtî*, but Dr Meissner finds no trace of it in actual



contracts. The term for interest is *šibtu*. The term of the loan is sometimes settled by fixing a day for repayment. This is often 'the days of harvest,' and when no day was expressly named, this was probably meant. When the debt was discharged, the tablet, or acknowledgement of debt, was broken.

It is clear that loans on security were recognised, for in II. R. 13, 27 a b, we find that a precedent is laid down for the case where a man 'deposits as a pledge, against the interest of the loan, his house, his field, his garden, his slave, male or female.' The phrase for depositing as a pledge seems to have been *ana manzazâni ušziz*. In the case of restoration, the verb used for bringing back the money was *ubbalu*; then the depositor might 're-enter' his house, *irrub*; 'resume' his field, *izzaz*; 'plant' his garden, *izakap*; 'take' or 'return' his slave, *ubal, itâr*. On the other hand Dr Meissner was unable to find any actual example of a contract concerning a loan on security.

Whether Dr Meissner rightly separated 'deposits' from 'loans on security,' can hardly be decided until we have more examples of these transactions, in which we might have further data. But it seems clear that money, at any rate, might be deposited with a banker to be received back without interest. The phrase for this, given in II. R. 8, 61 c d, ff., was *ana maššarti nadânu, šakânu*. The banker does not seem to have made any charge for taking care of the money, though, as he was liable to be called upon for repayment, his opportunities for profitable investment must have been small.

566. In the later Babylonian times, that is in the Second Babylonian Empire, from the time of Nabopolassar onwards, B.C. 626 to B.C. 485, we meet with a very altered phraseology. But we must not forget that here we have to do more frequently with 'private transactions.' In the business of the courts and temples we can naturally discern survivals of older customs and terms.

Money was frequently lent upon interest. The owner and lender is introduced by *ša*, 'from,' the debtor or borrower by *eli*, or *muhhi*, 'to.' The interest is usually denoted by the ideogram *ĤAR-RA*, occasionally rendered by *hubullu*. The word *šibtu* seems almost entirely to be disused, the examples given by Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 109, note, as occurring at this period, are not very convincing. The rate of interest was almost always 1 shekel *per mina per month*, or 12 shekels *per mina per year*. Occasionally a different rate was

demanded, e.g., on one mina only 8 shekels, in *Nbk.* 54, 68, 69, etc.; and where only interest is named we may think of the usual rate. It is not a little singular that this rate should have remained unaltered for some 3000 years. I believe that in similar private contracts in Assyria the same rate was usual. Our documents do not relate to loans of this stamp.

In most cases these loans were made on security, or with a guarantee. The name for a 'pledge' was *maškanu*. It was the pledge of the lender, his 'security,' what was placed with him, if we derive the word from *šakānu*. The creditor was called *rašû*, written ideographically, *T'UK-û*. A clause is often added to the effect that no other creditor has, nor shall have, power over the pledge, *rašû šanamma ina muḥḥi ul išallat*. The pledge was such that it produced some regular profit to the holder, a house, field, garden, slave, etc. The profit from the pledge was a set-off against the interest due on the loan. We often have the phrase *ḥubulli kaspi iānu, idi bīti iānu*, 'the interest of the money is nothing, the hire of the (pledged) house is nothing.' They mutually cancelled each other. When a garden, or plantation, was pledged, the crop was to be estimated according to the market rate, *adi maḥīri*, of the locality, and the price set against the interest, *akī ḥubulli ilakḫi*. Often this rate of reckoning was stated, as the then current rate. We may therefore reckon in the case of a slave that his services were worth to his master about 12 shekels *per annum* on the average price of a slave. Now the usual *kallu*, or domestic slave, sold for about one mina, hence his services would be worth 12 shekels *per annum*, over and above the cost of his keep. The pledge was 'taken,' *šabtu*; or 'deposited,' *šaknu*.

The money lent, or other loan, was to be returned 'in full,' *ana kaḫḫadišu*. The term *kaḫḫadu*, denoting the 'capital,' or lump sum lent, is often contrasted directly with the interest. The phrase *ina šalmi u balti* does not appear to be now used to denote 'fulness' or 'entirety.' But in the case of the security, it is sometimes stated that all the debtor has, *amelûtsu u šalmušu mala bašû*, in city or country, is the security, *maškanu*. This seems to suggest a different meaning for *šalmu*, 'property' (?). The verb *šalāmu* is used in the sense of 'be paid,' 'satisfied,' 'quieted.' It is the lender of whom it is said that he shall enjoy, *ikkal*, the possession of the pledge, *adi eli ša kaspušu išallimu*, 'until he is repaid his money.'

A very common occurrence is a guarantee. Certain persons,

often relatives of the debtor, are taken as guarantees for the repayment of the sum : *pût eîr ša kaspi našû*. Here *eîru* seems to imply repayment, but may only mean the 'preservation,' 'security,' of the loan. The use of *našû* here bears out the meaning of 'to take,' in the permansive, 'be taken.' Sometimes guarantees are added to the security of the pledge.

The cases in which money is lent, without interest, for a term, generally stated, but subject to interest if not then repaid, are few. We may regard them as due to peculiar relationships between the principal parties.

Loans without any interest, with or without specified term, are very frequent. In these cases pledges and guarantees are usually dispensed with. Many of these cases are simple acknowledgements of indebtedness, without any statement of the reason for that state. They are promissory notes, also bonds.

There are many other cases of contracts concerning advances, loans, etc., which raise other points of extreme interest and importance for the student of ancient institutions, but they seem quite distinct from anything in our documents. They may be studied in Kohler-Peiser, *A. B. R.* The references to the passages, in which the terms referred to above occur, may be found in Tallqvist, *Spr. Nbd.*, under the Babylonian words.

## CHAPTER V.

### LEGAL DECISIONS.

567. A legal decision, as I understand it, was the ruling of some judicial authority, upon some case submitted to him.

The Assyrians themselves called this decision a *dênu*, a 'judgment.' So far from this term being convertible with 'private contract,' or generally applicable to the class of document published in this book, we continually find in them an express stipulation that recourse shall not be had to law-courts, and the seeking or obtaining a *dênu* is expressly excluded.

As we might expect, no general formula runs all through these legal decisions, but each case received the distinct statement which it required. Still some sort of general plan may be perceived and briefly sketched here.

The opening paragraph usually contains the words *dênu ša A ina eli B êmidûni*, or some slight variant of them. In view of the context this can hardly mean anything else than 'the legal decision which *A* laid upon *B*' or 'the award which *A* laid down in the case of *B*.' If we examine the question who *A* is, we shall find his judicial position beyond all doubt. In nos. 164 and 171, he is the *sartênu*, 'president of the court of justice,' Del. *H. W. B.* p. 512 b. In nos. 166 and 169, he is the *hazânu*, the 'chief civil magistrate of the city'; in no. 160, the *hazânu šanû* of Nineveh; in no. 161 (cf. no. 162), he is the *sukallu*; in no. 163, the *amêl TIN*; and in no. 165, the *daianu*, or 'judge.' Each of these officials acted as 'judge,' and gave a decision on the case submitted to him.

The person in favour of whom the award was given is indicated by *šâ* = 'of'; it was his award, he had gained the day; so in nos. 163 and 165.

The person, or object, concerning whom the decision was made is introduced by the preposition *ina eli*, in no. 163.

The person on whom the sentence was imposed is introduced by *ištu*, 'from,' 'at the expense of,' nos. 163, 165; by *ištu libbi*, in no. 160; by *ana*, in no. 164.

In each case, to lay down a decision is expressed by the phrase *dênu êmidu*. The form *êmidûni* is that proper for use in a relative attributive clause, introduced by *šá*. The name of the decision itself, or the document recording it, was *dênu*.

568. The material award itself, whether regarded as 'compensation' or 'fine,' in the form of money or goods, was called *sartu*. Thus, in no. 160, an ox had been stolen, the *dênu* was that an ox should be given in compensation, and this ox was called the *sartu šá alpi šá išruḫûni*, i.e. the *sartu*, or 'equivalent of,' or 'compensation for the ox that he had stolen.' In no. 161, four slaves had been stolen, and the *dênu* was that 210 minas of bronze should be paid for them, and this sum is called the *sartu*. In no. 162, we have a receipt for the sum of 40 minas of bronze, said to be the *sartu šá sukallu êmidûni*, 'the award which the *sukallu* imposed.' Here we see that the same phrase is used for the laying down of the material as of the verbal award; *sartu* takes the place of *dênu*, *sartu* being what one has to pay, if the *dênu* so directs. The meaning of 'fine' goes somewhat further; these were 'damages,' not 'fines.' In no. 167, it appears that Bêl-eṭir ought to have delivered up a slave to Mannu-kî-Arbaili; the decision is that, if this is not done by a certain time, he shall pay the slave's value, *sartišu*. We cannot here say that *sartu* meant 'value,' but as the compensation paid was the same in amount as the value, we see how *sartu* may have exchanged with a term meaning value, in such a context. In no. 169, we have thirty shekels of silver, the usual 'price' of a slave, given as being the *sartu*. In no. 164, a rather obscure case arises. As I read it, 300 sheep, belonging to the king's son, had been farmed out to Ḫanî. He was doubtless bound to return them, either with a proper increase in numbers, or some profit in wool. He would take either a fixed share, or the surplus, as his benefit. The revenue due from him, in addition to the 300 sheep received by him, would in my opinion be the *šibtu*. The compensation due to the owner for any sheep lost, stolen, or strayed, would be their *sartu*; and that would no doubt be their money value. In this case, the sheep appear to have died. At first sight, such a heavy loss seems to

point to a cattle plague, a rinderpest, or the invasion of the enemy. In such cases, one would be astonished to find compensation demanded. The loss was clearly due to culpable negligence, in which the shepherds appear to have shared, as evidently implied by the *dênu*. Each shepherd had to pay two talents of bronze, as his *sartu*. Hanî, and his people, and their fields, were taken as security until he could pay for the three hundred sheep *adi sartišina*. It is obvious that he could not be expected to pay for them, *and* their value, so the wording must mean 'up to their value.'

I have dwelt, somewhat at length, on the meaning of *sartu*, because no one has yet paid the word any attention. Delitzsch was aware of its existence, for under *bennu* 11, *H. W. B.* p. 180 b, he enters the word; but I have been unable to find *sartu* anywhere else. Muss-Arnolt has not yet reached the word. The word occurs elsewhere, especially in the phrase *šibtu bennu ana 100 ûmé, sartu ana kâl šanâte*, discussed in the introduction to the slave sales. In my opinion, here it can only mean, 'equivalent,' 'compensation,' technically 'the award imposed on the defaulter,' and then naturally any composition offered and accepted, even without legal process. It stops short of 'fine,' which assesses a moral injury at a material rate, but no doubt it may have borne that meaning in some cases. All I contend for is that it is not needed here. One may perhaps compare the Talmudic and Targumic שָׂעָר, in the sense of 'taxation,' an estimated price, and Arabic سَعَر = 'taxavit.' This sense survives in our legal phrase 'taxing of costs.' It is tempting to find here a derivation for *sartênu*, as the one who awards the *sartu*.

That *sartu* came to mean what Oppert and Peiser have suggested I cannot peremptorily deny; but such meanings as '*Eintragungs-sportel*' or even '*conditio*' will hardly apply beyond the few cases from which those brilliant thinkers have deduced them.

569. To 'plead before' the judge is expressed by *dabâbu*. This was specially the term for mutual interpleading: to argue the case out is the technical sense of *dabâbu*. The phrases *mimmu itti mimma*, 'one with another,' *itti ahâmeš* 'mutually,' 'each with the opponent,' are frequently used to make the simple meaning 'plead' more explicit. As an oriental plea, like our special pleading, was usually disingenuous, *dabâbu* easily came to mean 'to plot' or 'plan.'

The 'plea' was also called *dênu*. Thus, in no. 163, the case is stated to be the *dênu*, which *A* and *B* pleaded, *idbubûni*, concerning *C*, *A*'s slave. They came before the magistrate, the *amêl TIN*, and

he imposed a fine of one and a half minas of silver; *B* paid one mina of silver to *A*, who apparently was content, and that closed the transaction. The record of it was preserved as an agreement not to reopen the quarrel. This use of *dênu dabâbu* occurs continually in the sale documents to express one form of litigation, that is, to state a case before a judge, and demand his decision. It is, however, only named to be renounced. The document states, there shall be no such action taken. The mere occurrence of the word *dênu* in a document, which expressly bars any such legal decision being sought, and often has the stipulation 'if any one shall perversely try to obtain a *dênu*, he shall not be allowed to succeed,' or 'if he brings an action before the judge, the judge shall not hear him,' so far from establishing the claim of the document to be called a 'legal decision,' goes as far in the direction of denying that claim as one can expect from a writer to whom it would have been inconceivable. The mere presence of the word *dênu* can no more stamp the document as a legal decision than the presence of the word *sartu* would, or the mention of silver constitute it a 'contract for silver.'

If I may be allowed to speculate upon reasons which have never been stated, I should be inclined to suppose that the ending *-âni* or *-anni*, being mistaken for the pronominal suffix of the first person, appended to certain verbs, had caused the confusion. Dr Oppert in his translations has consistently kept to this view. Dr Peiser has as consistently rejected it: and the latter is certainly right. The suffix in question is merely the result of attaching the enclitic *-ni* to the verb, furnished with a final vowel: the double *-nn-* only indicates the length of this final vowel. In the genuine legal decisions, the judge never speaks in the first person. His decision is embodied in the document simply as '*dênu* of *A*, the magistrate,' but he is not referred to again, not even by a personal pronominal suffix.

On these grounds I have reduced the thirty odd legal decisions of the Catalogue to twelve: of which at least two are still doubtful. There are a few other documents which may possibly have been legal decisions, but they lack the characteristic phrases: and may equally well have been private agreements between the parties: such are nos. 57, 94, 153, 154, etc.

The remainder of the tablets called by this name, Catalogue, p. 2001 a, I have placed in the classes to which they seem to belong. In case any one should care at once to examine them, in order to estimate their claim to be treated as legal decisions, they will be

found as nos. 20, 238, 261, 263, 271, 330, 405, 408, 417, 419, 434, 445, 473, 481, 489, 500, 502, 503, 506, 507, 519, 583, 609, 704. I have added to this class nos. 161, 162, 167, 168, 170, 171, which are not regarded in the Catalogue as legal decisions. It is clear that Dr Bezold had an entirely different idea as to what constitutes a legal decision from any which has hitherto been set forth. I do not point out this undefined idea as a mistaken one, but venture to express a hope that one so able may soon enlighten the world as to the grounds of his opinion. It would be a gain, to beginners in Assyriology, at any rate, if some authority would make clear where the line of division between a private contract and a legal decision should be drawn. In default of such pronouncement, I trust the reader will pardon the frequent uncertainty of my attempts at classification. A reviewer of Vol. 1. in the *Athenæum*, with the literary smartness which characterises that Journal, laid his finger on an obvious blemish when he said that 'the various classes of texts are not well distinguished.' It would be a real boon to future workers at the subject if that reviewer or some expert could be induced to publish some guiding principles for the purpose.

570. 'To go before' the magistrate is expressed by *ina pâni karâbu*. In no. 163, we have *ina pâni iktarbu*; in no. 161, perhaps the form *uktarribšu* was written, though the sign for *uk* looks more like that for *Ninûa*, in which case we may render, 'he, the plaintiff, caused the defendant to come before the judge.' In no. 160, we find the thief unable to pay his fine, and he comes before the judge again, *iktarbu*, and is 'held,' *šabit*, till the fine be paid. So too in the Old Babylonian contracts *kurruûu* is the technical term for 'to bring before the judge': Meissner, *A. B. P. R.*, p. 125.

Another way of regarding the decision suggests itself at once. The decision, having once been given, in favour of *A* against *B*, was regarded as the *dênu ša A ištu libbi B*, 'the decision for *A* at expense of *B*.' With this form it is that no. 160 begins.

Professor Oppert says, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 272, *Über das gerichtliche Verfahren in Ninere wissen wir sehr wenig. Auch in Babylon sind unter den Tausenden von Rechtsdocumenten die processualen Urkunden höchst selten; doch wissen wir, namentlich schon aus ältester Zeit, dass eine Zeugenaufnahme stattfand, und namentlich der Urkundenbeweis mit allen Untersuchungen und Nachforschungen in Archiven und Privateigenthum statthaft war. Wir haben nun einige Richtersprüche, die aber einen*



*privaten Charakter zu haben scheinen; sie haben nicht das solenne Aussehn der babylonischen Entscheidungen. Leicht zu verstehen sind sie nicht.* On the whole class he remarks p. 275: *wirklich klar dargelegte Thatbestandangaben, wie in den babylonischen Texten finden sich leider in den ninivitischen Urkunden nicht.*

*Abstracts of nos. 160-161.*

571. No. 160. Complete. Brown.

The decision which Nabû-šar-ušur, the *aba*, (obtained) against Aḥu-lâmašši, son of Dilil-Ištar, of the city of Šabiri-êdi, an *irrišu*, through Aḥu-uḫur, son of Akkullanu, the *râb* *HAR-BI* of the *RAB-BI-LUL*, concerning the value of a bull, which Aḥu-lâmašši stole from the house of Nabû-šar-ušur. They came before Nabû-zêr-kêniš-lîšir, the *ḥazânu*, *šanû* of Nineveh. One bull, the equivalent of the bull which he stole, he imposed on Aḥu-lâmašši. In lieu of his fine, he was taken. On the day that he shall have made good the value of the bull, he shall go free. Dated the 12th of Ulûlu, Ep. G. Twelve witnesses.

The date is quoted *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

Extracts from it are given *S. A. V.* 28, 81, 257, 335, 341, 740, 1169, 1299, 1836, 1860, 1863, 1933, 1975, 2006, 2350, 3089, 3761, 3922, 3923, 3924, 3926, 4724, 4822, 5077, 5582, 5768, 5787, 5867, 7344, 7443, 7445, 7691, 7978, 8043, 8425; and by S. A. Smith, *Keilsch. Texte*, II. p. 32.

Oppert has given the entire text, in transcription and translation, in *Doc. Jur.* p. 215 ff. The description given in the Catalogue would prove very misleading to a beginner. Although the tablet is complete, and the writing well preserved, and beautifully written; yet in several places the scribe wrote one character over another, and makes some mistakes. In line 11, he wrote *la* twice in the name Aḥu-lâmašši. In line 4 of rev., after the name Parutâni, a vertical wedge appears which can have no meaning there. In line 5, the words *amêl irrišu šá amêl irrišu šá amêl sartinnu* clearly preserve an erroneous repetition.

Many of Strassmaier's readings differ widely from mine, yet I believe they must be wrong. Oppert's readings seem equally corrupt, and in my opinion the tablet is very hard to read, and difficult to copy. I do not pretend to have escaped error, but I hope to have obtained an intelligible text.

In line 1, Oppert correctly gave Nabû-šar-ušur as the name of the *aba*. My reading is undoubtedly wrong, as line 7 shews clearly. But the sign *pa* is strangely made.

Oppert here rendered *aba*, which he read *milu*, by *vir doctor*, or *docteur*. *Denu* he rendered *causa*, or *procès*, which is vaguely right, *decision* is exact.

In line 2, *ištu lib* he rendered by *ex*, or supplying a verb, *a soulevé contre*. His fine instinct always led him right when he had a good text. This phrase expresses the fact that an award having been made, its execution was due from the defendant.

Oppert read the name Našir-la-mas-si, which is unlikely, when we compare Abu-lâmašši.

In line 3, the end of the city name, Oppert read as *-su*.

In line 4 Oppert read *nisu sa sun-kur U-gur-ru* in place of *amêl irrišu šá kâtâ Aḥu-uḫur*. It is easy to see how each mistake arose and each mistake is a comment on the 'beauty' of the writing. The meaning of *šá kâtâ* here I take to be that Nabû-šar-ušur acted, in this suit, by his agent Aḥu-uḫur.

In line 5, *nisu rabu ḥarbi* Oppert rendered *magister gladii, homme d'armes* and *gal bi-lul* as *magister eunuchorum*. There is always reverence due to the early efforts at translation, even when no reasons are set forth, but one gets a little tired of every obscure official being dubbed either priest or eunuch.

In line 6, Oppert read *ina eli šarti sa alap zi-kar*: but he made no attempt to render the phrase in Latin; in the French he gave, *un taureau pour la saillie* (?); and at the end of the line, he unaccountably read *ma-as* in place of *maš*.

In line 7, he read the verb *is-tal-ḫu-u*, and rendered *abstulit*. That my reading is correct is shewn by Del. *H. W. B.* p. 692 a, *sub voc. šarâḫu* II.

In line 8, Oppert read the name Nabu-mu-naz-ziz instead of Nabû-zêr-kêniš-lišir: there is much to be said in favour of his reading. For *ḥazânu* he read *ḥa-ša-nu*, but rendered *hazan*.

In line 9, he read *II-û*, *sansu*, and for *iḫtarbu* has *igtarbu* which he left unrendered.

In line 10, for *sartu* he read *šar-tuv*, and gave no rendering in Latin, but in the French had *taureau de saillie*, for some part of this line: he read the rest of it as *sa alap zikar sa is-sin-u-ni*.

In line 11, he read *emid* as I do, but did not render it, nor the words *kum šarti-su*.

In line 12, he read *sabit du me sa alap zikar u-se-rab-a-ni*, for which the Latin gives only *confirmatio bovis*. I do not quite know if any of the French rendering applies to this line. That *ṣabit* means 'was seized' is clear enough, and it almost certainly applies to Aḥu-lâmašši, but whether he was committed to prison, or held by the plaintiff as bondman, is less certain. I think the latter more probable, and that when by the value of his work he had paid off the value of the ox, he would be free.

In line 1, of lower edge, Oppert read *uša* and rendered *eduxit*. It is clearly not 'he shall cause to go forth,' but the preterite used in the conditional clause for what we should replace by a future.

In line 2, Oppert read the second name as *Amar-Istar*; whether he read the sign *Amar* for *ŠI-LAL*, or read *ŠI-LAL* by *Amar* I hardly know: I read Lâmur-Ištar, or Êmur-Ištar.

In rev. 2, Oppert read the first name Istar-na-i-dat. It is quite an open question, whether Ištar-nâ'id is not as correct. He then gave the second name as *Ak-ri-tur-la-si-mu*, evidently reading *tur* in place of *amel*.

In line 3, the first name is given as *Ani-idin*; whether *KUR*, *PAP*, was misread, or whether Oppert read it *Anu*, does not appear. After Bêl-šum-êreš, which he read *Bel-mu-essis*, he only gave *maru asis sa*, evidently not being able to make out the name Laḳipu.

In line 4, I have given a vertical wedge before *mâr*; it may be only a scratch on the tablet. *S. A. V.* 740 gives it as I do, only he shades the wedge before Arzizi. He gives also *la* for *PIN*.

In line 5, Oppert gave *nisu asis sa nisu asis sa nisu dur tin ni*, evidently reading the same signs as I do, only replacing *sar* by *dur*. He did not render this line. *S. A. V.* 740 gives *li* for *sar*.

In line 6, he gave *II* after *LIB*: the scribe wrote *LIB* with four verticals, as is often done. Oppert read *di*, in place of *pi-i*, at end of the line.

In line 7, he read the first name, *Nabu-yuballit-ani*, and then, of the name Tabnî he only gave *i*.

In line 8, for *ia* he gave *šu*; perhaps he read *ši* for *ia*: for the title *damḳar*, he gave *nir kar*.

In line 9, at end, he read *tur* for *amêl*, and left *ŠÚ-I* unread.

In line 10, the first name he gave as *Assur-lu-ba-lit*, for Ašur-naballit, and for Šumma-ilâni he read *Sa-mu-nu-ya-tu-ni*, which he very naturally identified with Esmun-yaton. It is clear that he went

on, from line 10, into line 11. He read the end of line 11, as *nap paḥ ḥurus*, but gave no rendering; *S. A. V.* 1863 gives *na* clearly.

In line 12, he gave *Sa-la-ba-lit-aḥu-nu*, for Šala-belit-šunu; and *Istar-dairat*, for Ištar-dûri: the title he read *nisu mat sa*.

The last *aba* he rendered by *praeses*, and *président*.

The whole transaction he called a '*Procès relatif à des Bestiaux*.' As by *procès* he probably meant a 'legal proceeding,' it is clear that he regarded this as a legal decision.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 275, says, *ein anderes längeres Document (the above) habe ich schon (Doc. Jur. p. 215) ubersetzt: ich behalte mir seine richtige Erklärung vor.*

572. The name of the plaintiff in this action has already been discussed in § 523; that of the defendant, Aḥu-lâmašši, in § 467; that of the judge, Nabû-zêr-kêniš-lîšir, in § 496.

The name of the defendant's father, Dilil-Ištar, was borne by a witness, Ep. C, on no. 641; by a witness and son of Puṭi-Mâu, Ep. S, on no. 311; by witnesses on nos. 260, 463; and by a *bêl narkabti*, on no. 860, l. 23. The name of his city, Šabiri-êdi, only occurs here, but is suggestively like that of Supuri-êditi, in § 507.

The name of the agent, who appeared for Nabû-šar-ušur in this action, Aḥu-uḫur, was that of a slave sold, B.C. 730, on no. 195; of a neighbour, B.C. 687, on no. 624; of a serf *adi nišēšu*, on no. 661. On the reading of the second element as *uḫur*, see § 409. That Nabû-šar-ušur appears by an agent, suggests either high rank, great age, or less likely, absence from Nineveh. The agent was clearly a distinguished person.

The name of the agent's father, Akkullanu, was borne by a witness on no. 342, and is that of a very frequently occurring writer to the king in the time of Sargon, and probably of Sennacherib also. His name occurs in the letters, K 14, 17, 122, 604, 691, 694, 747, 939 a, 979, 1007, 1242, 1304, 1396, 1406, 1428, 13176; Rm. 69, 208; 80-7-19, 36, 147; 82-5-22, 1763; 83-1-18, 61, 191, 228; Bu. 89-4-26, 159; Bu. 91-5-9, 63. An estate of his is named on no. 775.

The name of the Eponym I read Mušallim-Ašur, Ep. G. He also dated nos. 173, 250, whence we learn that he was *šaknu* of Aliḫi. This was the name also of a seller, son of Itu'ai, B.C. 734, on no. 415; of the father of Aplai, on no. 363; and occurs on no. 626.

Among the witnesses, we have already discussed the name of

Mannu-kî-Ninûa, in § 474; Nabû-erba in § 467; Nabû-šar-ušur in § 523.

The father of the first witness was called Lâmur-Ištar, or Êmur-Ištar, but only occurs here. The city of Bît Hurabî, or, as it is written, in rev. line 6, Bît Hurapî, only occurs here. The name of the second witness, which I read Ištar-nâ'id, was borne by a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 186; by a witness, of the city Kurai, on no. 500; by a seller, on no. 388; by a witness, on no. 532; by a *râb kišir*, on no. 857, I. 32; by the father of Ašur-aplu-lišir, on no. 1040; and occurs in the letters, Sm. 1942; 82-5-22, 128; 83-1-18, 20, 24. That it is not necessary to read Ištar-nâ'idat is shewn by K 8530, where we have the form *AN-XV-na'-id*. His father, Akrû, bears the name of a borrower and *aba*, on no. 171; of a witness, *BI-LUL* and Ninevite, on no. 464; of a witness and *râb kišir ša šêpâ*, on no. 235; of a witness and *šalšu*, on no. 396; of witnesses on nos. 228, 259; of a neighbour, in the time of Sin-šar-iškun, Z. A. XI. p. 47; of an *irrišu*, with his people, in the city Irinniḥ, on no. 742, R 21. Ištar-nâ'id was a *lasimu* of Nineveh.

The name of the third witness, Aḥu-iddin, or Aḥiddin, was borne by a witness B.C. 687, on no. 624; by a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 374; by a serf, with his people, on no. 661; by an *irrišu*, with his people, in the city Bît Urbiru, on no. 742, 4; by another *irrišu*, with his people, in Narkabâte, on no. 742, 1; by a person, associated with several slaves or serfs, on no. 811, 2; by a person named on no. 713; and occurs as a specimen name, App. I, XI. 33. He was the son of Bêl-šum-êreš, who is only mentioned here. He is said to be an *irrišu* of Laḫipu. Laḫipu was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 761, III. R. I, IV. 9; of a witness, Ep. O, on no. 163; of a borrower, B.C. 676, on no. 11; of a witness and *ša šêpâ*, on no. 604; of the father of Abit-papaḫi, on no. 650; of a *mutir pûti*, on no. 857, II. 45; of a serf, with his people, on no. 743, R 6; as an *amêl LUL*, on no. 847, R 3. The forms Laḫip, and Lakipu occur in later Babylonian texts, S. A. V. 261, 4700.

The name of the fourth witness, Parutânu, only occurs here. I believe the scribe meant to indicate that he was the son of Arzizu, for whose name see § 556. He was an *irrišu* of the *Sartênu*. All these first four witnesses were 'from,' *ištu libbi*, the city Bît Hurapî. The probability is that it was in this city, or the neighbouring district, that the theft took place.

The name of the next witness, written *AN-PA-LAL-a-ni*, I read

Nabû-turšâni. It also occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 682, on no. 21; and in the letters K 4271; Rm. II. 464. Compare the specimen name, *AN-PA-tur-ša-an-ni*, App. I, I. 40. He was son of Tabnî. This name was that of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 710, on no. 234; of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 679, on no. 164; of a writer to the *aba mâti*, very likely the plaintiff in this case, in K 175; occurs as writer of enquiries of the Šamaš oracle, *G. A. S.*, nos. 48, 55, 108, 124, 145; and in the letters 81-2-4, 407; 83-1-18, 73. Here his son is an *aba*.

The next witness bears the singular name Ištar-paia, only found here. He was a *tamkaru*. The next witness, Nabû-erba, was son of Ištar-šum-iddin, and a *gallabu*. This name was discussed in § 468. The name of the next witness, Ašur-naballiṭ, only occurs here. The reading of this name has greatly puzzled me. Possibly the sign *na* is a badly written *BAT-tú*, to be read *mîtu*, and the whole name would then read, Ašur-mîtu-uballiṭ, 'Ašur makes the dead to live.' But we may compare the name Ašur-natkil, borne by the Eponym, B.C. 872, III. R. I, I. 39; by a witness, B.C. 717, on no. 391; by a witness and *mukîl apâti* of the Crown Prince, on no. 260; by the *râb kišir* of Adinnu, in K 1303. He was the son of Šumma-ilâni, whose name is discussed in § 467. His title *amêl ši-pir* is perhaps for *apil šipri*, 'messenger.'

The name of the next witness, Abkallipi, only occurs here. He was the son of Samûnu-iatûni, in which we of course recognise the Phoenician Eshmûn-iatôn. Another compound of Eshmûn is Samûnu-aplu-iddin, occurring in the Harran Census. I am inclined also to recognise it in the name Samnu-ḥa..., in K 658, 13030: and in Samnu-ḥuna, in Sm. 1201. Assyrian scribes were perhaps not familiar with this divine name. In the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre, published by Winckler, *A. F.* II. 10, K 3500, line 14, we have the form Iasumunu, associated with Milkartu. Our witness was a goldsmith.

The name of the next witness may be read Šala-beltišunu, which only occurs here. We may compare the name *Ša-la-EN-šu-nu*, in the Harran Census, which was perhaps read the same way. Compounds of Šala are rare in our documents, although the goddess was known to the Assyrians and had a place in the Pantheon of Assyrian kings and is common enough in Babylonian names of the Hammurabi period. She was the consort of Adad. This witness was the son of Ištar-dûri, who is discussed in § 486. This witness

was an *amêl KUR-GAR-RA*. The next witness, already discussed, see above, was a *daialu*. We have also discussed the name of the last witness, Nabû-turşâni, above. He was an *aba*, probably scribe of the tablet, and son of Dadai. The latter name was borne by a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 359; by a buyer, B.C. 676, on no. 256; by a buyer, in Ep. W, on no. 221. The very similar name *Da-da-a* was borne by a seller, Ep. F, on no. 361; and occurs in the letters, K 4789, 5291, 5606; 82-5-22, 105.

The names of the witnesses are throughout followed by those of their fathers, a usage which points to a private contract proper. It does not appear that the royal family had any standing in this transaction. The Nabû-šar-ušur, here acting as plaintiff, is an *aba*, and may well be the *aba mâti*, who acts as Ep. E. That a document recording a judgment in favour of Nabû-šar-ušur should find its way into the palace archives at Kouyunjik requires explanation. I believe the case was this. In no. 646, we find that in B.C. 655, Ašurbânipal executed a deed of gift in favour of Nabû-šar-ušur, the *rabšakê*, who had been a faithful servant of the king, from his childhood, till he came to the throne. One of the concessions made by the king was that Nabû-šar-ušur should continue 'to walk in peace in the midst of the king's palace.' Obviously, from that time, Nabû-šar-ušur was a permanent resident at the court, and his business documents would naturally find a place with those of the royal household. That he resigned the title of Rabshakeh and became *aba mâti* might easily be the case. The military post would be taken by some other, probably younger, man. That there were more than one of the same name is rendered certain, however, by line 1 of rev. edge, where another appears as witness, holding the office of *daialu*.

The career of the old general is difficult to trace owing to the uncertainty as to whether we are always dealing with the same person. There can hardly have been another *rabšakê* of the same name, so we are justified in saying that he was in command of the army of Ašurbânipal against the Mannai, the Urbi and the Gambuli. He may also be the *rab-mugi* sent by the same king against the Ikkalu. In no. 853, a person of this name appears to be *râb kišir* and *rabšakê*. So that as *râb kišir*, first of the king's son, then of the king himself, we can trace him back, till we find him engaged with Ummaḥaldašu, Nabû-bêl-šumâte and Šamaš-šum-ukîn. The publication of the letters by Harper will doubtless still further clear up

an interesting history and perhaps lead to his identification with the Eponym of B.C. 682, *šaknu* of Marḳasi.

573. No. 161. Complete. Red.

Nabû-utarrîš, the slave of Šapânu, seals the document. Four souls, slaves of Šangû-Ištar, he stole. Into the presence of the *sukallu* he caused him to approach. Two hundred and ten minas of silver he imposed upon him (as damages). In lieu of the damages the bronze, *ta-si*, he has given. Whoever shall pay the two hundred and ten minas of bronze to Šangû-Ištar, he will release his slave. Whoever shall withdraw from this agreement, Ašur and Šamaš shall be the advocates of his cause; ten minas of silver, and ten minas of gold, he shall place in the treasury of Bêlit. Dated, the 10th of Addaru, B.C. 678. Eleven witnesses.

The date is quoted *S. A. V.* 4822.

The tablet is described in the *Guide*, p. 177, no. 54.

The Catalogue says it is a 'private contract concerning the sale of four slaves.'

The *Guide* says it is 'the mortgaging of four slaves for 210 mana of copper, by Sangu-Istar to Zapanu, whose servant, Nabû-tariš, represents Zapanu in the contract.'

In line 2, the *araḥ* at the beginning of the line is clearly for *ardu*. In line 4, the sign before *tar* is certainly *uḫ* in my opinion, though what is left looks more like part of Ninûa. What the *ta-si*, at end of line 6 means, I do not know; it may be some ideogram not entered in Brünnow. One might expect *ardušu*, only that one slave could hardly have been accepted as security for four. Still that appears, from line 9, to have been actually the case.

In spite of the authoritative statements quoted above, I venture to consider the transaction a legal decision. The facts that the plaintiff 'brought him before the magistrate,' *ina pâni amêl sukalli uḫtarribšu*; that that official imposed an award, *etemissu*, 'laid it upon him'; and that it was in lieu of a *sartu* that he gave over his slave to Šangû-Ištar, to work out the amount due; all go to shew we have the same sort of transaction as in no. 160.

In line 14, the office of the witness is difficult to read owing to the tablet having received a blow; the *ša* is certain, and the *meš* at end. After *ša* may be *muḫ tar*. Then we must read *ša eli sukâni*, 'who is over the streets.' I think it is better to read *ša ši*



*di-tar-meš*, 'who is over the judges.' Perhaps, however, *me-ḫal* is right, and then I do not know how to read it at all.

The singular thing here is, that neither of the principals, nor the judge, seals the document. Whether Nabû-utarrîš, who seals the tablet as slave of Šapânu, was the thief, or only the slave pledged for the payment of the fine, does not appear from the concise statement. The name Nabû-utarrîš was borne by a witness and *ša šépâ*, B.C. 688, on no. 400; by a witness and *rakbu šarri*, B.C. 663, on no. 309; by a witness and *rakbu šarri*, Ep. Q, on no. 308; by a witness, Ep. F, on no. 621; by a witness and *rakbu* of the Crown Prince, on no. 312; by a witness and *rakbu šarri*, on no. 211; by a *râb kišir*, on no. 675; by the Eponym of B.C. 722, III. R. 1, v. 3; and occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, v. 8. The name of the master Šapanu, as I read it, only occurs here. On one side it suggests a likeness to the frequent Zâbinu, discussed in § 465. But it also recalls Šabânu, the name of a witness and *râb kišir*, B.C. 684, on no. 230; of a witness and *nâgîru*, B.C. 682, on no. 215; of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404; of a *sukallu* in Bar-ḫalzi, on no. 675. A name spelt *Šab-ba-a-nu*, said to be of Ḫarran, on no. 922, 7, is very likely the same. The fact that the first witness is an *aba* of the *sukallu*, makes me think that our man was that *sukallu* of Bar-ḫalzi, named in no. 675. The master was therefore very likely absent from Nineveh, and presumably Nabû-utarrîš represented him as steward.

The name of the plaintiff in the action, which I have read Šangû-Ištar, was discussed in § 408. Professor Jensen points out to me that it could be read Ritti-Ištar, 'Hand of Ištar.' The verbs are of some interest for their forms, *issiriḫ*, *uḫtarib*, *etemid*, *ittidin*. What we are to understand by *tasi* I do not know. If a verb *âsû*, with a meaning 'to bind,' really exists, see *H. W. B.* p. 107 b, we may perhaps suppose *tasi* means 'a bond.' Then *tasi ittidin* would mean 'he has given a bond.' That Ašur and Šamaš are said to be *bêl dēnešu*, in line 10, means that these gods are invoked to avenge the wrong. We shall return to these oaths or imprecations when we consider the sanctions of deeds of sale. The usual spelling *di-e-ni* here seems to have been intended, but the scribe writes *di-ni-e*, I think in error. In line 11, the scribe wrote *AZAG-ḪI*, for *AZAG-GI*: an obvious error which I corrected in my text. I believe he also wrote *SE-an* at the end of the line, but erased it, as it would be redundant. We shall return to the penalties paid for breach of

contract in the chapter on Deeds of Sale. We only need note here that the scribe regarded this as embodying an agreement to pay the *sartu*, which the *sukallu* imposed.

The name of the first witness, Nabû-eṭir, was borne also by a witness and *aba*, B.C. 692, on no. 33; by two witnesses, B.C. 670, on no. 266; by the father of Ramân-rapâ, on no. 325; by a witness, on no. 375; by the father of Tabnêa, grandfather of Marduk-šum-ibni, on no. 889, 3; occurs in Sm. 1341; 80-7-19, 43; as a specimen name, App. I, III. 32; and in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5746. In these cases it is spelt as here, *AN-PA-KAR-ir*. We have the form *AN-PA-KAR*, on no. 246, as the name of a slave. The form *AN-PA-ŠUR* occurs as a specimen name, App. I, III. 33. The form *AN-AK-KAR-ir* occurs in K 1156, 3899; 79-7-8, 153; 82-5-22, 105; 83-1-18, 77. Lastly *AN-AK-ŠUR* is the name of the father of Ina-êši-eṭir, B.C. 648, on K 433; and occurs in K 87, 7541.

The name of the second witness, written *IK-ŠI-AN*, I read Ibašši-ilu, but perhaps it may be read Ittabši-ilu. It only occurs here. As remarked above his office is entirely uncertain, but he was some official connected with Kalah. This city, the ancient Calah, 𐎶𐎵𐎶, Χάλα, the modern Nimroud, 20 miles S. of Nineveh, is frequently mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions, and letters. It was the residence of the kings, from the time of Shalmaneser I., who claimed to be its founder, down to Sargon. When Sennacherib bent all his energies to securing the supremacy of Nineveh, the old residence fell into some neglect. Esarhaddon, who in many respects departed from his father's policy, erected a palace there for himself, and later still Ašur-etil-ilâni resided there. The history of the town in the Sargonide period is in some obscurity, and it would take too long to combine the scattered references here. I shall content myself now with the occurrences in our documents. The city god was Ninip. In B.C. 709, Beltî was *aba* of the *bêl paḥâti*; Kurdi-Adadi was *aba* of the *êkallu maḥirtu* there at the same date, see *S. A. V.* 4071. The various *šaknûte* and *bêl paḥâti* will be found in § 180, p. 136: see nos. 248, 415, 56, 225, 640, 641, 676, 310, 465, 391, 500, 612, 642, 662, 392, 257, 477, 493, 626.

The name of the third witness, Mêsu, occurs as that of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 684, on nos. 19 and 20; as that of the *bêl paḥâti* of Arbela, on no. 854, 11. The variant Mîsu occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 11; of a witness on no. 288; of the *bêl*

*paḥâti* of Arbela, on no. 853, 7; and in the Harran Census. The name of the next witness, Nabû-li', written as here *AN-PA-DA*, only occurs elsewhere as a specimen name, App. I, II. 53. A variant of the name, *AN-PA-ID-GÂL*, is a specimen name, App. I, II. 52; is borne by a *šakû* on K 114; and occurs in K 1177, 4775, 8750. Another variant, *AN-PA-ZU*, occurs as a specimen name, App. I, II. 51; as the name of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 612; of a seller, B.C. 674, on no. 383; as the name of the Eponym, *šaknu* of Arbela, III. R. I, v. 22, dating no. 365; in K 181, as the name of a *bêl paḥâti* of Ḥaḥṣu, named by Sennacherib to Sargon; as that of the father of Nabû-kâšir, grandfather of Bêl-aḥu-iddin, on no. 889, R 7; of a *muṭir pûti*, in Bu. 91-5-9, 183. A variant *AN-PA-li* is the name of a *šaknu* of the Crown Prince, on no. 815, II. 4. The variant *AN-AK-DA* is common in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5738.

The name of the next witness, which I read Azi-ilu, was that of a *šaknu* of Laḳê, in the time of Ašurnâsirpal, I. R. 19, 89; I. R. 24, 30, 38, 45; of a witness, B.C. 673, on no. 431; of witnesses on nos. 288, 500; and of a *bêl paḥâti* of the city Tarîm-Dagan (?), on no. 904, IV. 3. A variant, *A-zi-lu*, occurs in I. R. 24, 45. The name perhaps contains the element 𐤀𐤂 seen in many Aramaic names, *N. E.* p. 338. Whether it has any connection with Ḥazael seems doubtful.

The name Nabû-killâni was also borne by a witness and *šakû*, on no. 386; and occurs in K 13137, and the Harran Census. The next name, Šâidu, only occurs here; perhaps we may take it to be *šâidu*, 'hunter.' The next name I read Kabtî; it also occurs as a specimen name, App. I, x. 16. A variant, *Kab-ti-i*, was the name of a *dupšar* of the king, in 81-2-4, 113; of an *aba*, servant of Ašur-udanin-aplu, son of Shalmaneser, in Bu. 89-4-26, 16.

We have discussed the name of the Eponym in § 488; Šêpâ-Ašur in § 524. The two last witnesses bear the name of Bâni-Aa, or perhaps Tabni-Aa, or Ibni-Aa. The name does not occur elsewhere. The first was son of Bêl-šar-ibni, whose name we discussed in § 526. A comparison with the traces of the name on no. 256, R 3, makes me doubtful whether we ought to read *AN-a-a* in that place; I now think ...*na-a-a* is better. Hence it is likely that the name really is Banai. The father of the second was Nabû-aplu-iddin, which name was discussed in § 492.

574. No. 162. Complete. Drab.

Forty minas of bronze, *kaḫḫadu*, the *sartu* which the *sukallu* imposed. Paid to the *šakintu*. Dated, the 10th of Addaru, B.C. 693. Four witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89; *Hist. Senn.* p. 15.

The full text is published III. R. 47, no. 8.

A transliteration and translation are given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 173 f.; and by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 116 f.

The document is not a legal decision, but the characteristic phrase *sartu ša amēl sukallu êmidûni* stamps it as closely connected. The *šakintu*, a lady of high rank, doubtless a peeress of the rank of the *šaknu*, who like him usually took her title from the city she governed, has been party to a lawsuit before the *sukallu*. She has won the day and forty minas of bronze are awarded her as 'damages.' This document may be her receipt for the payment, or a copy of her demand for payment, or a note from the judge notifying his award. As a rule, *ina pâni* marks the person who has received money. All uncertainty which we feel must have been absent from those who sent and received this message.

In the edition in III. R., the first sign of line 2 appears to be meant for *amēl*, and the first sign, in line 3, for *šá*. It would be very interesting to know what the editor of that edition thought his text meant. An *amēl ubtu* or *artu* is unique, as far as I know, and what he could have made of *šá me du u ni* I cannot even guess.

Oppert reads the first line *XL ma-na urudu ris*, and renders, *Quadraginta minae aeris operarii*, or *quarante mines de cuivre (de première qualité?)*. It is difficult to suppose that *kaḫḫadu* here means 'capital'; Peiser's rendering '*Summe*' seems very safe: but to me always seems superfluous. Why should a sum of money be stated to be a 'sum'? What would be the sense of a sum of money which was not a sum? Here *kaḫḫadu* may bear the meaning 'in full,' 'without rebate,' as it clearly does in several places; but a good rendering, which would suit all contexts, is yet to be found.

In line 2, Oppert reads *nisu up-par ša nisu kiselu (luḥ)* which he renders *vir,.....viri scriptoris*, and *créance de.....le chef des.....*. He evidently could not make any sense of lines 3 and 4. Peiser reads (*amēlu*) *ub-tu ša (amīlu) sukalli ša mī illiku-u-ni [ina pâni (?)]* (*amīltu*) *ša-ki-in-ti*; and renders, *des..... Beamten des Boden, welcher zum Wasser (?) gegangen ist, [im Besitz (?)] der Statthalterin*. This was a most ingenious turn; he takes *me* as possibly meaning 'by water,' and *du-u-ni* as meant for some part of the verb *alâku*, of

which *DU* is the ideogram. The *ina pâni* is clearly on the tablet though now defaced, and *im Besitz* is an admirable rendering of it, as is *Statthalterin* of *šakintu*.

In line 5, Oppert reads the name Bin-mi, Bin being one of his early readings of *Ilu-IM*, now usually read *Rammân*. However *Rammân-mi* would be just as incorrect. Peiser correctly gives *Ilu-imme*. For the meaning of *immu* in personal names see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 85. The second witness Oppert read as Bin-kit-ni, following III. R., which wrongly gives *kit* for *dan*. Peiser correctly gave *Ilu-udanni*. The last witness, Oppert gives as *La-lik-ni-ilu*, Peiser as *La-taš-ni-ilu*. It is really *Latubašâni-ilu*.

In my register of registration marks I wrongly ascribed to Strassmaier the publication of part of the text: therefore in Vol. I. p. xviii, under K 370, del. S.

The Catalogue calls this a 'private contract'; Oppert a '*Créance*'; Peiser very correctly '*Anerkennung über eine Summe*.'

Bezold, *Lit.* p. 158, C 4, calls this *Darlehensurkunde, ohne näheren Angaben*.

The name of the first witness, *Ilu-imme*, was borne by a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 273; by a witness, on no. 397; by an *irrišu*, with his people, in *Asilhi*, no. 742, 22. It was also the name of a king of *Šallai*, I. R. 24, 59, with a variant *Ilu-im-im*. The name *Ilu-udanni* also occurs as a specimen name, App. 3, II. 27; and seems to be the same as *Ilu-udanâni*, father of *Bêl-šum-iddin*, on no. 307. We have discussed *Nabû-aḫu-ušur* in § 520; *Latubašâni-ilu* in § 480; the Eponym, *Ilu-kîa*, in § 520.

575. No. 163. Complete. Red.

The lawsuit which *Ašur-šallim* pleaded with *Šalmu-aḫê*, concerning *Šulmu-êreš*, the slave of *Ašur-šallim*. They came before *Šêpâ-šarri*, the *amêl TIN*. One mina and a half the *amêl TIN* imposed as damages. *Šalmu-aḫê* gave one mina of silver to *Ašur-šallim*. Whoever shall dispute with the other shall pay to *Ašur*, his god, the advocate of his cause, ten minas of silver. Dated, the month of *Du'uzu*, Ep. O. Six witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

The tablet is described in the *Guide*, p. 173, no. 33.

In line 2, the first character may be *TA*, which one would expect rather than *ša*. The quarrel was about *Ašur-šallim*'s slave, *Šulmu-êreš*; what *Šalmu-aḫê* had done to him we do not know; he may

have killed him, or stolen him. The award was three times the value of a slave of the ordinary sort, and the plaintiff was content to take less, namely only double the amount for which he could buy a slave.

The *amêl TIN*, before whom the case was brought, is rather an obscure official. The meanings given in Brünnow, *haiṭu* and *muttaggišu*, do not seem to suggest legal functions. It may be an abbreviated ideogram for *sartênu*: or the scribe may have omitted *SAR*. In rev. line 2, the scribe apparently wrote the name of the defendant as Šulmu-aḥê, but in obv. 2 quite certainly Šalmu-aḥê. I believe he tried to erase the *di*, and to write *ni* over it and so left indistinct traces. Whether 'the image of his brothers' is a possible Assyrian name, I doubt, but there was a god Šalmu, whose name occurs in the Eponym's name Šalmu-šar-iḫbi. Šalmu-aḥê would then be like Bêl-aḥê. What the full name was seems uncertain. The whole subject of Assyrian personal names seems still to need elucidation; an Assyrian scribe may have been able to read them at a glance, but I fancy even he was sometimes puzzled, unless he knew the bearers personally.

Rev. 4 reads *mannu ana mannišunu iparikûni*; as only two are concerned we may render, 'whichever of them shall dispute with the other.'

In line 5, it is a question whether *Ašur AN ŠU* is to be read *Ašur ilušu*, Ašur, his god, or '*Ašur, Marduk*'; the appeal is generally to two or more gods, but Ašur occupied such a unique position, that we may imagine him named alone.

In line 6, the scribe started to write line 5 again, and then erased all except *dini-šu*, which by itself has no meaning. The erasure however left these words clearly legible. The scribe has omitted *ši* before the witnesses' names, in rev. 10 and L. E. 1.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 272, gives a translation of this. He takes *amêl DIN* as 'a judge.'

In no. 153, we saw that Ašur-šallim, or Êdušallim, if he was the same person, deposited a slave with Gabbu-kaṭâ-ili in B.C. 663. In this case, we may here have a suit against Šalmu-aḥê, to recover a similarly lent or deposited slave. It is certain we have to do with a different holder of the deposit, and a different slave, but the depositor may be the same, and we then have some suggestion of a parallel case.

The name Ašur-šallim has been partly discussed in § 480; it was borne by a witness and son of Birtai, Ep. U, on no. 526; by a

buyer, on no. 487; by the father of Idâte-Bêl-alaka, Adadi-šar-ušur and Šarru-šum-ukîn, on no. 266. The name Šalmu-aḫê, written as here, occurs as that of a buyer, on no. 217; the variant, *AN-NU-PAP-MEŠ*, as that of a buyer and *ša šêpâ*, Ep. C, on no. 373; the variant, *NU-PAP-MEŠ*, as that of a witness and *rakbu*, Ep. B, on no. 207; of a witness, Ep. ψ, on no. 351; and as in charge of a troop of 1400 men, on no. 855, 15. The name of the slave Šulmu-êreš has been considered in § 562.

The name of the judge, Šêpâ-šarri, as I read it, was borne by the Eponym, B.C. 837, III. R. 1, II. 28; by the Eponym of B.C. 802, *šaknu* of Našibîna, III. R. 1, III. 16; and by a witness, B.C. 648, on no. 147. If we are to read Šêpâ-Šamaš, the name would be the same as that of the Eponym, B.C. 792, *šaknu* of Isana, III. R. 1, III. 26; and a specimen name, App. 1, VII. 19.

The name of the Eponym, Ašur-gimil-tirri, occurs in the date on no. 640, where he is said to be a *tukultu rabû*: and on no. 16. On nos. 853, I. 2; 854, 7; K 176, 578, he is named as *tukultu*. The variants which occur are *ÁŠ-ŠUR-gi-mil-tir-ri*, *ÁŠ-ŠUR-ŠÚ-GUR-ra*, and *AN-ĤI-ŠÚ-GUR-ra*, the latter in 82-5-22, 166. The name of the first witness, Nabû-aḫ-ušur, is considered in § 520; Išdi-Nabû, in § 521; Lakipu, in § 572; Nabûa, in § 486. The name Ilkisu only occurs here.

**576.** No. 164. Complete. Drab.

The decision of the *sartênu* which he laid on Ḥanî. Three hundred sheep, *adi sartišina*, belonging to the king's son, were entrusted to Ḥanî, *BAD-MEŠ* of the shepherd. Each person, two talents of bronze is his *sartu*. Ḥanî and his people and his fields, in lieu of the three hundred sheep, or their *sartu*, and in lieu of the *BAD-MEŠ* of the shepherds, are their *sartu* (?). Whoever shall demand him, whether his *šaknu*, or his *râb kišir*, or any one that shall demand him, shall give three hundred sheep or their *sartu*, the *BAD-MEŠ* of the shepherds, each person, two talents of bronze for the persons, and then Ḥanî shall go free, the *ĤAR-RU-ili* he shall return. Dated, the 27th of Šabâtu, B.C. 679. Four witnesses.

There are several great difficulties in this text, and they can only be set out as clearly as possible. The general nature of the transaction is clear enough.

Ḥanî had received three hundred sheep, belonging to the king's

son: they are said to have been *ina pâni Hanî*. This we know, from former cases, to mean that he had to return them uninjured, with a proper amount of increase or produce. If he lost them, he would have to replace them, or pay their *sartu*. He did apparently lose them, and as a consequence was taken as security with his fields and his people. On payment of the three hundred sheep, or their *sartu*, he would be released.

The first difficulty arises in the expression *BAD-MEŠ*. I have tried again and again to get another reading, but, although not certain, it is the best I can make of it. Now the *BAD-MEŠ* of a shepherd, or the shepherds, may mean their 'crooks,' for *BAD* = *huṭāru*, a 'shepherd's crook.' Surely these were of no great value. *LU-BAD* means a 'ram' or 'sheep': it is not likely these were meant. Then *amēl BAD* means a 'body,' especially a 'corpse.' Had Hanî slain the shepherds? It looks like it. Then, for each slain man, two talents of bronze is to be his *sartu*. Two talents of bronze = 72 shekels of silver, at the reckoning that silver was worth 100 times the same weight of bronze. This is rather a high price for a shepherd; at any rate an ordinary slave cost only 30 shekels. In no. 163, however, we saw that the *sartu* for a slave was fixed at 90 shekels, so this may be the meaning after all. We are not told how much Hanî had to pay for the lot, nor how many shepherds he had to compound for. As Brünnow gives some forty meanings for *BAD*, there is a wide field for speculation.

I put it forth as my conclusion, that Hanî had slain the shepherds and either appropriated the sheep, or sold them. This case was decided at the end of B.C. 679. Esarhaddon had not long been crowned: affairs at the beginning of the year were too unsettled to suppose that the title of king's son was borne by Ašurbânipal, even if he was then born. The king's son must have been Esarhaddon himself, or one of his brothers. Hanî then probably took advantage of the disputed succession to enrich himself at Esarhaddon's expense. Affairs must have looked pretty desperate for Esarhaddon at the time, or his farmer would hardly have ventured on such a course. Doubtless he made away with the shepherds, as inconvenient witnesses: but he had probably to reckon with some such document as our nos. 118-121 recording his receipt of the sheep. This speculation of mine is given for what it is worth.

In line 6, a superfluous vertical wedge follows *šu*: at any rate I can see no reasons for it.



In line 8, the use of *-šina* indicates that the sheep were *ewes*, doubtless farmed for breeding purposes.

In line 9, the *ku* at beginning is a difficulty. After puzzling over it a long time I can suggest nothing better than that it is meant for *kûm*: it is hardly a determinative of 'clothing,' indicating 'fleeces' here.

In line 10, *NA-ŠI-NA* is a great difficulty. *NA* may be = *amêlu*, but what could be *amêlu-ši-na*? No part of the verb *našû* would admit of an ending *-na*. I have imagined *NA* to be the ideogram for *sartu*, but even then we should expect *-šunu* in place of *šina*, unless the *BAD-MEŠ* are feminine.

In rev. line 5, *šá amêlûti* may not be the right way to read the signs. The *šá* probably means 'for'; it is possible that *ti* means *balâtu*, and the phrase 'for the life of the person.' This seems less likely.

In line 6, *ḥarru ili* can hardly mean the 'ring of the god': *ḤAR-RA-AN* means *darâgu*, *ḥarrânu*, *metêku*, *urḫu*. Can this phrase be read *ḥarrâna itura* 'he shall return the way he came,' i.e. 'go his way'? It would be a fit addition to 'he shall go free.' Unfortunately the scribe has not written *ḤAR-RA-AN* but *ḤAR-RU-AN*. I do not know what that means. The *RU* may possibly be read *SA*.

The sense of *adi* here must be 'to the extent of,' not 'with.' For the sheep would hardly be returned 'along with' their estimated value. It must be a payment made 'in lieu' of them, 'up to' their full value. The payment of three hundred sheep of ordinary quality would doubtless be accepted, so I have rendered freely by '300 sheep or their *sartu*.'

Professor Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 272 f., translates this document. He takes *sartu* here, as usually he does, to mean *Zubehör*, or *accessorium*. He says the three hundred sheep and their belongings *ist die Forderung des Mannes des Königs an Ḥani, die verpfändet sind an den Avil Agû*. There is no verb corresponding to *ist*; I believe the trust was in the past. The name *Avil-Agu* is not in the text. I suppose *BAD-MEŠ* is somehow to be connected with 'pledges,' but I cannot see how. In line 5, Dr Oppert renders, *Ein Sklave 2 Talente Bronze ist das Accessorium*. In line 9, he reads *ku-ê*, and renders the line, *die Eigentumsstücke des Avil Agu garantiren für Alles*. He takes *ḤAR-RU-AN itura* as *sein Weg zurückgehn*. Dr Oppert's unhappy introduction of the

man *Avil Agu* has put him on the wrong track and vitiates all his reasonings. It is merely 'a shepherd.'

In the Babylonian Contracts *BAD-MEŠ* is used of the 'carcases of sheep.' Here I take it, the bodies of the dead 'shepherds' are meant, i.e. their persons are to be paid for. But also *amêl BAD* is used in early Babylonian texts to mean 'a serf,' see Scheil, *D. P.* p. 8, note 3.

The name *Ḥanî* also occurs as that of a servant of the *bêl paḥâti* of *Ḥaurîna*, on no. 922, l. 3, and in the *Ḥarran Census*. It is like *Ḥa-an-ni-i*, the name of a witness, Ep. D, on no. 39; and *Ḥa-a-ni*, in III. R. 7, l. 42, king of *Sama'al*. The name of the first witness, *Tabnî*, is already discussed in § 572; *Šalmu-šar-iḳbi*, in § 467; the Eponym *Danânu*, in § 480. *Šamaš-napištu-iddin*, the third witness, does not occur elsewhere; nor does *Amsî*, with which we may perhaps compare the Aramaic משי.

577. No. 165. A fragment from the left-hand side. Red.

The decision, for *Rim-an(?)*... against *Malgagîr(?)*, which *Pašî*, the judge, laid down, concerning the people of the former. People for people (he shall restore). A break follows. So many minas of silver he shall give. Dated, the 17th of some month, Ep. Q. Eighteen witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

This is clearly a legal decision. *Malgagîr*, or whatever his name was, must have stolen, or slain, or otherwise caused the loss of, the plaintiff's slaves, or 'people,' which may include 'family.' The judge awards a restitution, 'man for man.' Then doubtless came the stipulation that, whoever should repudiate the settlement, should pay a fine. The number of witnesses is unusually large.

The Eponym, *Šalmu-šar-iḳbi*, has been already discussed in § 467; the name of the first witness, *Rîmâni-îlu*, in § 473; of the third witness, *Ardi-Ištar*, in § 474; *Iaḥuṭu*, the fifth witness, in § 517; *Nabû-zêr-iddin*, in § 467; *Šumma-ilâni*, in § 467.

The name of the second witness, *Marduk-êreš*, was also borne by a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 127; by a witness and *musarkis*, on no. 261; by the father of the seller, on no. 431; by an *aba*, in Bu. 91-5-9, 157; occurs on no. 878, 1; and as a specimen name, App. 1, v. 25. *Nêrgal-šallim* occurs as the name of a *bêl paḥâti*, on no. 873, 7; on no. 906, 3; in the letter K 527, and in later Babylonian texts, v. R. 67, 43 a. *Silim-Adadi* was the name of a

witness, *ḫēpu* and servant of the *bēl paḫāti* of Kallū, B.C. 714, on no. 248; of a seller, and son of Nabû-riḫtu-uṣur, on no. 307; occurs on no. 852, l. 11; as a slave sold, on no. 429. Šulmu-aḫê-šu only occurs here, but may simply be a longer form of Šulmu-aḫê, discussed in § 470. After the name here the scribe has written a vertical wedge, which I have omitted. Possibly, therefore, *Ardi* is the beginning of a fresh name, or the vertical is an error. The next name, spelt *Pa-ru-ḫi*, is probably the genitive of Paruṫu, the name of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 285; of the seller on no. 428. The next name is not very certain, it may be Bēl-Harran-šadûa, discussed in § 553, but the traces are not decisive. Dunuzu only occurs here; we may compare *AD-NU-ZU* the ideographic writing of Abu-ul-îdi, only it is not easy to see how *DU* would be read here. Manzazu-ul-îdi, 'a standing place he has not known,' may be thought of. The next name, like those in lines 6, R. E. 1, has been destroyed.

It is not easy to say whether what I give, in the first line of the left-hand edge, is really all the name. Ninip-iddina only occurs here, though Ninip-iddin was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 758, *šaknu* of Kurban, III. R. 1, IV. 12. If the name was really written *AN-MAŠ-MAŠ-SE-na*, we should read Nêrgal-iddina. Nêrgal-iddina, spelt, however, *AN-U-GUR-SE-na*, was the name of a slave sold, on no. 261; and spelt *AN-U-GUR-MU*, occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6337. I do not know how to restore the next name, which ended in *dûri*. The name in l. 4 can hardly be Erkiti, the first sign may have been *AN-EN*, written with the ligature. But a name *Bēl-KI-TI* does not seem likely. The name Kitini, in no. 2, as the name of a buyer, suggests that Kiti, or *KI-TI*, may be an element in proper names. Can it be an abbreviation of Kittî? Even then Bēl-kittî would be unusual. The last name may be Huzina, or Rizina, and only occurs here: it is somewhat uncertain.

**578.** No. 166. Complete. Brown.

The decision which Nabû-aḫê-iddin, the *ḫazānu*, laid down. In the month Tebētu, Adadi-riṣûa shall come, beside his handmaid Šulmu-nâ'id he shall stand. If he do not come, maid for maid shall Šulmu-nâ'id give. Nabû-aḫ-iddin is *bēl-ḫâtāti* for Šulmu-nâ'id, until the first of Tebētu. If he do not give the maid, maid for maid Nabû-aḫ-iddin will give to Kanûnu. Dated, the 18th of some month, Ep. S. Five witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

The tablet is described in the *Guide*, p. 178, no. 63.

The case appears to be this. Adadi-rišûa, being absent from home, has left his affairs in the hands of the woman Šulmu-nâ'id, who was summoned by Kanûnu to surrender custody of some maid, whom he claimed. It is possible, but not likely, that he claimed Šulmu-nâ'id herself. She, at any rate, resists the claim, but Kanûnu seems to have made it clear that he had a right to some maid. Šulmu-nâ'id is therefore allowed till the 1st of Țebêtu for her master to return and support her contention. Meantime Nabû-aḥ-iddin will go bail for her that if her master does not return, she will satisfy Kanûnu's claim, which would probably be established completely, by default of the counter-evidence. Nabû-aḥ-iddin further undertakes that if the master Adadi-rišûa does not restore a maid to Kanûnu, he will do so himself. I am not sure if Nabû-aḥ-iddin, who goes bail for the woman, is the same person as Nabû-aḥê-iddin, the *ḥazânu* who laid down the decision. The names are slightly different, and in line 1 there is some doubt of the last character; the *ḥazan's* name may be Nabû-aḥê-ušur.

Whether Šulmu-nâ'id was a concubine of Adadi-rišûa, we cannot be sure: she is not called his wife. As the date is mutilated we cannot tell how long was allowed for the absentee to return. A similar case of a woman's administering a household for an absent master occurs in the letter K 1274.

In line 2, the scribe has written a horizontal wedge before *amêl*. What it implies I do not know, perhaps he was going to write *ina pâni* and remembered that Nabû-aḥê-iddin was the *ḥazânu*, before whom the case came; so he added that fact, and then went on without erasing *ina*.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 273, translates this. He does not recognise *ina kutal* but thinks I have written it for *ina kumu*. He considers Nabû-aḥê-iddin as different from Nabû-aḥ-iddin. He thinks the case rather obscure. On p. 274 he gives also a transliteration with the remark, *jeder kann sich nun selbst eine Meinung bilden*.

The name of the judge, if it really is Nabû-aḥê-iddin, has been discussed in § 499; Adadi-rišûa only occurs here. Šulmu-nâ'id, as a woman's name, only occurs here, but is a specimen masculine name, App. 1, xi. 16. Whether the ideogram here is best read *nâ'id*, or by some other part of the verb, does not appear. The

name of the claimant Kanûnu only occurs here; I connect it with Kannunai, which was discussed in § 407.

Ašur-šallim-šunu, or perhaps Ašur-mušallim-šunu, the name of the first witness, only occurs here. Mannu-lû-šulmu, however, is the name of a witness, on no. 259; and of a seller, on no. 532. Mannu-kî-ili was the name of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 44; of a witness, Ep. A, on no. 325; and occurs in the Harran Census. Banîtu was the name of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 307; and of a witness, on no. 557. It is not likely to be the same as the name Ilu-banîtu, borne by a slave, on no. 249.

The name Nâ'id-Marduk is common. A very prominent person, who bore the name, was son of Merodach Baladan II., and brother of Nabû-zêr-napišti-lišir. He seems to have been named, I. R. 45, II. 35; K 112, 1009, 1355, 1459, 1973, 2905; 83-I-18, 21, 65; 48-7-20, 116; III. R. 15, II. 20. A scribe, or owner of the tablet, bears this name on 81-7-27, 205, with the singular spelling *Na-ah-id-AN-AMAR-UD*. The Eponym, Marduk-šar-ušur, has already been discussed in § 510.

579. No. 167. Complete. Red.

A line is lost at the commencement possibly, though the text makes sense as it stands.

If, at the beginning of the month, Bêl-eṭir do not bring Gabbu-Adadi and give him to Mannu-kî-Arbaili, he shall give his *sartu* and be quit. Dated, the 10th of Šabâtu, B.C. 675. Seven witnesses.

Although this may be a private contract, as the Catalogue says it is, yet the uncertainty about the first line and the style of its contents leave it open to doubt. It is very like a legal decision.

Here *šalâmu* appears to bear its primitive meaning 'to be quiet,' hence in II. 1, 'to content,' 'to satisfy demands,' and therefore, according to context, 'to pay.' Compare mediaeval Latin 'acquiescere,' and its derivatives and cognates.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 275, translates this. He reads *la-a naša* by *la arašu*, and renders *ohne Zwang*. He misread *idanšu* in line 6, as *tartansu*, which of course spoils his view of the whole thing. He could not find *die strittige Sache* and has to say, *der Thatbestand des Processus ist uns unbekannt*.

The name of the defendant, Bêl-eṭir, was borne by a son of Nabû-šum-êreš, and brother of Sin-nâ'id, who played a somewhat important rôle at Babylon, see Peiser, *M. V. A. G.* 98 p. 241 f.; he

is referred to III. R. 33, VI. 30; V. R. 3, 62; K 176, 1610, 13135; D. T. 301, Rm. II. 14; 80-7-19, 362; 81-2-4, 70; 81-7-27, 20; 82-5-22, 129, 153. Another person very likely appears as a correspondent of the king, probably Ašurbânipal, as a 'son of Ibai,' in K 1351, 3102. A *šaḫû* of this name appears in the letter K 154. As father of Sa'kap, the name occurs in K 79. On K 433, in B.C. 648, this is the name of the father of Bêl-zêr. On no. 889, 15, *Bêl-e-ṭi-ra* seems to be a clan name. It is a specimen name, App. 3, 1. 19. It is frequent in later Babylonian texts, see V. R. 36, 2; 67, 52 b, 48 c, 8 a: *S. A. V.* 1135. The slave Gabbu-Adadi bears a name only found here. Mannu-kî-Arbaili is discussed in § 413.

The Eponym, Banbâ, was the Eponym of B.C. 676, and *sukallu šanû*, in the 5th year of Esarhaddon, III. R. 1, VI. 5. The name is also written Bambâ, and may be a *Lall* name from Asia Minor, see Kretschmer, *E. G. G. S.* p. 336. He dates nos. 11, 37, 40, 167, 175, 256, 502 and is named in K 9821.

The name of the first witness, Nabû-eṭirâni is discussed in § 468; Aḫu-abû in § 475; Milki-Aa in § 513.

Abûnu, 'our father,' only occurs here. The name, in reverse line 3, is probably meant for Musalame, compare *Mu-sa-la-mu*, the father of Iṣbuṭu, on no. 182. Bamû only occurs here, compare Bammâ, in 81-2-4, 452. The next name may be read Kabar-ili, Kapar-ili, Kamas-ili, etc., according to the value we take for the second sign. It was the name of a *mutir pûti ša šēpâ šarri*, Ep.  $\pi$ , on no. 177; of an *irrišu*, with his people, in Aliḫi, on no. 742, 23; also a *NU-kirî*, with his people, in Irinniḫ, no. 742, R 23.

580. No. 168. Portions only are preserved. Drab.

In the first line we have *sukallu sartin*. This must be the official who pronounced the decision, either the *sukallu* of the *sartênu*, or perhaps the *sukallu*, acting as *sartênu*. In line 2, the sign *bar* does not suggest anything, but perhaps is the end of a name. In line 3, we have the very characteristic word *êmidûni*. In line 4, we have the form *ilika*, which probably implies that the plaintiff 'came' before the judge. In line 5, some homers of land are mentioned, and the verb *utame*, or *utâšib*, II. 2, of *ašâbu*, follows. At least it may be a verb; but what it could mean in this connection I do not know. In the next line we read *šâ Silim-Ašur*, *šâ Aḫûai*, but what these persons have to do in the case does not appear. They, or the land in dispute, seem to have been in the

city *TIS-UD*; then follow some characters, from which I can get no sense, *TA-TE-A-HU-KAK-RIM*.

Line 8 seems clear, *šulmu ina birtišunu, mimmu mimma lâ idabub*, 'there shall be peace between them, neither shall plead against other.' Then follows simply, 'whoever shall dispute, whether it be the king's son, or an advocate of his, shall pay' so much silver, and something shall be returned to its owner. The date is lost. There are traces of perhaps a dozen witnesses.

The name of the city written *TIS-UD* occurs also in nos. 23, 228 and 385. I have ventured to read it Anatu: cf. Anat, Ašurn. III. 15, 16: *ina kabal Purattu*. It seems, from no. 385, to have been near Šašillai.

The traces given in most cases are very uncertain. In lower edge, line 2, perhaps the last two signs are *mi-ti*, but that seems very obscure. I can make nothing of reverse 3, except that there was a ditto sign at the end. The name in line 4 may well have been Aḫûa, the name of a slave sold, B.C. 682, on no. 276; and of the father of Aširê, on no. 446; and on no. 899, I. 31, as in Karenabis. In line 8, after *E* appears to be *di*, then another sign before *ilu*. Perhaps it was *E-ti-ir-ilu*, compare Eṭir-ilu, a specimen name, App. I, VIII. 9.

The occurrences of Silim-Ašur are given, § 488. Aḫûai is a singular form; but for the *u*, we might read Nâsir-Aa, but Aḫû-Aa seems unlikely. However read, this name also occurs, as that of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 382; of a slave sold, B.C. 682, on no. 276.

The Crown Prince appears to have been a party to the suit. The way in which the term *bêl dîni* is here used goes far to shew that the professional advocate was known in Assyrian law-courts. As the *bêl nîkê* is the offerer, so the *bêl dîni* is certainly one who brings, or conducts a suit. So too when the gods are called on to be the *bêl dîni* of one who is wronged, 'advocate' seems the most appropriate rendering. The *bêl dîni* was not 'the judge,' who was *daianu*, but the one who pleaded the case.

Of the witnesses, Mannu-kî-Arbaili has been dealt with in § 413; Aḫi-dûri, in § 470; Ašur-šar-ušur in § 505.

The second name, in reverse line 6, which I read Nûr-Šamaš, might of course be read Šâb-Šamaš. It was the name of a witness and goldsmith, on no. 345; of a witness, Ep. A, on no. 2; of a witness, Ep. F', on no. 307; of a seller, on no. 343; occurs on no. 830, 4; as a specimen name, App. I, XI. 22; and in later Babylonian texts,

*S. A. V.* 6461. The Eponym was very likely Gir-Şapunu, see § 554. On the left-hand edge, the name appears to be simply Šar-ušur, which would be of some importance as a witness to the possibility of Shareser as a proper name. Unfortunately the signs before it are not so certain as I give them. Ašur or Ilu may have preceded them.

581. No. 169. Left-hand upper corner. Dark red.

The decision which Lute'u, the *ḫazānu*, laid down. Thirty shekels of silver is the *sartu* for the maidservant of.... The date is lost, but there are traces of four witnesses.

The end of line 2 retains the beginning of *ēmidūni*, and line 3 part of *sartu*.

The Catalogue regards it as a legal decision, concerning Lute'u, but this seems to be incorrect. He acted in a judicial capacity. His name occurs, on no. 339, as that of a seller. The name *Lu-tu-u* occurs on Rm. II. 464. The name of the third witness began with *I-ši*, which has no parallel, as far as I know. The name of the fourth witness, Išdi-Nabû, is discussed in § 521.

582. No. 170. The left half. Drab.

In line 1, the commencement of *dēnu*; in line 2, *šá*, probably followed by the name of a magistrate; in line 3, *ēmidū(ni)*; all point clearly to a legal decision. It appears to concern four shekels, which Gab... had lent to Ilu...; and the decision was that on the fourth of the month the defendant should give the money and satisfy the demands of the plaintiff. If not, the sum should increase by half a shekel. The date is lost. There seem to have been six witnesses. Seal impressions are evident on the lower edge.

The Catalogue calls it a 'private contract.'

It is of course impossible to restore the names of the parties, or of the first three witnesses. Nabû-zêr-iddin has been discussed in § 467. I now see that there was more than *u* at the end of the next name, it was therefore certainly Rîmâni-Ištar, not Rimâni-Adadi, as given in § 467. This name also occurs as that of a seller, on no. 439; and of a *bêl narkabti* on no. 857, II. 12. Au-idri only occurs here. If we read *A-U* as an ideogram, as Professor Jensen suggests, we might have here Ben-Hadad-idri.

583. No. 171. The lower half. Drab.

The commencement is lost: but, when it begins to be intelligible, we find that Ẹurbû-ušur had lent Akri, the *aba*, four minas of silver.



The *dênu*, which the *sartênu* laid down, was that he should pay the money in Âbu, and, if not, the money should bear interest at 25 *per cent*. The date is lost, but there are traces of perhaps four witnesses.

There is some doubt, owing to its fragmentary nature, about the meaning of this document. It is possible that, in line 4, *ina pâni* introduces not the name of the debtor but of the judicial authority. If so, he was probably *aba* of the *sartênu*. A comparison of the preceding cases, however, leads me to combine *ša sartênu êmidûni*. At the end of line 2, of lower edge, there is hardly room for all that I give as a restoration.

I fancy that, in line 2 of obverse, the first few characters contain a female name ending in *-tabni*. The name in line 3 can hardly be Pappû-uşur. I venture to read it, Kurbû-uşur, but I know of no parallel to either. Akrû has been discussed in § 572.

The name of the first witness, Atâ, only occurs here: but *A-ta* was the name of the prefect of Arzizu, in the time of Aşur-nâşir-pal, I. R. 21, 73. We may also compare *Atu*, in the Harran Census; *A-te'*, a witness, Ep. F, on no. 307; *A-ti-i*, father of Išdi-Bêlit, on no. 307. The latter seems to be the same person as Adî, a witness and *mukîl apâti*, on no. 260; a witness and *tamkaru*, Ep. A', on no. 414; also on no. 312; a slave sold, on no. 249; a witness, on no. 249; named on no. 349. We may also note *Adu'*, the name of a witness, B.C. 675, on no. 175. But Adî is almost certainly the same person as Idî, a witness, from Kiš, B.C. 663, on no. 309; a witness and *tamkaru*, Ep. A, on nos. 318, 325, 623; the same, in Ep. Q, on no. 308; the same, on no. 344. I must confess that this variable name puzzles me. The forms may not be all variants of the one name, but although someone else may discriminate between them, I am quite unable to do so. This witness was a *bêl âli* of the city of the goldsmiths, which occurs again in no. 415. I believe it was the 'Goldsmiths' quarter' in Nineveh.

The next witness, Šarru-nâ'id, is discussed in § 492. He was apparently a *kalbu šipiriti*: as was also the next witness, from Hûbaba, Aplîa. For this name see § 518. The remains of the next name may perhaps be restored Ninip-ukîn, which has no parallel in our documents. Whether *dur-êkalli* is part of the name of a person, or place, or whether it is complete, does not clearly appear. There was room for another short name, or a title, before it.

## CHAPTER VI.

### DEEDS OF SALE IN GENERAL.

584. In order to avoid endless repetition it is necessary to group together some general observations on the deeds of sale which are perfectly distinct in character from all the other documents in this work. With but few exceptions the shape of the tablets containing them is the same and quite unlike the loan-tablets, the corn-tablets, or the deeds of gift. At the same time they differ considerably in size, and are of varied thickness. The writing is usually across the tablet parallel to its shorter side. The number of lines contained on the tablet is far from uniform, but the spacing of the words and phrases is very regular. A glance at the glossary will shew how often the same word will be found in the same line of a text. Constant practice in writing the same formulae can only account for such close correspondence in the mechanical arrangement of a document. One might even be tempted to suppose that deeds of sale were kept ready written with spaces left for the names and necessary details to be filled in on occasion. The way in which a short name is often spread out, and a long one crammed up; or in which what would have filled a whole line is often written over the edge; the frequent occurrence of the determinative for a witness without any name following it; and, finally, the fact that often a name or numeral or other variable detail has perished while the body of the document continues clearly preserved, all lend support to this conjecture. On the other hand no instance occurs where the details are filled in by a different hand from the body of the document. It may be that the scribe having received instructions to prepare a deed of sale went with three or four copies ready drawn up and filled in the details in the presence of the contracting parties. The clay would then have partially set and the subsequent writing be less durable.

Many of the phrases, which occur in the deeds of sale, occur also in the mortgages and in charters, etc. It seems desirable rather to take note of them in this chapter than to recapitulate in two or three places.

585. The deed of sale may be considered to have consisted of three portions: the preamble, the body of the document, and the attestation. However this division may strike modern lawyers, it was recognised by the Assyrian scribe in a marked manner. The three portions are generally divided from each other by lines ruled across the tablet.

586. The first division of a deed of sale contains a sort of preamble or introduction. It does not set forth a complete abstract of the document, for it omits to name the purchaser. It is calculated, however, to legally establish the consent of the seller and his solemn declaration of it by his seal. It implies an exhibition of his title. It indicates in general terms the nature of the property made over, and forms a perfectly distinct paragraph from the rest of the document.

This is all accomplished in a very concise and pregnant manner. Suppose for example *A* sells *B* a house (*bîtu*). The document would open with the words, *kunuk A bîl bîti tadanni*, 'the seal of *A*, legitimate owner of the house sold.' Then would follow the impression of his seal.

Each word here deserves to be carefully considered. The Assyrian name for a seal was *kunukku*: this is always in these documents represented by the ideogram *TAK-ŠID*. There is no doubt whatever that the seal impressed was that of the seller. Not only does the document expressly say so, but no trace exists in these documents of any one else having ever sealed the document. The scribe certainly did not, nor the witnesses<sup>1</sup>. The usage may have been entirely different in early Babylonian times and perhaps was so in later Babylonian times. One may well conjecture that when a deed was executed in duplicate each party would take a copy and that the copy held by each bore the other's seal. If so, none of the documents in this collection are sellers' copies, for each bears the seller's seal. When there were more than one seller, each seller's name is preceded in this way by *kunukku*: or for *kunukku* a sign of repetition is written.

What has been said is subject to the reservation that the declara-

<sup>1</sup> Dr Bezold, Cat. p. 538, K 3493, says the tablet bears the "impressions of the seals of the witnesses."

tion of the seller's consent was not always made by a seal-mark. Some men apparently did not possess a seal or it was not forthcoming when wanted. Often instead of a seal they impressed a nail, probably the thumb nail. So they 'made their mark.' That this was done in lieu of setting a seal is generally stated expressly in the words, *kûm kunukkišu şupurşu iškun*, in place of his seal he has impressed his nail. Then instead of the formula first quoted we have the words *şupur A bêl bâti tadanni*, the nailmark of A the legitimate owner of the house sold. When there were more than one who impressed this nailmark we have the sentence in the plural, *kûm kunukkişunu şupurşunu iškunu*. Once, in no. 415, *TAK-ŞID-MEŞ* is written, and once we read the names of the sellers in this sentence, thus *kûm kunukkişunu H. and S. şupar-şunu iškunu*, no. 473. This declaration *kûm kunukkišu* is often omitted and *şupur A* is written alone; see nos. 191, 259, 412 etc.

Sometimes one seller impressed his seal and another his nailmark on the same tablet.

587. Very many tablets contain the above verbal statements that the seller has sealed the deed without preserving any trace of a seal impression or nailmark. A blank space is then left below the first paragraph as if for these impressions, but in not a few cases this space is so narrow that no seal could ever have been impressed without damaging the writing. In Babylonian tablets the impression of seals often does partially obliterate the writing of the document; but no such case occurs in this collection. This usage may support the conjecture that the deed was drawn up before the details were inserted. It may have been the case however that the mere verbal statement was legally sufficient without an actual impression of the seal. Such tablets may possibly contain a draft of a deed never legally executed, but then I think they would not be likely to bear the date nor the names of the witnesses, as these do. A more probable suggestion is that such tablets contain copies of the deeds, kept perhaps by the scribe or notary, while the actually sealed copies remained in the hands of the contracting parties. This would also account for the presence of duplicates in the palace archives; one copy belonging to the court official making the purchase, the other to the court scribe who drew up the agreement. This would further explain the epithet so often applied to the scribe, *şâbit duppi*, 'holder of the tablet' or, once at least, *şâbit dannât şuatu*, 'holder of this agreement.'

588. The sealmark, or the nailmark which takes its place, establishes the consent of the owner of the property about to be transferred. His identity is usually rendered beyond question by the addition of his titles, his parentage or in the case of aliens his nationality. That he was really entitled to sell was naturally an important question for the buyer, who may be presumed to have satisfied himself on the point before closing the bargain. The document, however, distinctly and unequivocally states the fact, by using of the seller the important word *bêl*. As in the historical documents *bêl kussi* signifies *legitimate possessor of the throne*, so here the words *bêl bitî* mean more than 'master of the house,' they imply the right to sell it, and form a stereotyped addition to his name and titles, without which an Assyrian judge would doubtless have considered the document invalid. It is of importance to bear this in mind, for in this connection *bêl* is so constantly used that no text has preserved the passage without it.

The word which immediately follows *bêl* is the designation of the property; and therefore gives the clue to the whole transaction. When we read *bêl bitî*, we need read no further to know we are dealing with the transfer of a 'house.' If we find the seller called *bêl êkli*, in the line before the seals, we know that the transaction is a transfer of a *field*. An observance of this rule is the sure guide to a correct classification of the properties sold or leased or mortgaged. Once we have settled that we are dealing with a sale, if the line before the seal space be preserved, we need have no doubt as to what is being sold. The detailed specification of the property, which follows in the body of the document, may be lengthy, obscure, or ambiguous, but with this key we know at least what the Assyrian scribe considered the property to be. For example, no. 383 has in the line before the seal the unmistakeable words *bêl êkli tadanni* 'legitimate owner of the field transferred.' The detailed specification of the property may begin with the words *Bit X imer êkli*, and we may be tempted to render, *a house and X homers of land*, but as there is no house named in the preamble, we must render *a parcel of X homers of land*. So even though the scribe has in no. 415 placed the names of the sellers below the nailmarks instead of above them, when he calls them collectively *bêl êklê* he cannot mean 'surveyors of land'; but 'legitimate owners of the fields sold.'

The use of *bêl* in this connection is so fixed, that the word

<sup>1</sup> See Cat. p. 1637, Rm. II. 19.

generally undergoes no change, even where *bél* in the sense of 'lord' would be grammatically impossible. If there were several sellers the formula *kunuk A* is repeated for each of them, each seller separately impressing his seal or nailmark. In some cases, to judge by the seal-impressions, one man sealed for the party or all used the same seal. But seal or no seal, one or many, the line before reads only *bél*. Whether the sellers were regarded as a corporate unity in ownership, or the formula was too fixed to be affected by the plural sense; this is the common usage. In a few cases the plural *bêlê* is correctly given<sup>1</sup>. The usual spelling is replaced by *be-ili* in no. 286: but even a lady is styled *bél* in no. 217.

589. Finally, the transfer of ownership is expressed by *tadanni*. No matter what the nature of the property, be it masculine or feminine, singular or plural, it is always said to be *tadanni*. This word, then, cannot be a verb, but must be a noun in apposition with the name of the property sold. Taking a verb form, one must render it variously *sold*, *leased* or *mortgaged*, according to the nature of the transaction. The only rendering that would cover all these meanings seems to be 'transferred.' *Given* is inadmissible (even if the root be *nadânu* to give) because except in an Oriental sense (of an ἀντίδωρον) it is not a gift. The use of a noun would be rather awkward in English, *owner of the house the purchase* would be fairly literal; 'the grant' is a legal term, but English usage demands a participle here. The general sense of the phrase then is *legitimate owner of the property granted*. In the case of real property the term used in English deeds is 'conveyed,' and as that seems to fit the sense well enough for ordinary purposes I shall use it as a rule. The various ways of writing the word will be found under *tadanni* in the glossary. In the glossary will also, I hope, be found every place entered, in which *kunukku* is written. The places where *kunukku* occurs in the phrase *kum kunukkišu şupurşu işkun* are entered separately. The word *şupru* is entered by itself, where it occurs alone, then are entered the places where it occurs in this phrase. The word *işkun* is entered under *şakânu*, its proper verb root: and the cases furnished by this phrase are there distinguished. The abbreviation I adopt for the preamble is *P*; *K* denotes that a seal is either said to be impressed or is actually on the tablet: *Ş* denotes that a nailmark is either said to be impressed or is actually on the

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 202, 246, 299, 616.

tablet. Of course *P* is not used of a tablet where the preamble is lost, although it may be certain that it was originally on the tablet.

590. The second division follows the seal-space, and even when the seals or nailmarks are absent, is marked off by a line drawn across the tablet. In a few cases, however, the preamble extends beyond the seal-space and then there is no division line between it and the body of the document. In some of these cases it looks as if the scribe had allowed three or four lines for his preamble and drawn the division lines above and below the seal-space, before he began to write the document, and then finding insufficient space in his first division had simply gone on into the second.

The second division contains the body of the document and is complete in itself. If this alone be preserved we know the parties to the agreement, the nature of the transaction, a detailed description of the property, its price and sometimes the date of the sale. As a rule, however, it gives less information about the seller than the first division. It usually states that the purchaser has acquired the property and that the full price has been paid, in other words, that the transfer has actually taken place. Although in the eye of the law the ownership changed from the date of the sale, some considerations may be urged later to shew that time had to be allowed for the seller to produce the property and that the purchaser in some cases did not enter into possession or occupancy, though legally he had full power to do so. The document however knows nothing of such deferred assumption of possession.

A great part of this division is usually occupied with clauses calculated to exclude any future invalidation of the contract, or in some way to render the bargain more definite and explicit on certain points that might possibly cause disagreement.

This second division begins with a specification of the property transferred. The details regarded as necessary to identify the property, of course, vary from class to class and must be dealt with in the separate chapters introductory to them. One point alone calls for notice here, the seller's name is often given in this specification. Thus amongst other details, when *A* sells a house to *B*, it is specified as *bitušu ša A, the house of A*. When there are more sellers than one the names may be repeated, but they are often referred to as *amêlê annûte*, 'these people.'

591. The first word after the specification is the verb *upiš*. If *A* sold *B* a house we have *upišma B*. The exact sense of this word

is not so obvious as some seem to have found it. It cannot simply mean '*B has bought*' for it occurs when he has not done so. It is, however, certain that *B* is the nominative to the verb, because when *B* is a lady we have the feminine form *tupišma*. The word has been derived from the verb *epēšu*, '*to do, make, etc.*' In this case it has taken a technical shade of meaning, possibly with some word meaning '*bargain*' to be understood (cf. the phrase *maḥira épūš* in Rm. 157). At any rate, it means here, '*he has acquired*,' '*made his own*.' Prof. Delitzsch *H. W. B.* p. 116, however, postulates a separate root for it.

In any case, its meaning clearly implies in this connection that whereas *A* was before now owner of the house, he is that no longer, but *B* has become the owner. The word of itself is not sufficient to stamp the transaction as a *sale*, for it occurs also in leases, exchanges, etc.; but as it does not seem to occur outside the contracts, any fragment containing it is *primâ facie* part of a contract (see nos. 718, 725, etc.).

It makes clear the transfer of ownership: possibly stopping short of implying occupancy or possession. It is however quite fair to render it *has bought*, when from other considerations we know we are dealing with a sale, only I should hesitate to say *epēšu* meant *to buy*.

The almost invariable suffix *-ma* (exceptions in nos. 181, 265, 308, 354, 384, 387, 442) implies that another verb follows in the same sentence. Usually this associated verb *ilki* is to be found some way further on in the document. The two verbs have the same nominative and when one is feminine so is the other. It not unfrequently happens that the scribe ignores the gender of this nominative and writes both *upišma* and *ilki* of a lady. (See nos. 242, 245, 310, 317.)

This word *ilki*, from the verb *lakû*, '*to take*,' simply means '*has taken*': so that the clause implies that the purchaser has '*acquired and taken*' the property, a statement corresponding to the common phrase '*sold and delivered*.'

There are but few variants to *upiš*; beside the feminine *tupiš*, *uppiš* occurs in nos. 207 and 642, and in another connection a female slave is said to be '*acquired*,' *uppušat*. A form *utappiš* occurs in no. 181. As far as I know, *upiš* is never replaced by a different verb. On the other hand *ilki*, besides its feminine form *talki*, has variants, *ilki* and *talki* fairly often, and sometimes is partly written ideographically as *il-TI*, *TI-ki*. A plural form *ilakkiu* occurs in no. 216, and *ilakki* in no. 201 etc. This verb is replaced



by others, as *izirip* 'he has bought,' from *zarâpu* to 'buy' (once at least *izarip*); *isiḫi*, *issiḫi*, from *ešêku*, 'to acquire,' in nos. 247, etc.; all with a similar meaning, and once by *tadin*, used of a female buyer; no. 219.

One or two cases occur where the purchaser acquired, only to part with, the property: such as no. 176, where we have *upišma iptatar*, 'he acquired and set free,' a slave; no. 318, where we have *upišma izirip ittiši*, 'he acquired, bought and exchanged,' a case of barter or exchange; in no. 293, we have *upišma* followed by *izirip itidima*, 'he has acquired, bought and assigned,' to a servant.

592. The second of these verbs usually closes the sentence, and is preceded by a phrase, *ina libbi X mané kaspi*, for example, which gives us the price of the property. This piece of the clause may come before *upišma* and occasionally after *ilki*. Naturally it varies considerably, but some generalisations are possible. *Ina libbi* is a compound expression meaning literally *in the heart of, in the midst, within*, but in this connection it must be rendered *at the price of, for*. As we say the price 'covers' the purchase, so here the price 'includes' it. *Ina libbi* has few variants; *ina lib*, where *lib* may be an ideogram for *libbi*, *i-na lib-bi* and *i-na lib* occur. It is used of exchanges as well as sales, to mark the exchange taken. For *ina libbi, ištu libbi* occurs in no. 625, 16.

The price paid follows, expressed as usual in shekels, minas, or talents, of bronze, or silver; see Chapter III, for the money system. These prices are collected in tables, later, and some remarks on them will be found in the introductions to the separate classes.

A further frequent expansion of this clause is the insertion of the names of the sellers; thus *upišma B, ištu pâni A*, means *B has acquired from A*. The note of this expanded phrase is *ištu pâni*, literally *from the face, or presence of*: the transferred property leaves the presence of the seller to enter that of the purchaser. It is impossible to decide whether the phrase is more closely associated with *upiš*, or *ilki*. It may occur anywhere in the clause: before or after *upišma*, see Glossary under *pânu*.

When there were more sellers than one, their names may here be repeated from the preamble, even with their full titles and relationships, but very often they are merely termed *amêlê annûte*, 'these persons,' or as in no. 389, 7, *amêlê šuate*. The former word *annu* has the force of 'here,' as contrasted with *ammu*, 'that there'; *šuate*

covers both 'this' and 'that.' We should therefore render *amêlê šuate* by 'the aforesaid.'

The clause which I have just discussed I call the acquisition clause. It contains, then for the first time, the name of the purchaser, his titles etc., it expresses the acquisition by him of the property from the former owners, and gives the price paid down. I denote it by *Ac*.

In any complete document we have so far a threefold mention of the former owner, first in the 'preamble,' next in the 'specification,' lastly in the 'acquisition clause.' The purchaser is here named for the first time. It is usual later to name both again, in a clause forbidding either to bring any action against the other, and so we have the name of the purchaser written twice and that of the seller four times. It is of importance to note this, when dealing with fragments, as we can then assign the contract to the proper parties.

**593.** That we probably have in this collection only buyers' copies of the deeds in question renders it hazardous to guess what differences the other copies would shew. In no. 399 we have a different arrangement of words, rev. 1 f. reads *upišma ina lib (price) ištu pâni A ilki*. Here the buyer *B* is clearly the nominative to *upišma* as usual. In no. 401, 4 we have *ilki ina libbi (price) upišma ana M. ittidin*, here the buyer is probably nominative to *upišma* and *M* may be the person for whose benefit the purchase was made. The tablet is too broken, however, to decide whether the seller may not here be the subject of *upišma* and *M* the buyer. In no. 384, 7 f. we read *A upišma ina libbi (price) ana B izirip ittidin*, and here *B* is certainly the buyer, for in rev. 2 his name appears in the usual buyer's place. In no. 462, 7 f. we have *ana B...upišma A...ina libbi (price)*. This also is too mutilated a text to build any theory upon. The last three examples, however, seem to shew that either buyer or seller may be subject of *upišma*: so that it cannot mean simply either to 'sell' or 'buy,' but, as I think, merely to 'make a bargain,' or as we say 'come to terms.' It may be that had we a more general selection of documents we should find many more cases of the seller being the subject to this verb.

**594.** After the acquisition clause we generally have the words *kaspu gammur tadin*: 'the whole money is paid,' literally 'the money is complete, is given.' The words *gammur* and *tadin* are permansives from *gamâru*, 'to complete' and *nadânu*, 'to give.' This phrase is one of the commonest and most constant.

The word *kaspu* is nearly always written phonetically *kas-pu*; see however nos. 176, 271, 324 and possibly 484, where *KUBABBAR* is written. It must be rendered 'money' here, not 'silver,' for it is used even when the price is bronze, or when there has been a simple exchange of property; e.g. nos. 180, and 252, etc.

*Gammur* is the usual spelling, *gamur* is nearly as frequent and *ga-am-mur* is written in nos. 238 and 399. For *gamur*, *mithar* is written in no. 442, and the word in no. 469 appears to have commenced with *HE*, perhaps an ideogram for *gamâru*, read *gam*.

*Tadin* is the most usual spelling, but *ta-ad-din* is very frequent; *tadinni* and *SE-ni* also occur. *Tadini* comes in nos. 381, 492 and 577. The odd form *tatidin*, in no. 373, may be an error.

This phrase is occasionally omitted, e.g. nos. 318, 385, 450, apparently without prejudice.

This statement seems to me expressly to exclude the idea of any earnest money, or any deposit on the purchase money. We must return to that point later.

I call this sentence the closure clause, *C*.

595. It is generally followed by the converse statement, the property conveyed is said to be 'bought and taken,' *zarip*, *laḫi*, permansives of *zarâpu*, 'to buy,' and *laḫû* 'to take.' The feminine forms are *zarpat*, *laḫḫiat*, plural forms *zarpu* and *laḫḫiû*. Some exceptional spellings occur. After *pat* we have a phonetic complement, *at*, the word being written *zar-pat(-at)*, in no. 208; *za-ar-pa-at* occurs in no. 209, *za-âr-pat* in nos. 210, 222: *za-ar-pat* in nos. 211, 311, 412. In no. 308, *za-pat* is very likely an error. The sign, usually read *zer*, has clearly the value *zâr*; we have in no. 233, *zâr-pat (at)* as a feminine plural. As variants to *zarip* we have *zâr-rip* in no. 349; *za-ar-pi*, of a house in no. 335; and of fields in nos. 408, 414. The form *za-âr-pi* occurs of a house in no. 334; and *za-ri-bi* of a field in no. 386. The apparently plural form *zar-pu* is used of one male slave in no. 175, unless the strange spelling *zar-zip-pu* is really meant. On the other hand *zarip* is used fairly often for the plural: *zâr-pu* is nearly as common as *zar-pu*, *za-ar-pu* and *za-âr-pu* are quite as frequent. Abnormal forms are *za-rip-pu* in no. 643, and *za-rap-pu* in no. 452. A feminine (?) plural occurs in no. 446, where we have *kirû nîšê za-ar-pat-ti*. The form *za-ar-pa*, no. 419, is plural, and valuable, with *zarpi*, to fix the *p*, as against the *b* shewn in *zaribi*.

The correct representation of the parts of *laḫû* was clearly a

matter of divided opinion. In the singular masculine, *lakki* is commonest, but *lakki* is frequent enough: *la-ki* is as common, and *la-ki* occurs in no. 172. A rather unexpected form is *la-a-ki*, in nos. 384 and 415: but in no. 492, we have *la-a-ki*. The feminine singular is *lakkiat*, in no. 207, *lak-ki-at* in no. 317, and often *la-ki-at*, *la-ki-at* in nos. 215 and 219. A rather remarkable form is *la-ki-ta-a* in no. 216, cf. also no. 442. The plural *lak-ki-u* is common, also *lak-ki-u*; *lak-ki-u* is frequent and *lak-ki-u* occurs in nos. 258, and 289. The form *la-ki-u* is also common, and *la-ki-u* fairly so, but *la-ki-u* in nos. 242 and 350, and *la-ki-u* in nos. 237 and 238 also occur. The form *la-a-ki-u* is perhaps a plural, though it is constructed only with *eklu* in no. 386. The forms *lak-ki'* in no. 560, *lak-ki'* in no. 428, and *la-ki'* in no. 643, are plural forms and we may assume that the breathing *'* implies a *u*.

The ideogram for *lakû* being *TI*, a number of forms arise from the use of *TI* with phonetic suffix or prefix. In the singular we have *TI* simply, in nos. 200 and 324. More often we get *TI-ki*, but also *la-TI* in no. 400, and *il-TI* in no. 506. In the feminine we get *ŠAL-TI* in no. 308, that is *TI* with sign of the feminine, i.e. *lakkiat*. Also in no. 446, *TI* seems to be a feminine plural, perhaps to be read *lakki'* as in no. 233. In the plural *TI* alone is read in nos. 310, 477: *TI-u* in nos. 235, and 283 a: *TI-u* in 241 and 262. In 254, B. E. 1 occurs the very odd form *NU-TI*, that is usually to be read *lâ ilakki*: here, however, it seems we are to read *NU* as *la*, a phonetic prefix to *TI*, and the whole as *lakkiu*. Quite abnormal appears to be *la-ik* in no. 181.

In no. 477, *isiki* is added to the verbs *zarpu*, *TI....* There must be some error here surely. We expect another permansive.

In one case we have *uppušat* used of a female slave, i.e. 'she is acquired'; no. 207. In some cases, nos. 384 and 492, cf. also no. 436, we have *apil* from *apâlu*, originally 'to answer,' 'reply.' This permansive form comes in as an addition to the usual *zarip lakki* and is found in great profusion in the new Babylonian contracts. Written *a-pil* in our case, it is given as *a-pi-il* in *Str. Nbd.* 116, 293: so that the somewhat uncertain *pil* is made clear. From the sense of 'answering' seems to have arisen that of 'paying' a sum, and in the new Babylonian contracts the usual rendering is 'is paid.' Here, however, it is used of the purchase, and *apil* must have the general sense 'is made over'; doubtless with the understanding 'in answer to the price paid.'

Another addition to these verbs is *za-a-ku* in no. 492, and possibly *za-ku-u* in no. 438. Whether this is to be derived from *zakû* 'to be free' and here means 'is set free,' is rather difficult to decide from a single instance. The spelling given inclines one rather to *zâku*. If that be so, we have to remember that *zâku* is clearly parallel with our *zarip lakki*: there seems no real change in the bearing of the clause.

No. 409 has, in rev. 4, a phrase which seems to take the place of this clause and of which the remains are only ...*takkanu ina dini*. No conclusion can be drawn from this damaged text. The formula may here have been widely different.

In no. 434, *ta-din*, 'is given,' occurs as parallel to the usual verbs. It is rather remarkable that this form occurs so rarely in this clause.

The clause itself is often omitted; being in fact only the converse of the last, it is really unnecessary for accuracy, though valuable as giving a logical completeness to the statement of the transaction. I call it the converse closure clause and denote by *C'*.

The subject of these verbs is of course the property itself.

596. It is to be noticed that in this clause the property conveyed is again briefly indicated; for example, in a house sale, we should read here, *bitu šuatu zarip lakki*. This second summary description, beside that in the preamble, is of great value. For when the description of the property in detail is likely to mislead because of its unknown terms, this second summary will settle any doubt as to the real nature of the property. I call this *D'*.

The property is almost always here spoken of as *šuatu*, 'this' 'the aforesaid.' Thus in the example quoted we should render, 'the house aforesaid is sold and taken.'

The word *šuatu* is spelt with every conceivable variety, *šuatu*, *šūatu*, *šuatū*, *šhatū*, *šuate*, *šūate*, *šuali*, and *šūati*. So far as I can judge, either of these forms may be used of singular or plural, masculine or feminine. An abnormal form in no. 319 is *šū-u-a-te*, used of the masculine singular.

This word is omitted in nos. 210, 236, 237, 238, 239, 262, 330, 331, 383, 384, 386.

A singular variant is *HAR-MEŠ*, which, as an epithet of a single male slave in no. 175, line 8, takes the place of *šuatu*. Already Knudtson, *G. A. S.* pp. 16, 77, and glossary, *sub voc. šuatu*, has pointed out that *HAR-tu*, which occurs fairly often in his texts,

must be for *šuatū*. On the stele of Bêl-Ḥarrân-šar-ušur, found at Tel-Abta, and published by Scheil in *Rec. d. Trav.* xvi. p. 176 f. (1894), the same use occurs. There, in line 26, we read *ilâni ša ina (aban) narî ḤAR-tu šumšunu šaṭru*, 'the gods whose names are written on this stele.' Here *ḤAR-tu* is clearly *šuatū*, as I pointed out in 'The Academy,' no. 1209, p. 14 (July 6, 1895). Scheil read it *iširtu*, taking *ḤAR* as the ideogram, and *tu* as the phonetic suffix. Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 104, followed Scheil, but in a footnote pointed out that *šuatū* was to be expected: and thought *ḤAR-tu* must be an error for *šuatū*. The true explanation is that *ḤAR* is an ideogram for *šuatū*, and *tu* is the phonetic suffix. In our case, however, we meet with a further peculiarity, *MEŠ* is not here the sign of the plural; but, from having been so often used in that way and becoming practically interchangeable with *te* or *ti*, is here used as a phonetic suffix with the value *te*. We are therefore to read *ḤAR-MEŠ* here as *šuate*. The form *šuate* often occurs with nouns in the masculine singular. The form *ḤAR-tû*, of course to be read *šuatû*, occurs in our texts, in no. 241, as a plural.

As these clauses conclude the statement of the bargain and affirm its mutual acceptance by the contracting parties, they are a verbal expression of the conclusion of the bargain, taking the place of our old-fashioned handshake, and are therefore called by me 'closure' clauses. The omission of one or other of them however seems to have made not the least difference to the validity of the transaction. They are only necessary for formal completeness.

597. Now commences a series of stipulations, intended to bar litigation, to exclude all openings for revision of the agreement, and to secure each side from the possible repudiation of the bargain.

As these clauses are fairly independent, they will be denoted by Roman numerals and quoted as stipulation clause I., II., etc. I denote them by *S<sub>1</sub>*, *S<sub>2</sub>*, *S<sub>3</sub>*, etc. Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 152 *Anm.* 3, very conveniently sums these up as *Eine Geldbusse für einen Tempelschatz (sacramentum?) und Entschädigung an dem Vertragsgegner für den Fall des Zurücktrittes vom Kauf*.

I. The commonest of all, usually also occupying the first place, is the concise phrase, *tuâru dēnu dabâbu laššu*. One cannot be as concise in its rendering.

*Tuâru* (sometimes replaced by *GUR* or *GUR-RA*, ideograms for the verb *târu* to return) is a noun meaning *a return*. Here it means a repudiation of the bargain such as would be effected by a return of

the goods and a demand for a return of the price, or *vice versâ*. This is expressly to be barred as the goods are not sold on approval.

That *tuâru* is not syntactically connected with the next word is proved by its omission in no. 262. So we cannot render *a return of the dènu* as if it were an annulment of the legal decision laid down. In these cases of sales there is no legal 'decision' to be annulled, only a legally binding agreement. *Tuâru* contemplates a *return* of the money or goods. That is one form of repudiation: the coarsest form. *Tu-a-ru* is the usual spelling, but *tú-a-ru* is common: *tu-u-a-ru* in no. 319; *tu-a-ri* in no. 175: *GUR* in nos. 181, 199, 410 and *GUR-RA* in no. 642 are variants.

*Dènu* means a legal decision here as elsewhere: but it is not the title of the document. If it were, we might expect *šuat* to follow it, as in no. 185, where we have the agreement called *dannât šuat*, or as in the deeds of gift, e.g. no. 646, *dannite šuat*. It is something, the existence of which is expressly excluded. There is no *dènu* in the business as yet, and the fervent hope of all concerned is that there may never be. The word is used in a pregnant sense to denote the seeking of such a legal decision as would lead to a revision of the bargain. One may render it by *litigation*. In a few cases we have *di-e-ni* or *dèni*, and then we are not to take *tuaru dèni* together, but *dèni dabâbu*. The ideogram *DI-TAR*, which also signifies the verb *dânu*, to judge, or the noun *daianu*, a judge, replaces *dènu*, in nos. 492 and 320. A curious bye-form is *di-en-nu*, nos. 397, 434, 490, probably a scribal idiosyncrasy. *DI-TAR-šu* in no. 216 is also perhaps a slip. The commonest spelling is *di-e-nu*, and next *di-nu*. The word is very often omitted altogether, for example, in nos. 207, 218, 236, 239 etc.

*Dabâbu* is the infinitive of a verb, here used as a noun, to signify the action. It means 'to speak,' 'to plead,' 'to speak secretly against,' 'plan,' 'plot,' 'intrigue.' The phrase *dèni dabâbu* means 'to plead a cause.'

That *dabâbu* does not usually govern *dènu*, is proved by its omission in nos. 280 and 401; and by the omission of *dènu* itself, in nos. 207, 218, 412, 428, 467, 491 and often.

The usual writing of the word is ideographic *KA-KA*, but nos. 179, 245, 248 give the phonetic spelling *da-ba-bu* and nos. 260, 384 give *da-ba-a-bu*; cf. also 217 and 260. The spelling *KA-KA-bu*, i.e. the ideogram for *dabâbu*, with phonetic suffix *bu*, is found in no. 468.

In no. 324, rev. 6 we read *tuaru dîni u dabâbu laššu*, which shews that *dîni* and *dabâbu* are coordinate and independent.

These nouns are all nominatives to the verb *laššu*, which is contracted from *lû* and *išu*. It therefore negatives the existence of all its nominatives. These things 'shall not be.' It has some variety of spelling, *la-aš-šu* is the commonest, but also *la-aš-šû*, *la-a-šu*, *la-a-šû*, *la-šu*, *la-šû*, no. 510: *la-aš-ši*, no. 476; and *la-a-ši*, no. 246; occur. It appears to be omitted in no. 425, rev. 7, probably accidentally.

Hence we really have two alternative phrases to render, *tuâru dênû dabâbu laššu*, and *tuâru dênî dabâbu laššu*. They must be rendered, 'there shall be no repudiation, litigation, or machination,' and 'there shall be no repudiation, or lawsuit.'

A very similar phrase is found in the Babylonian contracts, *târi u dabâbu iânu*, 'there shall be no repudiation or lawsuit.' The full Babylonian phrase adds *ina birîšunu*, 'between them'; this shews that the kind of repudiation contemplated is a return of the goods, and the meaning of *dabâbu* is a spoken quarrel, or a difference expressed in words.

That this stipulation was an exhaustive one is obvious, and several documents go no further. It is however entirely omitted in a few cases, e.g. nos. 230, 307, 312, 376, 385, etc.

598. II. The second most common stipulation against repudiation of the bargain, which often occurs together with I. and follows it, I denote by  $S_2$ . It is usually stated thus: *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma izakupâni ipariķûni lû A lû etc. dênû dabâbu ištu B, etc. ubta'uni*: then follows a penalty of some kind.

We may render this at once, 'whoever hereafter shall set up a claim or take an exception, whether *A* (the seller, his heirs or assigns), or shall seek from *B* (the buyer, his heirs or assigns) a legal forfeit or suit,' shall incur a penalty.

The penalties attaching to breach of contract or legal process for annulment of the bargain are so various and interesting that they must have a section to themselves later.

This stipulation, as a rule, is the longest sentence in the whole document and it often sorely taxed the powers of the scribe to keep it logical and grammatical throughout. As a consequence it is one of the most difficult sentences to analyse and set out clearly. In some cases it is given in a form that is almost chaotic.

*Mannu ša*, or *mannu šâ*, is simple enough, 'whoever that.'



The scribe intends to add 'in future.' In this connection *ša* is as frequent as *ša*. The pronoun, 'who or that,' is almost redundant, according to our way of thinking, and it is omitted by the scribe in nos. 329, 356, 386, at least. The scribe further omits *mannu ša* altogether in nos. 207, 223, 419 and perhaps elsewhere. It is postponed till after the words *ina urkiš*, 'in future,' in nos. 356, 418. In by far the majority of cases, however, it stands at the head of this stipulation.

To express futurity the scribe has at his disposal several phrases. The commonest is *ina urkiš*. The preposition *ina* is usually written with the single horizontal wedge, but we have *i-na*, written phonetically in no. 315: but also, *a-na* in no. 252: and cf. no. 200, ...*na*. The preposition is sometimes omitted altogether, and *urkiš* appears alone, in nos. 350, 412 and 503. *Urkiš* is usually written *ur-kiš*; but also *ur-kiš-ši*, in nos. 174, 418, 419 and 643. The curious variant, *ina ur-kiš-a-tú*, occurs in no. 480. As *urku* means 'after,' this phrase clearly means 'in after-time,' 'hereafter.' This phrase is often omitted and may therefore be considered as complementary to the next, if not exactly synonymous with it. Either would serve the purpose, each is complementary to the other, and most often both occur together.

The next phrase is *ina matêma*. I am inclined to think that *mati* is connected with *mannu*, and without entering here upon a discussion of that connection, I venture to suggest that it originally means 'anything.' If so *ina matê* had originally the sense, 'on any ground,' 'on any occasion,' and its temporal signification, 'at any time,' is not necessarily prominent here. If we render 'on any occasion' we shall keep the vagueness of the original. For *ina*, we have usually the single horizontal wedge: but *a-na* occurs in nos. 252, 360 and 503. The phonetic spelling *i-na* does not occur. Instead of *ina* we have *TA*, *ištu* or *ultu*, in no. 471. In several cases the *ina* has been absorbed into a compound with *matêma*, and is represented by *im*. It is replaced by *ú* in several cases, and by *u* in one; nos. 249, 260, 326, 373, 428, 507, 642. It is entirely omitted before *matêma* in no. 237.

In by far the majority of cases we have *ma-te-ma*, but *ma-te-e-ma* often occurs. We have *ma-ti-e-ma* in no. 208, *ma-ti-ma* often, and *ma-te-me* several times. *Mat-e-ma* occurs in nos. 238, 428, 435 and 443; *mat-e* in no. 235, but in a different connection, cf. no. 349; *ma-ti*, in nos. 407 and 415, cf. 503 and 642. *Ma-te-e-me* in no. 427;

*ma-te-e*-(*meš* read)-*me* in no. 264: *ma-a-te* in no. 386, and *ma-a-te-ma*, in nos. 374 and 376, are also found as variants. By the absorption of *ina*, as mentioned above, we get *im-ma-te-ma* in nos. 223, 249, 356 and 414; and apparently *im-te-ma* in no. 173, unless the scribe has omitted a *ma*. In Bu. 91-5-9, 141, see Cata. p. 1942, we have the form *im-ma-tim*, clearly to be rendered 'now.'

This phrase is more often omitted than the last, see for example nos. 196, 218, 232, 236, etc.

Other phrases for futurity may be mentioned here.

In no. 492, line 8, after *ina urkiš* we have *a-na ûmê a-ša-ti* 'for days to come.' Compare no. 659, line 6, *a-na ûmî a-(šati)*. We may compare the phrase *ûm šati* so frequent in the historical texts, see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 239 b.

The phrase *ina ár-kat ûmê* occurs with *ina matêma* in no. 474, line 1.

The ideogram *EGIR*, Br. 4998, which serves for *arku* and its derivatives, occurs in the phrase *ina* (or *ana*) *arkat ûmê*. In no. 436, line 8, *ina EGIR-kát ûmê* occurs; in no. 468, line 13, we have *ina EGIR ûmû*; and in no. 293, line 10, *EGIR ûmê* comes without the *ina*. It is frequent in the proclamations, etc., to read *rubû arkû*, 'the future prince,' that is 'the prince who in future'; and in this formula we once have *mannu arkû*, that is 'whoever in future.' This occurs no. 640, line 13, written *EGIR-û* that is *arkû*.

All reference to futurity is, however, sometimes omitted, as in no. 178, 385, etc., but it is implied by the use of the present (future) tense of the verbs employed.

It was obviously open to the scribe to write 'in future whoever,' just as well as to write 'whoever in future.' He usually prefers the latter style; but we have several arrangements. Thus in no. 356, we have *ina urkiš mannu ša ina matêma*; in no. 271, *ina urkiš ina matêma mannu ša*, and in no. 418, *ina urkišši ina matêma mannu ša*.

After the phrases denoting futurity, generally come the verbs denoting the action which this clause was meant to exclude and penalise. The subject of these verbs is of course *mannu ša*, and that no further subject need be sought is clearly shewn by the repetition of *mannu ša*, before the second verb, as in no. 174. The scribe certainly appears to have found it difficult always to keep the subject of the sentence clearly before his mind, or felt it was likely to be forgotten, for he resumes it by the use of a pronoun in a very unnecessary and sometimes rather embarrassing way. Thus, in

no. 471, we read *mannu ša ina urkiš ultu matêma mannu ša*; and he frequently inserts what seems to me to be a redundant *ša*. Some examples will be given as we go on, but there is no good to be gained from registering every case of what is mere incapacity to carry on the thread of an argument.

In passing we note that, after this beginning *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma*, the scribe, in no. 310, line 16, inserts *ištu pâni* and the name of the seller. Owing to the defective state of the tablet, it is not easy to decide how he meant to conclude his sentence, and the text appears to read *ša pâni*. Perhaps he meant by *ša pâni*, simply an adverse animus, and we may render 'whoever in future on any occasion against the seller or his representatives shall set up a claim or take an exception,' but then he adds, 'either the buyer or her representatives shall seek,' which is elliptical possibly. It may mean, 'shall do these things or seek to do them': but I fancy he forgot the departure he had already made from the usual beginning, and merely dropped into the usual phrases for the conclusion of his sentence. The sentence seems disjointed as it stands. One line, however, is lost partly and the beginning of another, so he may have written good sense after all. Only, this is a distinct departure from the usual formula.

We now come to the verbs expressing the actions that were to be condemned and penalised. They are usually two and for the most part the same two. This very frequent association of words whose meaning is hardly synonymous, but rather complementary, is very characteristic of our documents, as it is also of modern legal writings. The use of one word alone would conceivably leave an opening for the other class of action, the use of both covers all the ground, though at some risk of overlapping of ideas, if not exactly of tautology.

The most usual pair are *zakâpu* and *parâku*. The former literally means 'to set up' and is used of setting up 'stakes,' 'obelisks,' 'stelae' and the like, also of 'setting out' plants in a garden, etc. Delitzsch therefore, *H. W. B.* p. 261, considers the use in our contracts to be intransitive, and would render, 'whoever in future shall stand up and do so and so.' This would, I think, involve that the second verb should contain all the objectionable action. It would probably also demand that our verb should be followed by *ma*, as when we have *upîšma ilki* above. At any rate, it is certain *zakâpu* can occur alone, and in those cases we should have to assume that the 'standing up' implied the hostile intent. This may of course be

implied in Delitzsch's *aufstehen* which we could render 'rebel' etc. I do not think it is necessary to make *zakâpu* intransitive here. The 'setting up of a claim' is not an inconceivable implication. The interchange of our verb with *elanni*, which is sometimes transitive, sometimes implies a claim; and its replacement by *idabubu* seems to imply that it meant 'to take legal action.' Accordingly I render by 'set up a claim.'

The nouns which so often follow it in the sentence, *dîni dabâbu*, are undoubtedly the objects of the verb *ubta'ûni*, but it seems allowable to regard them either as objects also of *zakâpu*, or as the implied objects. They mean 'a legal claim,' and 'a plea'; to both of these we can apply *zakâpu* very well. We can speak of 'setting up a claim,' or of 'setting up a plea,' without violence to well recognised figures of speech.

The second associated verb is *parâku*. For this Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 539 f., has two distinct meanings, one 'to bar' or 'blockade' and the other 'to exercise power over.' Neither suits very well here. It can hardly be supposed to refer to imprisonment. Delitzsch nowhere, that I can see, refers to this verb as occurring in the contracts. It seems to me that the primitive meaning is that of 'separation,' and that in legal terms 'to shut one up to a course of action' or 'to conclude one in a fault' may be parallels to the sense required. I take it to refer to that legal process which would limit the free exercise of ownership by the buyer over his purchase: the pleading of some reservation about the property which would 'hem in,' 'shackle' or 'hamper' the purchaser. Hence I give this verb the general sense of 'take exception.'

The clause that is wanted here is clearly an express declaration that the bargain is final, and whoever on the seller's side shall attempt to upset it by raising a legal point concerning the validity of the sale, or the fulfilment of the sale conditions, is to be penalised. We shall see later who and what persons were likely to intervene, and something of the grounds they would allege. The reader will do well perhaps to suspend his judgment on the sense of these two verbs until he has considered the points on which the bargain conceivably might be upset. These grounds of dispute must have influenced the selection of terms here and must be covered by them.

The form in which the former verb occurs is especially interesting because on it Oppert and others founded a complete and absolutely false theory of the nature of the transaction. It very often appears

as *izakupanni*, of which the other forms known to these writers were regarded as variants. They regarded *-anni* as the first personal pronoun, suffixed; and insisting strongly on grammatical accuracy, rendered the verb 'shall set himself up before me.'

Grammatical accuracy does not seem to me to be the strong point of this rendering. One would rather expect this to mean 'shall set me up.' I have not come across any suffix yet that would signify that the action of the verb takes place 'before me.' If *-anni* be the personal suffix at all, it could only be attached to transitive verbs. However, Dr Oppert alone adheres now to this rendering; Dr Peiser frankly abandoned it in *K. B.* iv. all through his renderings of the Assyrian contracts; Delitzsch shews no sign of it in his *H. W. B.* On this sentence, however, was founded the conclusion that the words were uttered by 'a judge' and that he forbade this course of action, and laid down the attached penalties. A legal functionary was therefore to be sought somewhere in the text. The parties to the contract having been recognised and the witnesses, there only remained the *aba*. His title, with its suggestiveness of 'elder,' the epithets accompanying the name, such as *šābit danniti*, 'holding the agreement,' all lent some support to the idea, and Dr Oppert renders *aba* by *judex* continually. He even was able to find one or two other verbs in the first person singular to bear out the theory. These, however, either do not exist on the tablet, or are capable also of being taken as third person singular. Numerous examples of verbs in the first person singular occur in the later Babylonian contracts, but they are usually prefixed by *kīam iḫbi*, 'thus saith.' A further consequence followed from the conclusion that the *aba* was the judge who pronounced the decision of which the document was the written monument. The real legal decisions, which have been discussed separately, and which never use the first person singular, any more than the contracts do, were not sharply distinguished from the contracts. Dr Bezold in his great catalogue was betrayed by this specious theory into confusing the documents. So far as I can see, he had no criterion for distinguishing a legal decision from a contract; and I suspect that when the document had not already been published and its nature pointed out by others, he merely relied on the existence of the suffix *-anni* to justify his calling the document a legal decision. Although, in a few cases, Professor Oppert has omitted to render *anni* by 'before me,' he still maintains the above view. In *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 266,

he says of the deeds of sale, *diese Urkunden sind keine Verträge, sondern wirkliche Urtheile, gefällt von Schöffengericht unter Vorsitz eines Chef (aba, milû).*

The forms in which *izakupanni* appears are many. *I-za-ku-pa-ni* occurs 16 times; *i-za-ku-pa-a-ni*, 11 times, cf. also no. 260; *i-za-ku-pa-an-ni*, 7 times; *i-za-kup-a-ni*, in no. 327; *i-za-kup-an-ni*, 5 times; *i-za-ku-ba-ni*, in no. 218; *i-za-k-ku-pan-ni*, in no. 263; *i-za-k-ku-pa-ni*, in nos. 237 and 427; *i-za-k-kup-an-ni*, 17 times; *i-za-k-ku-pa-an-ni*, in nos. 373 and 642; *e-za-ku-pa-ni*, in no. 349. In no. 311, the scribe wrote *i-za-ku-a-pa-ni*, and in no. 464, *i-za-ku-za-pa-ni*. In several cases, the verb is not completely preserved, but counting all cases where the ending is legible, we have 32 cases in *-anni*, to 46 that ended differently.

My explanation of the case is that the verb itself here is *izakupâ*, rarely *izakupû*, once abnormally *izakûbâ*, the long vowel being due to the use in a pausal form. The *-ni* is merely the enclitic *ni* marking the hypothetical sentence. The form *-an-ni* is only a graphical device for expressing the length of the *a* in *â-ni*. In the cases where, in other documents, *-anni* clearly means 'me,' it seems that really *nî* is the pronoun, and that quite separate in origin and sense from *-ni* enclitic. The presence of *an* before it is a graphic device to indicate the length of the final vowel. It would be very difficult to account for such variants as end in *ûni*, on the supposition that they were derived from *-anni*.

Some verbs seem to have always preferred to make their final vowel, in these hypothetical sentences, *â*, as *zakâpu* clearly does. On the other hand *parâku* usually prefers the long *û* before *-ni*.

*Parâku* is nearly always written with the ideogram *G/L*, Br. 1386. In by far the majority of cases we have *G/L-u-ni*: twice *G/L-û-ni*, nos. 236 and 265. This verb gives frequent examples of a phonetic prefix; we very often have *i-G/L-u-ni*, *i-G/L-û-ni* also, in nos. 246, 260, 326. The spelling *e-G/L-u-ni* occurs in nos. 210 and 284, cf. also the cases in nos. 184, 349. The reading of this ideogram by Oppert as *gug*, for which I know no reason, led him to transliterate either *iguguni* or *eguguni*. His theory demanded and led to his rendering by *invocabit me*, *poscet a me*, and the like. The ideogram *G/L* however is given in Brünnow as *parâku*. Dr Peiser in *K.B.* iv. uniformly reads it *parâku*. In no. 552, line 3, we have a phonetic spelling, *i-pa-ri-ku-u-ni*: which not only makes Peiser's reading

certain, but shews very clearly that the ending is not a first personal pronominal suffix.

The way in which either one or other of these two verbs is omitted renders it very improbable indeed that they are more than coordinate. It is quite unlikely that if *izakupâni* meant 'shall set himself up to do' what is meant by *parâku*, either verb could be omitted. A comparison of a few places will render this clear to the reader: thus *zakâpu* is omitted in nos. 230, 236, 244, 247, 248, 249, 254, 262, 312, 315, 324, 335, 383, 385 etc.: *parâku* is omitted in nos. 203, 208, 212, 231, 238, 239, 251, 259, 263, 319, 350, 360, 374, 418 etc.: both are omitted in nos. 181, 183, 232, 336, 386, 389, 407, 412, 417, 434 etc.

The scribe however was not entirely confined to the use of these two verbs.

He used the verb *elâni* to replace the pair. Thus in no. 252, we have *mannu ša ana urkiš ana matêma e-la-an-ni*, the same in nos. 372, 489. In no. 618, we have *mannu ša e-la-a-ni*: in no. 474, we have *mannu ša ina arkat ûmê ina matêma e-la-an-ni*. In this formula, after enumerating the probable litigants, the scribe resumed his thread with another *ša e-la-a-ni*. In no. 418, after the scribe had written, in rev. 2, *ina urkišši ina matêma mannu ša izakupâni*, he enumerated the likely litigants and added *ḫurbu mannu ša elâni*. In no. 436, the passage is defective, but may be restored as follows, (*mannu ša ina*) *matêma ina arkat (ûmê e)-la-an-ni*, and here again, after the litigants, he resumes with *ša e-la-an-ni*. In no. 506, the same wording was probably followed.

Here it seems clear that *elanni* or *elâni* is capable of taking the place of the two verbs above. It will hardly be maintained that this word could mean 'shall set himself up before me': if it meant to 'set up' at all, it would surely mean 'shall set me up.' It must mean simply 'shall rise.'

The phrase *ḫurbu elanni* appears to be intended to take the place of *dîni dabâbu ubta'ûni* and will be considered again with that phrase: but we may note here that it exchanges with *elanni* alone. So that in legal phraseology 'to rise' was taken to imply the hostile intent of bringing a lawsuit. We could not attach that meaning to the word in English and must render at least 'to raise a point.' The freer rendering 'to set up a claim' is clearer and admits of interchange with *zakâpu*.

In no. 419, rev. 6, we have the spelling *e-la-a-a-ni*.

Another way of putting the point was to say, as in no. 376,

*mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma ibalkâtuni*. This verb clearly means to 'break off,' from the agreement; the sense of 'rebellion' which it often has is very similar. In no. 265, rev. 7, after the scribe had written (*mannu ša*) *ina urkiš ina matêma*, and probably had used the verbs *zakâpu* and *parâku*, and had enumerated likely litigants and the penalties, and had indeed come to the usual end of the formula, for some cause he seems to have started this clause again with *mannu ša iparikûni (i-ba)l-a-kat-û-ni* and then appended a penalty. The place is badly written and the sign *kât* is not very certain. As parallels to this may be added here the condensed forms given in no. 321, *mannu ša ina eli mannu ibalkatûni*, 'whoever shall fall out with the other': and in no. 633, simply (*mannu š*) *a i-bal-kât-u-ni*, 'whoever shall break off.' It is worthy of note, that in these cases, wherever phonetically spelt, the sign *kât* is used, Br. 1365. In no. 321, *BAL-u-ni* is written, where *BAL* is the ideogram for *balkatu*. The usual form of the present, in one of the mortgages, may be noted here; in no. 161, we have *ib-bal-lak-kit-u-ni*. Also, in no. 780, will be found *i-bal-kât-u-ni*. That we have here a syncopated form of the present *ibbalakit* is obvious.

A very distinct variant from the above clause, but yet only a variant, is to be found occasionally. The first example is to be found in no. 264, where we read, *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matême (iḳab)-bu-u-ni*; then, after enumerating the litigants, the scribe resumes *ša iḳabbûni mâ nîšê lâ addin*; then follows the penalty. Here again the scribe shews that what is really contemplated is a verbal repudiation of the bargain, and instances the sort of plea that would be put in. We may render 'whoever in future on any occasion shall say (among the representatives of the seller) I did not give the slaves.'

In several other cases we have a similar construction to this, but they are best taken after the phrase *dîni dabâbu ubta'ûni* has been dealt with.

After the two verbs *izakupâni*, *iparikûni*, or whichever occurs, or after the verbs *elanni*, *ibalkatûni*, or *iḳabbûni*, taking their place, we usually have an enumeration of the litigants on the seller's side, who may take these exceptionable actions against the buyer and his representatives. As these lists are long and of great interest, it is best to postpone them for separate consideration; merely noting here their place. As the enumeration of them takes some space, the scribe often resumes his sentence after the enumeration by a



repetition of the *mannu* or *mannu ša* or *ša* to which these names are in apposition, and which he had already written at the head of the clause.

599. The real thread of the sentence is resumed with the words *dīnu dabābu ubta'ūni*. This we may render, '(or) seek a legal decision or plea.'

The most usual spelling here is *dī-e-nu*, but *dī-nu* is very common. The form *dī-ni* occurs often; *dī-e-ni* in nos. 237 and 428; *dī-i-ni* in no. 447, and *dī-en-nu* in nos. 434 and 490. Quite abnormal is *dī-ni-šu* in no. 468, but we can quite sensibly admit the rendering 'shall seek his legal decision or plea.' The claim a man brings is 'his' claim certainly. The meaning of *dīnu* here is 'a legal decision.' It is of course possible that *dīni* is an oblique case and that then we are to take *dīni dabābu* together and render 'shall seek to plead a suit.'

The *dabābu* here is usually written ideographically *KA-KA*. In nos. 207 and 422 we have the phonetic spelling *da-ba-bu* and in no. 384, *da-ba-a-bu*. In no. 318, we have *KA-KA-bu*, the ideogram with phonetic complement *bu*. In no. 209, line 16, where my restoration is clearly wrong, we have most probably *dīnu dabābuma*; this is of importance, as shewing that *dīnu dabābu* are coordinate as a rule. In no. 308, R 3 we have *KA-KA-MEŠ*, perhaps to be read *dibbi*, 'pleas' or a plural sense attached to *dabābu*, not capable of being expressed in speech.

The independence of *dīnu* and *dabābu* is further shewn by the occurrence of the former alone, in nos. 383, 400, and 478; cf. 259, line 16: and of *dabābu* alone in no. 643, R 10, cf. nos. 280, R 2 and 508 R 5. Both are omitted in no. 498, line 5.

The usual spelling of *ubta'ūni* is *ub-ta'-u-ni*, but *ub-ta-u-ni* is nearly as common. The form *ub-ta-ū-ni* occurs several times, and *ub-tu-u-ni* in no. 280, *ub-ta'-ū-ni* in no. 494, *ub-ta-na-u-ni* in no. 311, and *ub-ta-an-u-ni* in no. 520. The two last illustrate the connection between *n* and the breath'. The forms *ub-ta'* in no. 498, *ub-ta'-u* in no. 422, and *ub-ta'-i* in no. 350, are noteworthy for the absence of the enclitic *-ni*. The meaning of *ba'u* itself is 'to seek'; see Muss Arnolt p. 136, cf. Del. *H. W. B.* p. 161, where *ubta'* seems omitted. The special shade of meaning here is well given by *impetrare*, we may render 'demand,' 'seek at law.'

Usually the words *dīnu dabābu* precede the buyer's name and his representatives, and *ubta'ūni* concludes the clause: but very often

indeed we find that the names precede *dīnu dabābu*. Examples of the former arrangement may be seen in no. 203 where we read *ša dīnu dabābu itti B mārēšu mār-mārēšu ubta'ūni*; 'who shall seek a legal decision (or) plea against B, his sons or grandsons.' The same arrangement is followed, sometimes with a longer list of B's representatives, in nos. 210, 211, 237, 238, etc.

The second arrangement is found, for example, in no. 308, where we have *ša itti B mārēšu mār-mārēšu dīnu dabābu ubta'ūni*; 'who from B, his sons or grandsons shall seek a legal decision or plea.' This arrangement is followed, sometimes with a longer list of B's representatives, or other slight variants, in nos. 208, 232, 233, etc.

That *dīnu dabābu ubta'ūni* means 'to plead objections' is shewn by the addition, in no. 386, of the actual pleas, see below, and p. 313.

In no. 213, the scribe wrote *dīnu itti B mār(ēšu mār-mārēšu) dīnu ubta'ūni*. I take the second *dīnu* as an error for *dabābu*. In no. 311, rev. 2 ff., the scribe writes *ša dīnu dabābu ša itti B etc. dīnu dabābu ubta'ūni*. Here the words *dīnu dabābu* are evidently repeated in error. In no. 212, 13 and rev. 1, the scribe has repeated *ina dīnu dabābu* clearly in error, he has also reversed the usual order of buyer and sellers. In consequence it is not clear how we ought to correct his arrangement. The *ina* before *dīnu dabābu* is also unusual and very likely wrong. In no. 500 the scribe has put *dīnu dabābu* before *itti B etc.* and again before *ubta'ūni*. In no. 503 the scribe has put the whole phrase, in line 3, after *izakupāni* before the seller and his representatives and again after *ša itti B etc.* These repetitions may be due to a desire for clearness and to keep the thread of the sentence free, but they only shew a great inability to follow what was written. It is perhaps fairer to the scribe's intelligence to suppose them mere oversights. They are not without their value as they emphasise the meaning of the sentence.

As already remarked this phrase gets replaced in several cases by an instructive variation. It is a little difficult to say which of the verbs *izakupāni*, *iparikūni* or *ubta'ūni* is replaced. In no. 436, we have apparently one of the former replaced by *elanni*, thus we read *mannu ša ina matēma ina arkat ūmē elanni lū A etc. ša elanni dīnu dabābu itti B etc. igārūni ikabbūni mā kaspu gammur lā tadin eklu bitu kirū lā apil lā zarip lā lakki*. Here the second *ša elanni* I regard as a mere resumption of the thread of the sentence. *Dīnu dabābu igārūni* takes the place of *dīnu dabābu ubta'ūni*, and, as in

section 598 above, the pleas which were likely to be advanced are set forth by *iḫabbûni*, 'shall say.' These pleas are introduced by *mâ* 'saying,' or 'to wit.' They are *kaspu gammur lâ tadin*, 'the full price was not paid'; *eḫlu bitu kirû lâ apil lâ zariḫ lâ lakḫi*, 'the field, house, and garden, were not paid for, bought or taken.'

Before entering into details we had better compare similar cases.

In no. 252, already partly considered in section 598, we have *mannu ša ana urkiš ana matêma elanni lû A etc. itti B etc (ša) ḫurbu igârûni*. Here *ḫurbu igârûni* may take the place of *dînu dabâbu ubta'ûni*. In nos. 473 and 474, duplicates, at any rate as far as formula is concerned, we read *mannu ša ina arkat ûmê ina mate (ḫurbu) elanni lû A etc. ša elâni dînu dabâbu ištu pâni B etc. igârûni iḫabbûni mâ kaspu lâ gammur lâ taddin isitu etc. lâ lakḫiu lâ...* Here the duplicate, no. 473, renders it probable that the first *elanni*, to which I restore *ḫurbu*, corresponds to *dînu dabâbu ubta'ûni*. The second *elanni*, var. *elâni*, resumes the thread of the sentence. Also *dînu dabâbu igârûni*, in the duplicate, *dînu dabâbu ištu pâni B etc. igârûni*, takes the place of the usual *dînu dabâbu ubta'ûni*. As before, *iḫabbûni mâ*, 'shall say, to wit,' introduces the pleas. The pleas now are 'the money was not complete,' 'was not given,' 'the property *isitu etc.* was not taken, not....'

In no. 419, despite the fragmentary state of the text, we read *ina urkišši lû A etc. ḫurbu ša elâni itti B etc. dînu (dabâbu) igârûni mâ kaspu lâ gamur etc.* Here *ḫurbu elâni* takes the place of either *izakupâni* or *iparikûni*. Again *igârûni* replaces *ubta'ûni*, and though *iḫabbûni* has disappeared, its force is maintained by *mâ*, 'saying.' The pleas are just the same, 'the money was not complete,' 'the property was not taken.'

In no. 506, distinct traces are left of the same formula, in line 7 we have the end of *elanni*, in B. E. 3, *elanni* recurs to resume, *dînu (dabâbu?) igârûni mâ kaspu lâ gamur lâ ilakḫi...ki-a kaspu lâ tadin*. Once more we have the omission of *iḫabbûni*. The pleas seem to have been mixed up by the scribe, we expect the *lâ tadin* to follow *kaspu la gamur*. As they are, they may be rendered, 'the money was not complete,' 'was not taken,' 'the property (?) was (?)', 'the money was not given.'

In no. 314, rev. 1, only the end of *(i)gârûni* is left: in no. 559, obv. 3 and 4, we have *dînu (dabâbu?) (igârûni)*.

That here *igârûni* is a complete parallel to *ubta'ûni* is borne out by no. 386, where after the usual *dînu dabâbu ištu B ubta'ûni* we have

the pleas given, *mâ eklu šá ad-niNU*... a curious spelling perhaps for *addini*. A careful recollection inclines me to think the last two characters there are *šú-u* or *la-u*.

From these cases we may deduce that *garû* is a synonym, at least as far as this phrase goes, of *ubta'u*. Hence it must mean 'to seek' or 'demand by legal process.' The verb *garû*, Delitzsch, *H. IV. B.* p. 204 a, gives as originally meaning 'to make war upon,' 'be an enemy to.' There is no doubt about its meaning here and we may render here by 'quarrel.'

The usual spelling is *i-gar-ru-u-ni*, once *i-gar-ru-û-ni* in no. 436, rev. 2.

Another obvious deduction is that *kurbu* has a similar meaning to *dînu dabâbu*. It must mean something like 'petition' or 'plea.' On the one side, we may think of *karâbu* whence comes *ikribu* 'a prayer or petition'; on the other, of *karâbu* 'to approach.' We may note that in the old Babylonian contracts, see Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* pp. 125, 127, *kurrubu* is the usual phrase for 'to send a case to the judge.' On the whole I incline to read *kurbu*, and render, 'a suit.'

The phrases *kurbu elanni*, *kurbu igârûni* then will mean 'to raise a suit' and 'to plead a suit.'

Before passing away from this clause to consider the lists of possible litigants, we may note some condensed forms. We have already noted the *mannu ša eli mannu ibalkatûni* of no. 321, 'whichever shall fall out with the other,' and we may add from the mortgages, no. 161, *mannu ša ibballakkatûni*, 'whoever shall fall out.' Another concise form is *mannu ana mannušunu lâ iparikûni*, 'one with another of them shall not take exception,' in no. 163: compare *mannu itti mannu lâ idabubu mannu ša iparikûni*, 'one shall not plead against the other, whoever shall take exception, etc.,' in no. 168: so *mannu itti mannu lâ idabûbu* in no. 155 and *mannu ša ina urkiš idabûbu*, 'whoever in future shall plead,' in no. 196. Of these all except the first and last are from the mortgages.

One other presentation of this clause which does not seem readily to fall under the above classes may be added here.

In no. 339 we have *mannu ša iparikûni lâ A etc. ša itti B etc. idibûbu*. Here the whole phrase *dînu dabâbu ubta'ûni* appears to be replaced by *idibûbu*.

The arrangement and wording may differ greatly, but after all the general sense is the same and the variants only serve to make the formula clearer. The bargain is final, no question can be raised in

future, whoever does that is to suffer. With few exceptions, it appears to be contemplated that the only side on which objection is likely to be taken is that of the seller. As I have observed before, we seem only to have buyers' copies of the deeds, the seller would probably stipulate that the buyer did not repudiate the bargain.

600. We now come to the enumeration of the persons likely to attempt to set aside the bargain on the seller's side. They are of course his heirs, or closest relations, and in some cases certain officials of his city, district or tribe possibly.

The enumeration usually is set out in this fashion, *lû A, lû mârêšu, lû mâr-mârêšu, lû aḥêšu, lû mâr-aḥêšu etc.*, i.e. 'either *A* (the seller), or his sons, or his grandsons, or his brothers, or their sons, etc.'

Of course such a full enumeration is not always adopted. We proceed to examine in detail the ways of writing it. Here, as elsewhere, I do not claim to have noticed every small point, but any way this may serve as a beginning.

The conjunctions 'either...or' are here usually expressed by *lû...lû*. By far the most usual way of writing *lû* is *lu-u*. However, *lu* alone is fairly common, *lu-û* occurs in nos. 176, 384 and 555, which are probably of early date. It is also often expressed by one of the signs of repetition, and very often omitted altogether, especially in the more condensed lists of representatives on the buyer's side. So, too, the preposition *itti* or *ištu*, which precedes the first name, may be repeated before each of the names or designations which follow, as in no. 187.

In no. 324, rev. 8, *lû* occurs alone, not followed by any other conjunction. This I regard as an error. The *lû* is very often omitted before the personal name, even when it precedes the designations which follow.

In place of *lû*, we sometimes have *û*, Br. 9455, repeated, as in nos. 212, 477, 496 and 507; more often singly, as in nos. 238, 244, 247, 259, etc.; followed by *u*, as in nos. 233 and 407; or *u* singly, as in nos. 251, 252, 357 and often. It is not always easy to distinguish this use of *u*, 'or,' from the use of *u*, 'and.' Probably, as a conjunction, no real difference of ideas existed, and consequently other examples should possibly be added to the cases enumerated in the glossary. Those that seem to me certain are there separated for the sake of form.

The seller's name calls for no remark here, except that we have

in this clause a means of recognising who the seller was, when other parts of the document are missing. In some cases this would be the fourth mention of the seller by name. He would then be named, first, in the preamble, as owner of the property, and as having sealed the document. In the second place, he would have been named in the specification of the property, said to belong to him. In the third place, his name would occur as the person from whom the buyer acquired the property; and lastly he is named here, as expressly debarred from any attempt to procure a revision or repudiation of the agreement.

In some cases he alone is named here: his representatives probably being considered covered by him. Instead of his actual name being given here, he is once apparently referred to as *amêlu annu*, 'this person': no. 218. Of course when there were more sellers than one, the names of each might be repeated here, or the whole group designated by some expression like 'these persons.' It is curious that no word meaning a 'seller' or 'buyer' is ever used. As the cases where there were several sellers are marked by some peculiarities of diction, I shall deal first with the cases where there is only one.

In considering what relatives were thought likely to move for a revision of the contract, we must bear in mind that the enumeration is only a legal figure of speech and the omission in any case of one relation could not be held to admit his claim. The seller's name alone was enough. Nor can we argue from the omission of any relation that such a person did not exist. Still if a man's brothers are named and not his sons, there is a tolerable presumption that as yet at any rate he had no sons. On the other hand the omission to name his brothers is no presumption that he had none. It was sufficient to name his sons alone in order to cover all male relatives.

As a rule 'his sons,' *mârêšu*, are mentioned next to the seller's name. In one case that I have noted, no. 172, 'his brothers' are named first, then the sons. There may be others. The word 'son' is usually written ideographically: either *TUR* or *TUR-UŠ* (the latter to distinguish 'son' from 'daughter' *TUR-ŠAL*) which I render always by *mâru*; or *A*, which I render *aplu*.

By far the commonest writing is *TUR-MEŠ-šu*, 'his sons,' *mârêšu*. The form *TUR-MEŠ-šú* occurs only in nos. 264 and 477. *TUR-šu*, *mâršu* sometimes occurs, and once at least, *TUR* or *mâr* occurs alone, no. 503: cf. nos. 172 and 556. I do not

regard this use of the singular 'son' as any proof that the seller had as yet but one son. The word in the singular may be used generically to cover all sons. In our contracts *aplušu* does not occur, nor any phonetic spelling of *māru*.

In many cases the enumeration proceeds no further. This may have been because the phrase 'he and his sons' would be regarded as sufficiently inclusive. In no. 384, line 12, we have *ina libbi mā(rēšu)* as expressing 'any and all heirs.'

If the enumeration proceeds further, we usually have 'grandsons' next. Of course in some cases the scribe would pass on to other representatives.

The word 'grandson' is written ideographically *TUR-TUR* and read *mār-māri*. I still feel some doubt as to the way the Assyrians read the plural. Usually we have *TUR-TUR-MEŠ-šu*, which I read provisionally *mār-mārēšu*. The singular form *TUR-TUR-šu*, *mār-mārišu* occurs in nos. 354, 503, 506 and 613. The suffix *šu* is not found here, nor the word *aplu*. No phonetic spelling of either form occurs.

The seller's 'brethren' are mentioned next in some cases. I presume they would only act in case the sons or grandsons did not. The mention of them may well be due to a desire for greater fulness and formality rather than to any real need for them to be expressly named. The word 'brother,' *aḥu*, could be ideographically represented either by *PAP*, Br. 1138, or *ŠEŠ*, Br. 6434. What Delitzsch, *H.W.B.* p. 38 b, says about *PAP* being only used to express *aḥu* in proper names is curiously at variance with the usage in our contracts. We usually have *aḥēšu*, and it is written *PAP-MEŠ-šu* at least as often as *ŠEŠ-MEŠ-šu*. The singular *aḥušu* occurs as *PAP-šu* in no. 350, as *ŠEŠ-šu* in no. 618. The suffix is usually *šu*, but once we have *PAP-MEŠ-šū*, *aḥēšū*, in no. 172. In no. 85, we have in a similar clause the phonetic spelling *a-ḥu-šū*.

The seller's 'sisters,' *aḥâtešu*, written *NIN-MEŠ-šu*, are named as well as his sons and brothers in no. 562.

The seller's 'nephews,' i.e. 'his brothers' sons,' are often included in the enumeration; in about half as many cases. Here we have a great variety of writings. The most common is *TUR-PAP-MEŠ-šu* or *mār-aḥēšu*: the next most frequent form is *TUR-ŠEŠ-MEŠ-šu* also *mār-aḥēšu*. Once we have the form *TUR-MEŠ-PAP-MEŠ-šu* or *mārê-aḥēšu*, in no. 307; twice *TUR-MEŠ-ŠEŠ-MEŠ-šu* also *mārê-aḥēšu*, in nos. 263 and 356. The form with *aplu* occurs once,

in no. 446, *A-PAP-MEŠ-šu*, *apil-aḥēšu*. The suffix is usually *šu*, only once have we *šú*, in no. 450, *TUR-PAP-MEŠ-šú* or *mâr-aḥēšú*.

It may be well to notice here that in the case of the dedication of a son to Ninip, no. 641, the relatives mentioned as likely to reclaim the lad are his uncle and his cousin. These are written *ŠEŠ-AD-šu* or *aḥ-abišu*, 'his father's brother,' or 'paternal uncle' (so probably line 12), and *TUR-ŠEŠ-AD-šu* or *mâr-aḥ-abišu*, 'his paternal uncle's son,' or 'first cousin on the father's side.'

It is noteworthy that phonetic writings of 'nephew,' 'uncle' and 'cousin' do not occur and it may be these ideograms had such readings. The Assyrian words for these relatives, if they had any, are not known to me.

From the loans, etc., we may add one or two other possible claimants. In no. 77, a slave apparently is assigned for life in lieu of a sum of money; upon the payment of that sum, any of the representatives of the borrower could reclaim the slave. Among the representatives are named 'his brethren' and also *nîšēšu*. This, written *UN-MEŠ*, included, as we learn from the use of the phrase *adi nîšēšu* in the charters etc., not only the man's blood relations but also his household slaves. It is another question whether the fellow-servants of a slave had the right to redeem him when he had been mortgaged. In this case *nîšēšu* may only mean 'blood relations,' but the mention of *aḥēšu* just before makes it somewhat probable that here at any rate other members of the household are meant.

We now consider the case of sellers in the plural. This common ownership of property may be held to fall under partnership: but see the remarks in section 94. When, as is often the case, there were more sellers than one, the names may all be set out in full here, as in no. 436 etc., each with *lû* before it; or simply one after the other. As a rule, however, they are spoken of as *amêlê annûte*, 'these persons.' In no. 500, we have *šabê šunûte*, 'those people,' or perhaps 'those servants.' In no. 400, after rehearsing the names of the sellers, the scribe wrote *lû šunu*, 'either they.'

*Amêlê* may be spelt either with *MULU*, Br. 6394; or *AMÊLU*, Br. 3881. The variant of the latter which Brünnow gives, no. 4951, only differs from Br. 3881 in that, of the last two horizontal wedges, the upper one is written on the slant instead of being horizontal. The degree of slant varies from a very slight deviation from the horizontal to an angle of about 60° and appears to me to be merely an accident



and by no means to constitute a different sign. I have treated these two signs Br. 3881 and Br. 6394 as one and for both I write *AMÊL*. In this clause, *MULU-MEŠ-e* is most common. *AMÊL-MEŠ-e* and *MULU-MEŠ* each occurs four times: *AMÊL-MEŠ* three times: *MULU-ME* twice: *MULU-e* in no. 176: and *AMÊL* alone in no. 218. Except the last *amêlu*, I read all *amêlê*.

The word *annûte* is generally spelt *an-nu-te*, but *an-nu-ti* is common. The form *an-nu-u-te* occurs in nos. 242, 256, 308, and no. 779. The variant *šunute* occurs in no. 500, being the plural masculine of *šuatū*.

In enumerating the relatives, sons, grandsons, etc., of course the plural suffix *šunu* takes the place of *šu*; that is, 'their' is written for 'his.' In our contracts *šûnu* never occurs, which is probably accidental.

Some peculiarities occur; *mâr-šunu* is written for *mârê-šunu* in no. 319. This may be an error, or *mâr* is for *mârê* generically.

The scribe has written *mârêšu* where he should have written *mârêšunu* in no. 407: also *mâr-mârêšu* for *mâr-mârêšunu* in no. 308. These I reckon errors.

Some additions to the varieties mentioned under the head of the single seller may be recorded here. Thus we have *A-MEŠ-šunu* or *aplêšunu* in no. 318. In no. 500, the suffix *šûnu* occurs and in no. 318 we have *apil-aplêšunu*. For the brethren of the sellers, *aḥêšunu*, *PAP-MEŠ-šunu* is most common, but *ŠEŠ-MEŠ-šunu* occurs in nos. 418 and 419.

601. To the list of relatives presumably entitled to intervene in the transaction because of their relationship is often appended an enumeration of the officials who might attempt to invalidate the bargain. In the almost total ignorance which has hitherto prevailed as to the functions of these officials, it is difficult to see why any of them should interfere except in their own interests. What those interests were, it is also hopeless to determine until we know more of their functions. What is said of them here may serve as a contribution towards fixing those interests and elucidating the functions. More will be found in the Chapter on the Officials.

The order in which they are named has some interest. The most frequently named is the *šaknu*. Out of four-and-twenty places where this official seems to be named, setting aside some doubtful cases, where the reading is uncertain, no further official is named except in fourteen cases. Of these fourteen, the *šaknu* is always

named first. One doubtful case occurs, in no. 77, where the order appears to be *šaknu niše bêl paḥâti šaknu ḥazânu âlišu*. We shall return to this, as the scribe seems to have confused his order.

As a rule when the *šaknu* appears, 'slaves' are being sold or pledged or otherwise involved in the sale. Cases where the slave was the object conveyed are nos. 77, 85, 164, 223, 244, 271, 307, 308; and, in no. 641, a son is dedicated to the service of a god. In nos. 426, 429, 446, 471, which are estate sales, slaves are expressly named as part of the estate conveyed. In nos. 405, 418, 419, 474, although the nature of the transaction is an estate sale, there is no express mention of slaves or serfs conveyed. In the two last cases these may have been named on the lost portion of the document. In no. 325, the property is a house, sold *ana gimirtiša*, and though no servants are named in the document, they may have been included in the phrase, 'in its entirety.' In the doubtful case no. 87 (88 dup.), a field is pledged and the lender of the money is to enjoy its crops: the specification is made that no *kêpu* and no *šaknu* (?) shall appropriate (lit. eat of) its *mutûtu*. In the other cases, where the *šaknu* is named, I see nothing to decide what the nature of the estate or property conveyed really was. From these examples I conclude that when a sale involved the transfer of personal service the *šaknu* often had rights in the matter. This does not necessarily involve the conclusion that the *šaknu* always had rights: for many such sales make no reference to him. The condensed forms of the formulae may be the reason for this omission. We may only be entitled to conclude that, when he is named, the sale involved the transfer of personal services on which he had an official lien. The transfer of real property, when slaves or serfs are not included, may, or may not, have concerned the *šaknu*. All I can say is that in no case is he named except where the presence of these persons may be reasonably assumed.

As has already long been observed, the *šaknu* is the chief official of a state or district. In the lists of Eponyms the title *šaknu*, usually written *ša-kin*, i.e. with the signs *GAR-KUR*, occurs with great frequency: and in our contracts, among the witnesses this form is common. In most cases we have the official described as *šakin* of a city, in a few cases we have the *šaknu* of a country named. The spelling usual in this clause differs, it is almost invariably *GAR-nu*, that is the ideogram *GAR*=*šakânu*, with the phonetic suffix *nu*. That this is to be read *šaknu* seems most probable, it

is of that degree of probability which I think some Assyriologists would say admitted of no doubt, or would describe as impossible, according to the purpose they had in view; a degree of probability which in the absence of proof would convince most unbiassed persons, but which can always be safely denied to have any value at all.

In no. 223, *šak-an-šu* appears; in no. 478, we have *ša-kan-šú*; in no. 560, *šak-nu-šu-nu*; in no. 477, the suffix is omitted and we have *šaknu*, i.e. *GAR-nu* simply. In no. 77, we have a very curious order, *aḥēšu*, representing the blood relations, then apparently the official *ša-kin*, but without the suffix *šu*. Perhaps this is the end of a name. Then comes *nīšēšu*, denoting perhaps the fellow-servants of the mortgaged slave; then we get the *bēl paḥāti* and then perhaps the *šaknu*, written *amēl GAR*. That the latter is a writing for *šaknu* is very likely indeed; all the more so that it is followed by *ḥazānu*, but it is odd that it should be written twice (if it is so). A phonetic spelling, *šak-nu-šu-nu* occurs in no. 560.

It seems to me probable that all the old states or cities of the Assyrian confederacy had their *šaknu*, and that newer cities and conquered countries were put under *bēl paḥāti*. Further, the king, that is the state, had claims on the service of all cultivators of the land, and could and did on occasion demand service and work from the slaves in the district, by whomsoever owned. As a consequence, as the transfer of ownership might in some cases diminish the available resources of the *šaknu* for state works, by attaching the persons sold to another *šaknu*, their obligation being through their owner to the *šaknu* of *his* city, the *šaknu* might take on him to move for a revision of the contract. Something of the inconveniences of non-resident landlords, not amenable to local needs and requirements, was already felt. The local governors were clearly prepared to assert their rights, for local purposes, over the estates in the locality, even when owned outside their jurisdiction. The object of this clause clearly was to contract out of local liabilities, the seller stipulating that the local authority should not come on the buyer for contributions of produce or of service. How far the law-courts would admit the right to make such stipulations is not clear. There is another view possible, not entirely alternative to this. It is that the property of the clan, *gens* or *familia*, was inalienable and that on the death of the seller, or at stated intervals, the heirs had the right to resume their inheritance. If so, sale outright of freehold property

was perhaps unusual, and these rights had to be expressly waived before a buyer could be assured against an attempt to resume. While this is possible, and I believe we have a few hints of some such right, see § 623, the pleas referred to in § 599 merely concern the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bargain. Even then it is conceivable that, in a certain degree, the *šaknu* may have had power on behalf of the city corporation to intervene. The sale of estates on the borders of two cities would otherwise lead to a transfer of territory which might lead to dispute. At any rate, whatever the rights of the local *šaknu*, this clause seems contrived to set them aside. It has been usual to render *šaknu* by 'governor,' and, in an undefined sense I use that term, without insisting upon any of its usual implications.

That it is a matter of local government is further borne out by the next official named. The *šaknu*, if accompanied in this clause by other officials, is generally followed by the *ḥazānu*. This official was clearly the chief civil magistrate of the city; as the *šaknu* probably was the representative of the central authority, and very likely, as such, the chief military authority.

The *ḥazānu* is named as likely to intervene, in nine documents, in each of which he is associated with the *šaknu*, and is named after him. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that he was inferior in rank, even if not subordinate, to the *šaknu*. In five of these cases, the *šaknu* and *ḥazānu* seem to cover all the intervention likely. In five cases, this official is described as *ḥazānu ališu*, that is 'the *ḥazān* of his (the seller's) city,' in the other cases we have *ḥazānašunu*. The spelling in each case is phonetic. The association with *šaknu* shews that the claims of the *ḥazān* concerned the slaves or serf population. This official title supports the idea that the claims referred to were of a municipal nature, they were certain local rights over population, certain claims which the city as a corporate body had on the resident slave population, and which probably forbade their transfer to another city jurisdiction.

It has been usual to render *ḥazānu* variously by 'prefect, ruler,' etc., but *ḥazān* is my preference. The *ḥazānu* does not occur alone, for in no. 473, we may almost certainly restore *šaknu* before him.

The next official that demands notice is the *bēl paḥāti*. His position is much less clearly defined. He is mentioned nine times. In four of them he is named alone. The sales or assignments are of slaves, or estates with slaves. In no. 230, he comes first, and is

succeeded by his *šanû*, or deputy. In no. 495 he succeeds the *šaknu* and precedes the *ḥazânu*. In no. 471 he follows the *šaknu* and *ḥazânu*. In the doubtful list, in no. 77, his place depends on whether we admit *šakin* to be really a form of *šaknu*, if so, he follows *nîšê* after *šaknu*. Otherwise he stands at the head of the officials, and the *GAR-šu* or *ša-šu* who succeeds him may be an irregular spelling of *šanû*, 'deputy.' Then comes the *ḥazânu ališu*. If, however, we are to read *GAR-šu*, as *šaknu-šu*, then in this one place the *bêl paḥâti* precedes *šaknu*. Excluding this doubtful place, we may say the *bêl paḥâti* is the inferior of the *šaknu*, and on a level with the *ḥazânu*. We may note that in no. 252, he is specified more particularly as *bêl paḥâti* of the city Samarba, and in no. 506 as *bêl paḥâti* of *Arapha*. Here the cities named are clearly those in whose district the estate lay. In no. 252, the *bêl paḥâti* is placed even before the sellers themselves.

The title is written *bêl-NAM*, in nos. 230, 252, and 506, simply *NAM*, which we may perhaps read *pihu*, in no. 471. That the *NAM* in the first form is to be read *paḥâti* is supported by the fact that when the suffix *šu* is appended, it would become *su* under the influence of the *t*. Thus in nos. 181, 199, 495 we have the writing *bêl-NAM-su*, to be read *bêl-paḥât-su*. The title has been rendered 'prefect,' and that I adopt, without insisting on the implications. I think there is reason to believe, see Chapter on the Officials, that he was a comptroller of the revenue. His function also appears to have been military, for in the letters and historical texts, he is often associated with troops. I imagine the link to be, that like Adoniram, he was 'over the levy.' That 'levy' might consist of men for works, or for military service, or of revenue contributions. His military functions I presume arose from his having to furnish and command the district, or city, quota to the Assyrian army. If so his *locus standi* in any transfer of estate carrying with it resident slaves is easily understood. The transfer of a portion of his subject population to the district of another *bêl paḥâti* would diminish his available material, and he might lodge an objection on that ground. This stipulation expressly exonerates the buyer from such an objection being brought against him.

The official title in no. 448 I have included here with some misgiving; as only *bêl* is preserved it may really belong to the next title.

In nos. 247, 436, 474, 477, 492, 500 and 508, the *bêl ilki* is named as likely to intervene. In no. 247, the context might be

taken to imply that *bêl ilkišunu* was in apposition to the relatives, that any of them, who intervened, would thereby become a *bêl ilki*. So in no. 474, we read *NIN bêl ilkišunu*, that is, as I take it, *mimmu bêl ilkišunu* 'any *bêl ilki* of theirs.' On the other hand we can hardly avoid thinking of the *ilki dupsikki* from which the charters were meant to set an estate free. That this was some service, of the nature perhaps of the *corvée*, or other 'levy,' has long been recognised. The inhabitants of an estate were doubtless liable to furnish a quota of men for the public works, and for the army. Without in the least prejudging the question of the exact meaning of *ilku*, I believe that here it refers to some such liability. The *bêl ilki* was the official who had the power to levy this quota. It naturally occurs to one to examine whether there is any indication of this term being a synonym with any of the preceding titles. In no. 474, he is named with the *šaknu* and the *šâpiru*, with whom therefore we cannot identify him. So in no. 477 with the *šaknu* again. He is, however, never named with either a *hazânu* or a *bêl paḥâti*. On the whole it seems to me reasonable to suppose that this is not the title of an official of definite rank, but rather a term defining a function. It seems to me that all these passages admit the presumption that any one of the relatives of the seller, or either of the officials above named, might on occasion become a *bêl ilki*. That would mean that being called on to furnish one or more men for some service he would seek to enforce the demand on the slaves transferred. Any such action is therefore barred by this stipulation. In such a case we ought to render the above phrase *mimmu bêl ilkišunu*, 'any one of them as *bêl ilki*,' that is, under plea of a levy. Compare the notes on no. 386; left-hand edge clause.

In no. 641, where a father dedicates his son to the service of Ninip, the officials named as likely to take him away from the god are the *šaknu* and the *râb ḥanšâ* or 'captain of fifty.' This person is certainly a military commander. As the account in 2 Kings, i. 9, suggests, 'the fifty' was a military unit in Israel, and this term renders it probable that the same was true in Assyria. It looks as if the country were divided into groups of families, each group being bound to furnish a quota of fifty men to the army. Whether the group consisted of fifty families each bound to furnish one man, is not clear. We may compare the term *kaštu* applied to land in the later times, as denoting an area bound to furnish one bowman to the army, see Hilprecht, *B. E. P.* ix. p. 36 and § 263.

We may also compare our old English division of the county into 'Hundreds' for civil and military purposes.

The title is written *ràb L* and the reading *ràb ḥanšà* is of course provisional. There can, however, be little doubt about the meaning. The title occurs elsewhere in the contracts, see Chapter on the Officials.

A term occurs here, in nos. 223, 244, 423, 429, 446, 498, and perhaps elsewhere, which I have felt some difficulty in understanding. It is spelt exactly the same way as the *ḫurbu* which is noticed above in § 599. It may be the same word. Retaining provisionally the reading *ḫurbu*, we may note that the determinative *amêl* is never put before it. Therefore I imagine this is not a title properly, but rather, as I think *bêl ilki* above to be, a designation of a function. On the other hand, in no. 446, the list *šaknu, kišir, ḫurbu, ḥazânu*, seems to fix that function as distinctly official. In no. 436, the run of the words *bêl ilkišunu ša elanni* is closely parallel with the *ḫurbu ša elanni* of no. 419. If we render the former, 'who as *bêl ilki* shall rise,' we may render the latter by 'who as *ḫurbu* shall rise.' It may be that, in some cases, we shall have to add to our list here some of those discussed before. As I have before pointed out, *ḫurrubu* is the old Babylonian term 'for sending a case before the judge.' I do not pretend to say that *ḫurbu* here does mean 'he that sends before a judge,' that is in our language 'plaintiff': nor am I at all sure that this is the way to read the word. It may be that this is quite distinct from the former *ḫurbu*. All I feel sure of is that *gurpu* or *kurbu* or *ḫurbu* denotes a person here, who, on some ground or other, may bring an action to annul the contract. Here also the presence of slaves among the property transferred is certain, except in no. 498, where no indication of the nature of the property is preserved.

It might occur to some to connect this word with the often occurring *GUR-pu-ti*, but that has been established, beyond doubt, as I think, to be really *mutir pûti*. It is not likely that this is an abbreviation. I know of no sense for *PU* that would combine with *mutir*, and in three cases we have *GUR-ub*. Hence I believe that the word always ends in *bu* or *pu*, except when the influence of the suffix *šu* leads to the ending *ub* or *up*. In no. 223, the rather unusual suffix *šû* occurs.

On the other hand, it is clear that *mutir pûti* is not an inconceivable official to intervene, for in no. 378 we have this title written *GUR-ZAG* as often. In this case 'a field' is sold, but no certain

indication of any slaves is left. It does not do to press a doubtful case like this, but the *mutir pûti* nowhere appears very intimately connected with the slave population.

In nos. 59 and 570, the *râb alâni* appears as an official likely to intervene. In the former case he immediately follows the seller and his deputy, and is in turn succeeded by the *hazânu ališu*. We may perhaps therefore identify this title with *šaknu*. In no. 570 no indication is preserved. The title means 'chief of cities.' As *alu* includes also 'villages,' perhaps the *râb alâni* was to a group of villages what the *šaknu* was to a 'city proper.'

The very common title *râb kišir* occurs here in nos. 164, 498 and 501. In no. 446, the *râb* is omitted and this official is ranked next the *šaknu* and above the *ḫurbu* and *hazânu*. In no. 164 the *râb kišir* is put next the *šaknu*, and in no. 498 below the *ḫurbu*. This official constantly occurs in the letters, etc., as a military officer and in our contracts is very frequent as a witness to all kinds of sales, and indeed every kind of transaction. The *kišru* of the old Babylonian contracts, see Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 134, means 'wages.' In the new Babylonian documents it sometimes means 'provisions,' according to Zehnpfund, *B. A. S.* 1. p. 503. Without pretending to revise these conclusions, I would point out that *kišru* clearly means a district, in no. 853, where we have Nabû-šar-ušur named as *bêl paḫâti* of Nineveh, *kišir Sin-aḫê-erba eššu*. I take that to mean 'the new quarter,' or collection of houses, belonging to, or named after Sennacherib. I believe that it is this shade of meaning which appears in *râb kišir*. The official was over a district, or collection of households (?), which furnished a quota to the army and as such took command of that quota in war. The variant in no. 498, *râb ki-šir* (*MEŠ*) seems to me to support this view. I do not read it as a plural of *râb ki-šir*, but as an indication that *râb* is to be given a generic meaning, 'one who is over such divisions as a *kišir*.'

In no. 234, after the enumeration of the relatives, the scribe adds *lû dannu*. I take it, here he means 'or any magnate'; and having regard to the use of *danânu* in the historic inscriptions, to mean 'power of place,' I feel inclined to render here, 'any power.' It is pretty clear to me that no official was properly entitled *dannu*, but that every high-placed official was a *dannu*. There is no suffix to *dannu*.

In nos. 59 and 230 we have mention of the *šanû*, literally 'second man.' In no. 59, line 14, we have *lû A, bêl paḫâti lû amêl*



*šanēšu*, that is to say 'either *A*, the *bêl paḥâti*, or his deputy.' It appears, see § 210, that in every city the chief official, *bêl paḥâti*, or *šaknu*, probably had a *šanû*, or 'deputy.' There was also usually 'a third' man in power, called *šalšu*. I do not think this was a *ḥazânu*, but the deputy of the former official. In many passages in the contracts the *šanû* appears when it is not clear that the title conveys the idea of rank, but only of deputed authority. Here *šanê* is written *II-e*. In no. 230, we have again *lû bêl paḥâti lû amêl šanû*, that is 'or the *bêl paḥâti* or his deputy.' Here *šanû* is written *II-u*. I do not believe that *ŠA-nu* is to be read *šanû*, but only *šaknu*, see above. Hence this *šanû* is really only a deputy; that is, one acting for another. That there was in each city a permanent official bearing the title of 'deputy,' does not necessitate our rendering the title always as if this official were meant. We might designate him the 'Deputy,' and reserve 'deputy' for our case and those similar to it.

Another mere agent appears in no. 246, rev. line 3, where we read *lû amêlê kâtâ šu*. It follows the name of Šil-Ašur, the *bêl paḥâti*. In this document the sellers are a *šalšu*, a *râb kišir*, and the son of Bêl-Harrân-taklak. As it is difficult to identify any of these three sellers with Šil-Ašur, I imagine they acted for him. His name therefore appears in this clause as the principal seller, and, in place of the names of those who actually sealed the document appearing, or being replaced as usual by *amêlê annûte*, we have this phrase. The term *bêl kâtâ* often occurs in our documents in the sense of 'agent' (see § 187), and I regard this phrase simply as meaning 'his agents.'

In no. 474, line 6, after the *šaknu* and before the *bêl ilki* we have the title *šâpiru*, spelt *ša-pi-ru*. In Del. *H. W. B.* p. 683 b, the first meaning given to this word is 'writer,' lit. 'he who sends the message,' and the second meaning is 'regent.' For examples of *šâpiru* as an official title, see § 622, and I think here it only means 'one who sends the order.' The case of a written order coming from the *šaknu* seems to me to be intended, so that really *šâpiru* is the 'agent,' 'under written order,' of the *šaknu*. This function appears to have been frequent in the new Babylonian contracts. Transactions often took place *ina našparti ša X*, 'on the written order of X.' Compare the discussion of the phrase *ina šâpirti šakin*. It is of course quite conceivable that the custom of doing business by agents in this way may have led to a really definite office of

*šāpiru*. A good parallel is the title *sukallu* which, from meaning merely 'messenger,' seems to have passed, through the meaning 'agent,' to a perfectly definite title, which has been rendered 'chamberlain.' 'Agent-general' would perhaps be better, and this may be the sense of *šāpiru* here. I am not aware of its occurrence elsewhere. On the whole I prefer the less definite term 'agent.'

In 209, line 15, we seem to have *lû bêlšu*, if that is what the scribe meant, as a general term for all such officials as had authority over the seller and therefore claim on his estate.

After enumerating the relatives, and sometimes after adding one or more of the official titles given above, the scribe sums up finally by saying 'or any of them.' It seems somewhat redundant, but was evidently meant to sum up all and sundry that had been named.

This term is very frequent indeed, I have noted about forty places. The commonest spelling is *NIN-nu-šu*, or *NIN-nu-šu-nu*: but we have *NIN-mu-nu-šu-nu* in no. 211: *NIN-nu-šu* in nos. 238 and 502: *NIN-ni-šu* in no. 427: *NIN-šu-nu* in nos. 318, 419 and 473, and simply *NIN* in no. 474. I think that here *NIN* is clearly used as an ideogram for 'anyone,' and that *nu*, *ni*, and *mu-nu*, are phonetic suffixes. The reading is further complicated by such forms as *NIN-mu-šu* in nos. 325 and 495, which could perhaps be read *mimma šum-šu*; *NIN-me-nu-šu* in no. 446: but is I think cleared up by *me-me-ni-šu* in no. 476, and *me-me-ni-šu-nu* in no. 246. I believe they all go back to a form *memenu* meaning 'anyone': *NIN-nu* I read *memenu*; *NIN-nu-nu* I read *memunu*; *NIN-ni* simply *memeni*; *NIN*, *memenu*; *NIN-me-nu*, *memenu*. Whether this could be attained by giving to *NIN* the syllabic value *mim* I doubt. In the curious variant *amêl MU-MU-nu-šu-nu* in no. 418 I recognise simply a by-form *mumunu*, and in *ŠAL-mu-nu-šu* in no. 489 I recognise *ŠAL* as an ideogram of *mumunu* with the phonetic suffix *mu-nu*. It may however be that *ŠAL* is an error for *NIN*. I think it not unlikely that *mimīnu* was variously altered in speech, but that it is the only actual form for 'anyone.' How it could produce *mannu* as an interrogative form, or *memeni* as an adverbial form, for 'anyhow,' is still to be discussed. In no. 164 we have the form *NIN-ma-nu*, that is *mimānu* or *mamanu*. The use of *NIN*, as an ideogram for 'anyone,' is seen in the phrase *NIN TA NIN* 'one with another,' lit. 'anyone with anyone,' in nos. 155, 163 and 780. Cf. also *NIN NIN* with the same sense in no. 168. In view of the ideo-

graphic use of *NIN* above, it may be that in no. 562, *NIN-MEŠ-šu* may be meant for a plural of *memenu*. Above I have taken it to mean *sisters*. In the Babylonian contract Rm. 157, *K. B.* iv. p. 124, I have noted the form *man-ma-nu*, which points perhaps to a reduplicated form of *mannu* which by way of *mimmanu* may lie at the root of above.

Some deviations from the usual order in the phrase *lú A, lú mârêšu* etc., may be recorded here. They are too miscellaneous to shew any definite change of sense. In no. 59 we have *lú A, lú šanêšu lú ràb alânišu lú hazânu âlišu, lú mâršu lú mâr-mâri-šu*. In no. 246, rev. 2 ff. we read *lú Šil-Ašur amêl bêl paḥâti lú amêlê ḫâtâšu lú mârêšunu lú memenišunu*. Here the actual seller was *Šil-Ašur*, but, as three of his representatives conducted the sale and sealed the document, we may conclude that these agents are here regarded as effective sellers, and their sons, not his, are included in the stipulation.

Going back over the clause, and using ourselves the words which the scribe does, I imagine we should write the sentence, *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma iḫupâni iparikûni, lú A, lú etc., ištu B etc., dinu dabâbu ubta'ûni*; that is to say 'whoever hereafter on any occasion shall set up (a claim), or take exception, whether it be *A*, his relatives or any official on his part, or shall seek a legal decision and suit against *B* and his heirs, etc.' We have already dealt with this whole sentence, except the *ištu B etc.*; which had better come next.

The preposition I render *ištu* is always written *TA*. The only question is whether we are to read *ištu*, *ultu*, or *itti*. Unfortunately a phonetic spelling does not occur.

In several cases *šá* is apparently written in place of *TA*, as in the nos. 318, 419, etc. It may be that in each case a form of *TA* is meant. Except that *šá* should have four horizontal wedges at the beginning and only two verticals, while *TA* should have only two horizontals and three verticals, the signs when badly written are very much alike. The sign *šá* is continually written with only three discernible horizontals and is then practically indistinguishable from *da*: but also the three verticals of *TA* are often only to be imagined, a sign like *iš* being written. Of course, anyone who comes to the tablet with a fixed idea that only *TA* can be here, will say *TA* is certain. One who comes to read merely what is there, content to reproduce what he sees, may often set down *šá*. Now I hold that *šá*

is quite conceivable, for it can mean 'from,' see Glossary on *šá*: and that is all we need to make sense. That the scribe meant *TA*, is now my conviction and the characters *šá* in no. 211, rev. 6, may all be altered to *TA*. I still think the scribe often wrote *TA* very like *šá*: and it is not inconceivable he meant *šá*.

The confusion, if such it be, may be connected with the very frequent association of the pronoun *ša* with *TA*. It seems to us redundant to say, 'whoever...who,' when referring to the same persons in the same clause. In the above-quoted phrase we continually find *ša*, 'who,' put in, after *lú etc.*, and before *ištu B*: and an equally common arrangement is to separate *dīnu dabābu* from *ubta'ūni* and put it before *ištu*. In both these arrangements *šá* is very much more common than *ša*. We may even have *šá* before *ubta'ūni*, and *ištu B* after it, as in no. 319: cf. no. 307: this repeated *šá* may occur before *izakupāni*, as in no. 237: or after *ištu B etc.*, as in no. 560. In no. 223, we have a very odd turn, *šá pāni* before some name, perhaps of a judge, and *ištu B* after it.

We may note that two forms of *TA* are used, as shewn in the Glossary, but I am unable to formulate any difference in their meaning. As already noted, two chief forms of arrangement are in use, *TA* may come before *dīnu dabābu ubta'ūni*, or after *dīnu dabābu*, and before *ubta'ūni*. In no. 311, *šá* occurs before *dīnu dabābu*, and *ša TA* after and before *B etc.*, and then *dīnu dabābu* is repeated before *ubta'ūni*. In no. 319, *TA B etc.* occurs after *ubta'ūni*. In no. 237, we have *TA* before *B*, and then *ŠI* (that is, *pāni*)-*šu* after *B*. In no. 246, we have *TA B iparikūni*; in no. 252, *TA B kurbu igārūni*. In no. 339, we have *TA B idibūb*, of course *dīnu dabābu* being absent; in no. 657, we have *TA B la idabūb*.

In place of the simple *TA* we get *TA-ŠI*, that is *ištu pāni*, several times; once, in no. 338, *ištu pa-an*. In no. 263, *ištu* is replaced by *a-na*. In several cases, e.g. nos. 59, 230, 264, 434, 519, the whole phrase *ištu B etc.* is omitted, though of course the sense of it is understood.

However we read *TA*, the sense, when *ubta'ūni* occurs with it, must be 'from.' To seek or obtain a legal decision or a plea 'against' *B* would be more natural for us to say; but *TA* marks, as the variant *TA ŠI* shews, the fact that such a demand is 'from,' 'at the expense of,' 'to the detriment of' the buyer. The sense of *a-na*, literally 'to,' must also be 'against,' 'in opposition to.' Of course in entering upon a legal process 'with' *B*, we may take

'with' to be a very appropriate rendering of *TA*, and then we might read *itti*. On the whole, however, it seems to me that *ištu* or *ultu* is the best reading and 'from' the most literal rendering.

602. The enumeration of buyer and representatives follows much the same plan as that of the seller and his representatives.

The preposition *TA* is repeated before the separate members of the list in very many cases, e.g. nos. 187 (twice), 260 (three times), 318 (three times), 349 (twice), 414 (twice), 418 (twice), 427 (twice), 468 (twice), 478 (twice), etc.

Of course this insertion of the buyer's name affords a second place to look out for it, in seeking to recognise the parties to the contract. The other place is earlier, after *upišma*. The real buyer may be named here alone: only his agent occurring earlier.

The buyer's sons usually follow. Usually we have *TUR-MEŠ-šu*, i.e. *mârêšu*. Very common is *TUR-šu*, i.e. *mâršu*, 'his son,' used generically for 'sons.' In no. 559, we have *A-MEŠ-šu*, i.e. *aplêšu*. The suffix *šu* is usual, I have only noticed *šû* once, in no. 470. In no. 307, we have *mârêša*, 'her sons,' used of a lady buyer. In no. 223, we have *arkušu*, 'his successor,' in place of 'his son,' and in no. 244, *arkušu* is used of a lady buyer in place of the more correct *arkuša*.

The buyer's grandsons usually follow his sons. We generally have *TUR-TUR-MEŠ-šu*, *mâr-mârêšu*: also *TUR-TUR-MEŠ*, *mâr-mârê*, without the suffix, in nos. 235, 308, and 560: with the suffix *šû*, in no. 477, with suffix *ša*, in no. 307. The singular *TUR-TUR-šu*, *mâr-mârî-šu*, 'his grandson,' occurs generically, in nos. 336, 503 and 613. A variant *UN-MEŠ-šu*, i.e. *nîšêšu*, occurs in no. 389.

The buyer's brethren are less often named, but we have *PAP-MEŠ-šu* three times, and *ŠEŠ-MEŠ-šu* also three times.

The buyer's nephews, or brothers' sons, are named in fewer places, *TUR-ŠEŠ-MEŠ-šu mâr-ahêšu*, in nos. 238 and 260; and *TUR-PAP-MEŠ-šu, mâr-ahêšu*, in no. 508, cf. also no. 405.

A general *résumé* of the buyer and his relatives is given in no. 446, by *NIN-ME-MU-šu*, which I venture to read *memenu šûm-šu*, or 'what's his name.'

The separate members of this list are sometimes divided by *û*, as in nos. 374, 378, but usually they run on without conjunctions. Of course this list contains no mention of officials to intervene for the buyer.

603. We collect here some of the deviations from the normal arrangement and logical order which may be noted.

After *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma*, before *izaḫupâni*, *ša* is repeated, in no. 374, rev. 2.

So *mannu ša* is repeated after *ina matêma* and before *izaḫupâni*, in nos. 418, 471. In the latter case also, after *lû A etc.* *mannu ša* is again repeated before *elâni*, and then *ša ištu B* follows: so that *ša* occurs four times in one sentence with the same antecedent. So too, *mannu ša* is written where we usually have *ša* alone, before *dînu dabâbu*, in no. 181, line 13.

*Mannu* is repeated after *izaḫupâni*, and before *iparikûni*, in no. 174.

After *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma*, *lû A etc.* follows, and the sentence is resumed with *ša izaḫupâni*, in no. 59.

After *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matême iḫabbûni lû amêlê lâ adin*, *lû A etc.*, the sentence is resumed with *ša iḫabbûni mâ nîšê lâ addin*, no. 264.

After *mannu ša ina matêma ina arkat ûmê elâni*, *lû A etc.*, we have again *ša elâni dînu dabâbu ištu B etc.* *igârûni iḫabbûni mâ kaspu gammur lâ tadin eklu bitu kirû lâ apil lâ zariḫ lâ laḫḫi*, in no. 436. In no. 474, the arrangement is the same, *ša elâni* coming after the seller and his representatives, and also *elâni* before them. Here, however, the pleas are omitted.

After *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma*, we have *šâ (ŠI =) pân A*, *lû mârêšu etc.* *izaḫupâni iparikûni*, in no. 310. So after *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma izaḫupâni iparikûni lû A etc.*, we have, in no. 311, *šâ dînu dabâbu ša ištu B etc.* *dînu dabâbu ubta'ûni*.

The phrase is written without *ša* in no. 386, *mannu ina urkiš ina matê*.

604. Properly speaking the whole sentence hitherto considered, is one clause, to which the first penalty is a complement. If anyone shall attempt to upset the agreement he shall suffer such and such penalties. Hence the penalties really come under the stipulation *S<sub>2</sub>*. It seems, however, desirable for the sake of completeness, and systematic treatment, to take all the penalties together here and to consider the whole subject of the sanctions to the contracts.

In earlier, and possibly more pious times, the sanction to a contract was embodied in an oath, taken by the parties to observe their agreement. The injured party thus placed himself under the protection of the divine power and invoked the vengeance of the

deity upon him who should do the wrong. In the old Babylonian contracts (see Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* passim) the formula of this oath seems to have been *MU ili Šamaš etc.*, or *MU Ammizaduga šarri*, 'by the name of Šamaš,' or 'by the name of Ammizaduga the king, he swore' *itmâ*. Very often the two forms are combined. The king, of course, was the earthly representative of the divinity, and as such guardian of the right, and upholder of justice. We may compare the often occurring epithets in the historical inscriptions, e.g. *nâšir kitti*, *râ'im mišari*: though this may not really refer to the king's function as 'protector of the right and lover of justice,' so much as to the private virtue of his character.

In the documents of the period embraced by this work, traces of this formula are preserved for us in the charters or proclamations. Thus, in nos. 651, 658 and 659, we have a formula which is restored by no. 652; compare nos. 646, 647. In full it seems to have been, *MU Ašur, Šamaš... Ištar Aššurîti, Adadi, Nêrgal, Ninip, û ili Sibitti, naḫḫar ilâni annûte rabûte ša mât Aššur*; see no. 651. That is to say, 'in the name of Ašur, Šamaš, ... Ištar of Assyria, Adad, Nêrgal, Ninip and Sibitti, in all, these great gods of Assyria.' The missing god appears, from no. 652, to be *ilu Be-ir*. The list of gods is of interest because it dates from the time of Adadi-nirâri, B.C. 794, on no. 651. In nos. 646, 647, of about the year B.C. 655, we have *ni-iš Ašur, Adadi, Be-ir, Bêl En-lil Aššurû, Ištar Aššurîtu*. Here *MU* is replaced by *nîš*. The meaning of this word is disputed. Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 482 b, f., considers it to mean first, 'existence,' and as such a synonym of *naḫištu*, 'soul,' and of *šumu*, 'name.' As far as this formula goes we may regard it as simply indicating an oath, and render 'by.' The verb appropriate to it would be either *tamû* or *saḫâru*. These verbs do not occur in our documents. The list of gods is rather interesting for its changes. Šamaš, Nêrgal and Ninip have disappeared, and Bêl of Assyria has come in. The rather obscure god *BE-IR*, or is it *Lâbir* (?), retains a place.

Some years later, at the accession (?) or Ašur-etil-ilâni, in no. 649, we have *ni-iš Ašur...*, by Ašur.... The list of gods is not yet complete.

It is the same divine sanction which is invoked in the formula, *Šamaš lû bêt dînišu*. As *bêt dîni* probably means the 'owner of the legal decision,' that is the party who brings the suit, this probably means that Šamaš was to take up the case and be the adversary of the wrong-doer. It does not seem to me to be the same as 'Šamaš

be judge.' That Šamaš was 'the divine judge' we know, but so were other gods. I do not think that *bêl dînišu* is exactly equivalent to *daianušu*. In either case the meaning is ultimately the same. The god is appealed to, to vindicate the right and avenge the wrong. This occurs in no. 711.

In no. 318, we have *Ašur, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû lû bêl dînišu*. In both these cases and in 780, line 12, we have *lu-û*: the gods in this case are, *Ašur Šamaš Nabû Marduk*. The phrase occurs without *lû*, in no. 161, *Ašur û Šamaš bêl-di-ni-e-šu*. Here the addition of *ê* to *bêl dîni* is noteworthy. Was it meant to make a plural of *bêl dîni*? As a rule the singular *bêl dînišu* is used without alteration for several gods. So, beside the examples above, we have in no. 163, *Ašur Marduk bêl dînišu*. In this case the line before has *ana Ašur bêl dînišu X manê kaspi iddan*, 'to Ašur, the vindicator of the right, he shall pay ten minas of silver.' That *bêl dînišu* is not the 'judge,' but the 'avenger' or the 'intervener' in the suit, seems clear from no. 168. There we read *mannu ša iparikûni lû mâr šarri lû bêl dînišu etc.*, 'shall pay a forfeit.' Clearly here the Crown Prince was a party or had some claim on the property. As it occurs in a legal decision, it is probable that here *bêl dînišu* is the opposing party: perhaps we could render 'plaintiff.' It means more than 'plaintiff,' it means the successful suitor, one who has proved his right, gained the day and is in possession of the decision. In no. 243, after the relatives, perhaps *bêl dînišu* was named.

In no. 476, we read in line 2 of reverse, *adê ša šarri lû bêl dînišu*, 'the decisions of the king be the vindicator of his cause.' The *adê ša šarri* are often named in the letters, 'to enter into them' was to take the oath of fealty to the sovereign. They were the agreements drawn up apparently between the sovereign and his people. The word *adê* is used of the treaties between two sovereigns, as between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre. It looks as if there was a code of law, something after the style of our Coronation oath, to which perhaps the king swore, and to which each state officer also swore on taking office. The letters convey to me the impression that this 'entering into the *adê*,' like some ceremony of 'swearing in' of the officials, was an annual affair. A favourable day for performing the ceremony is the subject of enquiry in K 682, see *H. A. B. L.* p. 216.

To this code, then, appeal is made, 'it shall be the vindicator of the right.' It shall be *vindex* as well as *index*.



The words *bêl dînišu* also occur in no. 491, but in a position which suggests that it is the end of a proper name. In view of the above, I think that Šamaš-lû-bêl-dînišu is not an unlikely Assyrian name.

In no. 619, line 3 of rev. f., we have *Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, ilâni ša mât Aššur ana kâtâšu luba'u*, that is, 'may Ašur Sin Šamaš Bêl and Nabû the gods of Assyria require it at his (the wrong-doer's) hands.' The use of the same verb in the phrase *dîni dabâbu ubta'ûni*, bears out my contention that the god is appealed to, to appear as 'plaintiff' against the wrong-doer.

The appeal to the *adê* of the king also occurs in no. 62, line 5, where we read, *adê ša šarrišu uba'*, 'he shall appeal to the *adê* of his king.' I do not think this constituted the king's private judgement as the ultimate arbiter. That would be expressed better by *țêm šarri*; or his official decision as judge, by *dênu šarri*. The *adê*, I believe, were certain rules or legal precedents already decided and agreed upon. Is it too much to suppose that they included some such cases as are recorded in Rm. 77, etc., of which Meissner, *B. A. S.* III. 493 ff., has published specimens? The appropriateness of such decisions to the case of no. 62, is obvious. If I am right in my surmise, Assyria had begun to collect a code of laws. In no. 177, the form runs *adê ša šarri bêlišu uba'*. The addition of *bêlišu* to *šarri* alters nothing.

With respect to these *adê* it is tempting to compare the cases in Meissner, *A. B. P. R.*, where appeal or reference is made to *šindat šarri*. The 'yoke of the king' would not be an inappropriate name for such a body of decided cases. It would doubtless be his 'yoke' on the people, but also to some kings a 'yoke' on themselves. However, Winckler, *A. F.* II. 90, has given reason to think it has nothing to do with a 'yoke,' but is rather a standard of reference. That does not militate against the comparison, but rather supports it.

It is only rarely that any allusion to the king as arbiter or judge is made. In one case, in a legal decision, the collocation of the fragmentary remains suggests that the king Ašurbânipal himself had acted as *sartênu* or chief judge (no. 321). In another case, no. 150, it is stipulated that if the property lent be not returned at the proper date, 'twenty minas of silver shall be paid to the king.' We have here no means of deciding whether this was compensation for the property, which may have been the king's, or really a fine payable to him.

*The Penalties.*

## 605. Penalty I.

Failing the influence of religious reverence for divine right and the law, a material penalty is attached to the breach of contract. A certain definite sum of silver, or gold, or both, is named, to be paid to the treasury of some god or goddess. As a rule the divinity is indicated as the god 'inhabiting,' *âšib*, or *âšibat* in the case of a goddess, such and such a city. It is of interest to note these incidental notices of the local cults: they are given in the Table of local divinities.

The usual phrase was *x manê kaspi y manê ħurâši ina burki ilu A âšibi âl B išakkan*; that is, 'so many minas of silver, so many minas of gold, in the treasury of the god *A*, inhabiting the city of *B*, he, the offender, shall place.'

The word *burku* is not clear, the rendering 'treasury' is very free, and based merely on the probability that the money would find its way there, wherever it was originally put by the offender. There is some reason to think that *burku* means some part of the body, see Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 186 a. Otherwise one might be tempted to read *purku*, and connect with the root of *parakku* which means a shrine or holy chamber of some sort: see *H. W. B.* p. 541 a. Other forfeits were paid *ina šêpâ*, 'at the feet' of a god: and it may be 'the knees,' or 'lap' of a seated god, who would be clothed in such a way that even male divinities would have a real lap.

That *burku* is a part of the person, appears certain from K 8268, Cata. p. 911.

In no. 385, the destination of the forfeit is the *atru* or *adru* of Nabû, which pretty certainly means the 'court of the temple,' hence probably the treasury.

The amounts of silver and gold to be paid in this way as forfeit are very large, amounting to as much as two talents of silver in nos. 470, 471; and to two talents of gold in no. 376. That such large sums were ever paid I think improbable. I imagine that according to ancient and antiquated ideas the enormity of the penalty was held to be a powerful deterrent. The relation of the amount of the penalty to the price at one time seemed likely to be an interesting enquiry. I accordingly tabulated the prices and penalties together. There is certainly no fixed relation between the price

and the penalty. In a fair number of cases (ten), however, the penalty in silver is tenfold the price in silver. In as many as seventeen cases, the penalty is ten minas of silver and one mina of gold. This penalty is attached when the price is one mina of silver, at least three times, but is also set down when the price is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mina, 35 shekels, 30 shekels, two minas, two minas Carchemish, ten minas, one and a half minas, half a mina, three minas 30 shekels, ten shekels, five minas, three minas, six minas, respectively, of silver. It looks rather as if it were regarded as a fair average penalty to set down, than that it was a calculated multiple of the price. The other relations are even less consistent. On the whole, I conclude the penalty bore no relation to the value of the property, though high penalties were associated with valuable property, but that its amount was usually set high, in order to deter the seller from disturbing the buyer.

On the whole, the most common amount in silver was ten minas, the next most common one mina. In gold the commonest amount was one mina, then two minas. Silver is often spoken of as *misû*, 'clean,' perhaps in the sense of new, or free from the soil of commerce. The gold is often called *sakru*, which I render tentatively by 'fine.' On these terms, see § 317.

Very little variation occurs in the phrase *ina burki*. The usual way of writing *ina* is with one horizontal wedge. The phonetic spelling *a-na* occurs in nos. 246, 332 and 485, and *i-na* in no. 501. The word *burki* is generally spelt *bur-ki*; phonetically *bu-ur-ki* in no. 376, and *bur-(ur)-ki* in no. 225.

The list of gods is dealt with later, see § 606.

The epithet *a-šib* is most usual, *a-ši-bat* for goddesses. Also *a-ši-bi* occurs several times, and *a-ši-bát* in nos. 330, 376. The god is often said to be *ša ál*.... In place of this designation, in no. 181, Adadi is said to be *bêl ál Kalzi*.

The usual writing of *išakkan* is *GAR-an*, but *i-šak-kan* is common, and *i-ša-kan* occurs several times. We have *i-GAR-nu* in no. 334, that is *GAR* = *šakânu*, with phonetic prefix *i*, and phonetic suffix *nu*, read *i-šakka-nu*. In place of *išakkan*, in this phrase, *iddan*, 'shall give,' is quite common. It is written *SE-an*. Once it appears that *û-rak-ka-ša*, 'shall devote,' occurs in no. 244, but the reading is uncertain. The verb is omitted apparently, in no. 376. For *išakkan*, *GAR* alone is sometimes written.

A substitute for this formula is the simpler phrase *ana ili*...

*iddan*. This occurs very frequently, e.g. nos. 234, 248, 350, 283 a, 330, 359, 507, 384, 417, 425, 460, 596, 453, 520. In no. 385, the forfeit is to be paid *ana* (or *ina*) *atrišu ana Nabû*. In this case it was not money but corn, *ŠE-PAT-MEŠ*. Here *ana atri* may mean 'in addition,' but also 'the treasury' of the god, see § 557. In no. 506, the penalty is divided, the silver being payable to Ištar of Nineveh, and the gold to Ninip. So too, in no. 321, it seems that Ašur and Šamaš divide the money.

Beside this we also have a sum of money to be paid, but the destination is not mentioned. Thus we read simply of the offender, that *X manê kaspi iddan*, 'ten minas of silver he shall pay.' As far as the tablet goes, therefore, we do not know whether this fine is to be paid to a god, and if so we are not told to which god or goddess. It may be it was to be paid to the injured party. That I regard as improbable.

The general sense of this penalty admits of no doubt. The money was to be paid to the god, that is, of course, to the treasury of the temple. Whether such fines ever did get paid is another question altogether. It seems likely enough that if the seller found it really worth while to repudiate his bargain he would contrive some way to avoid the penalty or satisfy the priests with less. That the temples did sometimes profit by fines appears to explain the fact that in no. 806, which appears to contain a list of the lands held as endowments by a temple, we find certain lands as having been presented in the time of Tiglath Pileser by the *bêl-paḥâti* of Simê, *kûm damê* as composition for blood, or 'blood-money.'

This penalty is denoted as forfeit, *F*<sub>1</sub>.

### *Local Divinities.*

606. The penalties payable, under stipulation *S*<sub>2</sub>, as forfeits to the gods for breach of contract, are deserving of attention from the information they afford as to the local cults of these divinities. Ištar, for example, was undoubtedly the city goddess of Nineveh, as she was also of Arbela. She is therefore spoken of as *ilu Ištar âšibat âl Ninûa*, 'Ištar that dwells in Nineveh.' Nineveh was, so to speak, her 'home.' This seems to be a convenient place in which to collect all the notices of the gods scattered throughout the contracts.

We may begin with *Ašur*. The name is generally written *ilu*

*AŠ-sur*, or as often without the *ilu*, simply *AŠ-sur*. The phonetic spelling *A-sur* does not occur in our documents. The form *ilu III* occurs in nos. 321, 394 and 649. The *burki* of Ašur as destination of a fine only occurs in nos. 321 and 394. In the former case, it seems as if the fine were to be divided with Šamaš. He is frequently named with other gods in the oath which the king swore, and imposed on his successors, to respect the charter, which he granted. When named with other gods Ašur is invariably placed first. In no. 425, the fine was to be paid to *Ašur âšib Êšarra*, 'to Ašur that dwells in Êšarra.' He is however not said to 'inhabit' any particular city. The *ginû* of Ašur is mentioned, in nos. 48 and 49, where the money advanced is said to be *ginû ša Ašur*, and in no. 363, where a certain plantation is said to be *šá ginê šá Ašur ilu NIN-LIL*, that is to belong to the *ginû* of Ašur, and his consort *NIN-LIL* or Bêlit. The forfeit of 'white horses' was often to be paid to Ašur, see nos. 62, 263, 337, 386, 429, 464, 470, and 471. He appears as *bêl dini*, the 'vindicator of wrong' in no. 163, and in a different way as 'avenger of wrong' in no. 619. Of course he shared with other gods this function, when appealed to in the oaths referred to above; § 604.

His consort *Bêlit*, written *NIN-LIL*, appears with him, as noted above, in no. 363. Alone, she appears as *âšibat Êšarra*, in no. 645, line 1. The same tablet shews that she is to be distinguished from *ilu Be-lit âl Ninûa*, who is there said, rev. line 1, to inhabit *E-MAŠ-MAŠ*. In no. 62, she is associated with Ašur in so far that, while he is to receive 'two white horses,' she is to receive a 'mina of gold.' In no. 243, she is named alone, as in no. 337; in both cases a forfeit appears to be payable to her *burku*. In no. 559, rev. line 2, the *burki* of a god or goddess *âšib Êšarra* is the destination of the forfeit: if one could depend on the masculine *âšib*, this would mean Ašur; the goddess *Bêlit* is the alternative.

The goddess Bêlit of Nineveh referred to above, as occurring in no. 645, may be also named in no. 236, line 14, where we have *ilu NIN...âšibat âl Ninûa*. I was perhaps wrong in restoring the name as *NIN-GAL*, but this goddess occurs in nos. 215 and 389. Dr Zimmern, *G. G. A.* 1889, Nr. 3, p. 248, says we should restore *NIN-LIL*. This would make Bêlit, *NIN-LIL*, a city goddess of Nineveh. This is in contradiction to the contrast between the Lady of Nineveh, and *NIN-LIL*. It may be that *NIN* alone was written here, and that Ištar of Nineveh is meant.

Another goddess Bêlit is named, in no. 436, as *Be-lit šêri*, and in no. 474, as *Be-lit ilu šêri*. In these cases the penalty was the devotion of the offender's eldest daughter to this goddess. As Dr Zimmern, l. c. p. 251, points out, this is clearly the same goddess as the *Bi-la-tu šî-e-ri* of no. 310. He further identifies her with Ašratu, 'the Lady of the desert,' אֲשֶׁרֶת, cf. Jensen, *Z. A.* xi. 302 ff. In no. 310, she is to receive as forfeit, two *imêr riêê tábûti*, along with the eldest son, or eldest daughter. In the same context Ištar of Nineveh appears, so there is no connection between these goddesses.

The goddess Ištar of Nineveh is naturally most frequently named of all the deities. For probably nearly all our documents are concerned with Ninevites primarily. The name is written *ilu XV*, *XV* simply, and *Iš-tar* phonetically, with about equal frequency. The goddess owned the money advanced in no. 37. It is probable that her head was stamped on the money named in nos. 38, 39. Her *burku* is the destination of the forfeit in nos. 86, 203, 242, and often.

The goddess Ištar of Arbela is named, less than half as many times as Ištar of Nineveh. Nine or ten times she is owner of the money advanced, in no. 409 of an estate, next to that sold. Her *burku* is named in nos. 180, 376, 446 and 519. In no. 485, the *burku* of a goddess (end of *bat* is preserved) *âšibat âl Arbailu*, is named, and in no. 492, that of some deity of Arbela. We can hardly doubt that Ištar of Arbela is meant in these two cases. In no. 384, the forfeit is to be paid to the *Bêlat Arbaili*, who was probably Ištar.

The goddess Ištar Aššurîtu is named in nos. 646 (twice), 647 (prob. twice), 651, 652, 659. The spellings of the name are *ilu Iš-tar AŠ-ŠUR-KI-i-tu*, *ilu Iš-tar AŠ-ŠUR-KI-i-tum*, *ilu Iš-tar Aš-šû-ri-te*, ...*šû-ri-tú* and *ilu Iš-tar Aš-šû*.... It is not easy to say which of the last two goddesses is really meant.

In quite a number of cases the fragmentary condition of the tablet prevents our deciding which of the above two Ištars is meant. That one is intended is probable, for we can generally see that it was an Ištar *âšibat*, or *ša*, some city.

In some cases Ištar is used without any indication having been given by the scribe as to which he meant. In no. 172, we have a witness described as *ardu šá ilu Ištar*: in no. 444, a *bît ilu Ištar* or 'temple of Ištar' is named; and in no. 640, a 'priest of Ištar'

appears as witness. In no. 570, the penalty is to devote perhaps two 'white horses' to Ištar.

Of all the other localised gods, Ninip, if that was his real name, is most often named. Usually his name is written *ilu BAR*: but in no. 640, we have *ilu Nin-ip*, written three times, and in no. 641, twice. The form *ilu BAR* occurs in these two tablets, twice in the former, four times in the latter, in such a way as to leave no doubt of the identity of the gods named. His *burku* is often named, and except in no. 506, he is then always said to 'inhabit' Kalḫu. So, in no. 640, he is described as *ša kirib âl Kalḫa* 'who is in the midst of Kalḫu.' He was therefore preeminently the town-god of Kalḫu. Iddinia is mentioned as his priest, in nos. 640, 641 and 642. In no. 640, we also have mention of his *râb-BI-LUL*, and his *MU-Biti*. We read of his temple in no. 640, and in no. 50, Aḫulârim is said to be its *kêpu*. In no. 640, the lady Ramtî dedicated her son Dûr-maki-Ištar, with the consent of his next of kin, to Ninip of Kalḫu. In no. 641, a *šaḫû*, Mannu-dik-alak, dedicated his son to the same god. In no. 642, his priest, Iddinia, bought Šumma-Nabû, a skilled weaver, for the service of Ninip. He only occurs once, among the gods by whom the king swore to observe his charter, in no. 651. In no. 310, a penalty is that the offender shall dedicate a great bow of bronze to Ninip of Kalḫu.

Sin of Ḥarran occupies the next place. His name is written *ilu XXX*. Curiously enough, with this title, as 'inhabiting Ḥarran,' he is only named in connection with a penalty of two or more 'white horses' to be paid him by an offender, in nos. 215, 262, 275 and 389.

Sin of Dûr-Sargon is named in no. 336, and to his *burku* the forfeit for breach of contract was to be paid.

Sin is, however, often named without indication of his city. Chiefly his *burku* is named, but once, in no. 619, he is named as the avenger of wrong. In no. 436, the delinquent is to dedicate his son to Sin. When we recall the restoration of the temple of Sin at Ḥarran by Ašurbanipal, we may perhaps see in these references a reflection of the popular revival of his worship at that period.

The god Rammân, or, as we should perhaps read his name, Adadi, seems to have had a localised cult in several places. Thus, in no. 500, we have Adadi of Dûr-Bêl, or, as we ought perhaps to read, Dûr-Ea. In no. 228, we have Adadi of Anatu, and in no. 181, Adadi of Kalzi. In nos. 338, 397, and 501, we have Adadi of *Âl...*,

the city name being lost. In every case the name is written *AN-IM*. He is appealed to, in the royal oaths, nos. 646, 647, 651, 652, 658. His priest occurs, as a witness, in no. 640. As a penalty, a son was to be devoted to him, in no. 632.

The god Bêl is occasionally named, but his cult is not localised by our contracts. In no. 216, I think his priest is named. The *Êna Bêl*, written *ŠI-2-MEŠ*, is named, in line 2 of no. 665. He appears as avenger of wrong in no. 619, and perhaps in no. 641, rev. 6. He is appealed to, by the king, in oaths to preserve a charter, see nos. 646, 647. It was at his command, coupled with that of Nabû, that the king Ašur-etil-ilâni undertook some expedition in no. 650. His *burku* actually occurs in no. 259. In these cases, the name is written *ilu EN*, with or without a ligature. In no. 650, the scribe has prefixed another *ilu*.

In nos. 646, 647, the name is written *ilu EN-LIL Aššurû* (i.e. *ÁŠ-ŠUR-KI-Ú*). In the curious term, or phrase, *ina kaḳḳadu ilu BÍL*, in nos. 53, 57 and 105, we perhaps have not a god's name at all; see § 508.

Nabû of Nineveh has a priest, as witness, in no. 394, his *burku* is named in no. 428, if my reading of line 5 of rev. is right. The name is written *AN-PA*, or *AN-AK*, with ligature in nos. 428 and 650, without, in no. 640. Without any localisation the *burku* of Nabû is named in no. 585; his *pirḫînu*, in nos. 302 and 640; his priest in 640, 641 and 642; his *MU-bîti* in no. 640. He is 'avenger of wrong' in no. 619, and at his command Ašur-etil-ilâni acted in no. 650.

Nêrgal, if we are so to read *ilu BAR-BAR*, is usually found in the forfeit of *imêr ḫarbakanni*. In those forfeits he seems to have been identified with *ilu ŠEŠ-GAL* or *aḫu rabû*, 'the elder brother'. This may be the meaning of *BAR-BAR* also, for *BAR* = *aḫu*, see Brünnow, but also *aḫû* = 'enemy'; cf. *UR-UR-RI* in K 2022, Del. II. W. B. p. 41. 'The great enemy' is an appropriate name for Nêrgal. We learn from no. 364 that Nêrgal had a plantation in Nineveh.

Nêrgal is named among the gods in Adadi-nirâri's oath, in no. 651.

Šamaš had a temple by the gate of Nineveh, no. 619; and he is appealed to as the 'avenger of wrong' there, and named in the oath, in no. 651. In these cases, his name is phonetically written, *ilu Ša-maš*. The name written *ilu UD* occurs in no. 321, where his



*burku* is named; in no. 630, where his *âl šē* is referred to; and in no. 711, where he is appealed to, to be the *bêl dîni*, or 'vindicator of the right.'

*Belânu* of the city *Hirana*, written *ilu Be-la-nu* (which may be read *Tillanu*), is named in no. 210. His *burku* was to be the destination of the forfeit and he is spoken of as *âšibi âlu Hirana*.

*Ilu Be-ir*, whose name we may read *Bêr*, *Bîr*, or *Lâbir* is only named in the oaths, nos. 646, 647, 651 and 652.

In no. 244, 17 f., we have mention of the *burki* of *ilu...âšib âli û-rak-ka-ša*. I take this to mean a god inhabiting 'the city,' that is, of the delinquent. Perhaps *alu* here denotes Nineveh, or possibly Aššur. I think *urakkaša* is not the name of the city, but only a form of *urakkasa*.

In nos. 206 and 209, we have mention of the *burku* of a god *âšibi âl Aššur*. It is rather tantalising not to have this god's name. In no. 198 we have the *burku* of some god inhabiting Nineveh. This of course may be Ištar, but also possibly Nabû or Nêrgal.

The *burku* of a god is named in nos. 173, 177, 225, 244, 378, 413, without any clue to the deity referred to.

**607.** Penalty II. Another penalty destined to the enrichment of the temple was the obligation to dedicate horses to a divinity. It occurs over twenty times. It is one of those clauses that have suffered most frequently from the mutilation of the tablets.

In full, it reads *II sîsê pišûti ana šêpâ ili X irakkas*, 'he shall devote two white horses to the god X.' It occurs more or less completely thus, in nos. 215, 263, 275, 350, 386, 389, 429, 464, 470, 471 and 570. The number of horses, when preserved, is usually 'two,' but in no. 215, we have 'four.' 'Horses,' *sîsê*, is written *IMÊR-KUR-RA-MEŠ*, as a rule; in no. 62, *KUR* alone is written; in no. 261, only *KUR-RA* is left.

The adjective *pišû*, 'white,' is written *UD-MEŠ*, and assuming that *sîsu* here is masculine, I read *pišûti*. It is lost in several places, but never omitted, when its place is preserved.

The preposition *ana* is usually written with the single horizontal wedge, once it is given phonetically *a-na* in no. 262. As, however, this is not followed by *šêpâ*, it is conceivable that we are to read it *ina* as a rule.

The word *šêpâ* is that usually given, but it is replaced by *KI-TA* in no. 215, literally 'below,' 'at the foot of': *ana šêpâ* means of course 'at the feet of.' In place of this, we have simply *ana*, in no. 262.

The gods who were to benefit by this clause are, so far as preserved, Sin of Haran, in nos. 215, 262, 275 and 389; Ašur, in nos. 62, 263, 337, 386, 429, 464, 470, 471: and Ištar, in no. 570. In no. 280, we have only *iddan*, no god being named.

The verb *irakkas* is variously written: most often *i-rak-kas*, also *i-ra-ka-sa* in nos. 386 and 570; which I take to fix the verb as *rakâsu*, not *rakâšu*. The form *i-ra-kas* occurs in nos. 350 and 464. The phrase *ina šêpâ ili irakkas* means literally 'he shall bind, or harness, at the feet of the god.' I take it that means 'he shall devote to the god for his chariot.' It is, however, also used in the wider sense of devotion or dedication to service, both of a child and of money in nos. 244 and 310.

That this general sense is the best to take is shewn by the variants. In nos. 262 and 280, we have *idan* and *SE-an*, 'he shall give.' In nos. 62 and 337, we have *išakkan*, 'he shall place.' Beside the above-named cases, we clearly have part of this penalty preserved, in no. 326, rev. 1; *II sîsê pišûti*, in no. 394, R 5; *sîsê pišûti*, in no. 426, R 9; and *ana šêpâ*, in no. 560.

This penalty is denoted as forfeit, *F<sub>2</sub>*.

608. Penalty III. This was the devotion of some animals called *ḥarbakanni* to a god. We may regard the full form as, *IV imêr ḥarbakanni ana šêpâ ili X ušerab*. Parts of this occur in nos. 263, 326, 336, 350, 394, 429, 464, 471, 481, 498 and 570.

The number when preserved is always 'four.' In no. 263, the scribe has written *sik* for *imêr*: unless this is meant to mark the animal as a 'wool bearer,' it must surely be an error. All the other cases are *imêr*. In no. 485, rev. 1, we have *KUR-MEŠ ḥarbakanni*. Unless the scribe began again the last penalty and left the *KUR-MEŠ* unerased, we have here the clue to what the animal was. This, and its usual association with the last penalty, the clause occurs alone only in nos. 336, 481 and 498, incline me to think that *ḥarbakanni* is an epithet of some kind of 'horse.' It is usually written *ḥar-ba-kan-ni*, also *ḥar-bak-kan-ni* in nos. 336, 394 and probably 326. Of course the word might be read *mur-bakanni*, in which case the *mur* may have the same origin, or force, as that in *murnišku*, also a name for some species, or quality, of 'horse.' The latter Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 391 b, connects with *mûru* a young animal: however that may be, the reading *mu-ur-ni-is-ke-ia*, in III. R. 38, Nr. 2, rev. 62, makes the reading *mûr* certain for the one animal. We may therefore look for a separate meaning for *bakanni*,

or *baganni*. May we not suppose both words to belong to the language of the horse-producing country, perhaps Cilicia or North Syria? That a bird is also called *ḥarbakanni*, finds its parallel in the *atân nâri*, or 'river ass,' i.e. pelican, see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 158 b. For the bird name see Del. *H. W. B.* p. 289 a, where one spelling is *ḥar-ba-ka-nu*: see also K 6082, Col. III. 7, in Winckler, *Samml.* II. 67.

The destination of this forfeit is expressed generally by *ana šēpâ*; *ana KI-TA* is found in nos. 263, 394, 498, 560, and *KI-TA* alone, in no. 336.

The god usually named is Nêrgal, *ilu BAR-BAR*, but his name is written *ilu URU-GAL* or *ŠEŠ-GAL*, i.e. *aḥu rabû*, 'the elder brother,' in nos. 263 and 481. Sin of Ḥarran seems to have been written, in no. 429.

The verb of this sentence is generally *ušērab*, the same term as is used in the mortgages for returning the loan. It clearly is derived from *erēbu*, 'to enter': 'he shall cause to enter,' 'return' or 'pay back.' As variant to this we have *irakkas*, in no. 481: that is 'shall bind,' 'harness,' or in a wider sense, 'dedicate.' In no. 326, we have *ušalli*, 'he shall dedicate.' This I take to be II. 1 from *šîlû*, 'to devote, dedicate,' a verb which occurs with the same meaning in the *ušêla* of no. 310, rev. 7, and *šelu'* of no. 640, 6. We should perhaps read *ušelli*. Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 265, suggests the reading *murbakanni* and the rendering '*Maulesel*.' Forfeit *F*<sub>3</sub>.

609. Penalty IV. In a few cases the penalty was the devotion of a child to the service of a god. This form occurs in a more or less complete state in five cases, nos. 310, 436, 474, 491, 632. The full form appears to have been *lû mâršu rabû ana ili X issarap lû maratsu rabîtu ana ili Y issarap*: that is 'he shall burn his eldest son to X, or he shall burn his eldest daughter to Y.' That these penalties were alternative, and not concurrent, appears clearly from no. 310, where *lû, lû* occurs. So, also, no. 491 has *ma* after the first clause. In the other cases, in no. 436, there is no conjunction at all, in no. 474, we may doubt the presence of the first clause, and in no. 632, only one clause probably occurred. The son is named, in nos. 310 and 436; each time written *TUR-UŠ-šu*. The epithet *rabû* is written *GAL-(u)* in no. 310, omitted in no. 436, and not preserved in the rest. In no. 310, both children are destined to *Bilātu šêri*, so that there is no mention of a god, in the first clause; it runs *lû*

*mâršû rabû lû maratsu rabîtu*. However, in no. 436, the son is destined *a-na ilu Sin*. The reading of Sin, in no. 474, is doubtful and there is no certainty that a son is named at all<sup>1</sup>. In nos. 491 and 632, little is left but the last word; in no. 632, however, the god was Adadi. In this clause, the verb appears certain in nos. 436, 491 and 632, while it is likely in no. 474; it is always, in this clause, written ideographically by *GIBIL*, Br. 10866, the meaning of which is *šarâpu*, 'to burn.' We should read this *išarrap*, for the next clause twice has the phonetic spelling *i-šar-rap*.

In the next clause, preserved only in nos. 310, 436 and 474, we have 'daughter' written *TUR-ŠAL-su*, i.e. *mâratsu*, in each case. 'Eldest' occurs in each case; it is written *GAL-te*, i.e. *rabîte*, in no. 436; *GAL-tû*, or *rabîtu*, in no. 474, and phonetically *ra-bi-tu* in no. 310. The preposition *a-na* is each time written phonetically. In no. 310, the verb is *i-rak-kas*, in the other two *i-šar-rap*. The name of the deity in each is *Bêlit šêri*. This is spelt in no. 310, *Bi-la-tu ši-e-ri*: in no. 436, *Be-lit (EDIN=) šêri*, and in no. 474, *Be-lit ilu (EDIN=) šêri*. Here then we have the distinct statement that this goddess is 'god of the desert,' the 'plain' or 'waste.'

To the sacrifice of a daughter we have an addition: after *mâratsu rabîtu*, in no. 310, we read (*TA =*) *itti II imêr ri-ki-e DUG-GA-MEŠ šû*: or *itti II imêr ri-kê tabûti šû*, i.e. 'with his two homers of sweet-smelling herbs.' I here take *ri-ki-e* to be the same as *rikkê*, in *H. W. B.* p. 620. The presence of *šû* is rather odd, perhaps it is for *ša*, 'her,' that is 'belonging to her.' It seems that, with the daughter, two homers of sweet-smelling herbs, i.e. some form of incense, were to be given. In nos. 436 and 474, this phrase runs differently, *TA PA NU ERIN*. In view of the last, *TA* must = *itti*. Also *ERIN* is certainly *erinu*, 'cedar wood.' If this is, as *H. W. B.* l.c. suggests, one of the substances meant by *rikkê*, we may suppose the *PA-NU* to be either a measure, or an instrument. Whether it is the Assyrian form of the division of the homer denoted by *PA*, or whether it is an ideogram, or whether we are to read *hatnu*, does not appear to me very certain.

In any case, we see that here a dedication by fire seems to be the idea. Whether we can argue that human sacrifices continued to be offered in Assyria, I do not feel certain. The appearance of *irakkas*, as a parallel to *išarrap*, makes me inclined to suppose that *šarâpu* here means merely 'to dedicate,' though its root meaning is

<sup>1</sup> But see notes there, on no. 474.

‘to burn.’ We may compare with this penalty the actual cases, in nos. 640 and 641, of the dedication of a son to Ninib of Kalḫu.

610. Penalty V. A further example of a penalty payable to a god, occurs in no. 310. There we read, *GIŠ-BAN GU-LA ERU-MEŠ a-na iḫ BAR a-šib ḫl Kal-ḫa ú-še-la* of which the meaning is clear, ‘a great bow of bronze he shall dedicate to Ninib of Kalḫu.’ Now *GU-LA* is an ideogram for *rabû*, and we might be content to go no further. But it is not so clear that we are to read *rabû*, when speaking of a *bow*. As may be seen, *H. W. B.* p. 36 a, a usual, if poetic, term to apply to the bow of Ištar, is *ezzîtu*. I think therefore we should read *kaštu ezzîtu erê ana Ninib ašib Kalḫa ušêla*. The verb *ušêla* I take to be II. 1 of *šûlû*, ‘to dedicate’: and to be for *ušella*. It is interesting to know that Ninip carried a bow.

611. Penalty VI. The next form of penalty is an amend to the injured person: we should note that it is always the seller who is assumed to be the offender. He has pocketed the purchase money, as already expressly declared in the deed of sale, but now he would seek to invalidate the sale. Then he shall return the purchase money, and not only that, but tenfold its amount. We are not to assume that this clause is meant to legalise a withdrawal from the compact, or to lay down the conditions on which it may be annulled, but to make the conditions so severe as to deter from any such attempt.

This penalty is really the commonest of all, hardly any deeds are without it. Naturally, when it is set down along with a penalty payable to a deity, the deity comes first. Otherwise, this is evidently the first penalty that occurs to the scribe to make sure of. It often occurs, when the penalty to the gods has been omitted.

The usual phrasing of it is, *kašpu ana ešrâte ana bêlêšu utar*; ‘he shall return the price, or money, to its owners, *ana ešrâte*.’ The most difficult word here is *ešrâte*. Usually this has been taken to mean either with an addition of a tenth to its amount, or ‘to the tithe.’ The former is very unlikely. The rate of interest imposed as penalty for delay in repayment of an advance was rarely less than twenty-five per cent. This penalty would surely be set far higher, the former was an inconvenience, the latter a direct injury. In the latter case, we assume that there was ‘a tithe.’ That is to say, that in Assyrian life, ‘a tithe’ was annually paid for some purpose, either to the government, or to the local divinity. To this fund our penalty would destine the money. The tithe or tenth is certainly *ešrû*, plural

*ešrêti*, and it is not clear that our form is meant to express that. For *ešrû*, see *H. W. B.* p. 149.

Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 115 and passim, treats it as meaning *ten* out of sixty, that is a sixth, or  $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. This is not high, as interests went then. Professor Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 204 and p. 246, suggested that it means 'tenfold.' That certainly appears most in conformity with the ideas of the time and, unless the form *ešrâte* can be shewn conclusively not to mean 'tenfold,' it seems the only tenable interpretation.

The usual writing of *ešrâte* is *X-MEŠ*, that is, 'in tens'; a phonetic suffix *te* is very often added, so that we have *X-MEŠ-te*. In nos. 265 and 386, we have *X-MEŠ-a-te*; and several times *X-a-te* occurs. That the *ten* was taken with respect to the original sum is clear from the form *X-MEŠ-šu*, i.e. *ešrâtešu*, 'its *ešrâte*.' In no. 612, we have *X-a-a-a-a*, the second pair of *a-a* is probably a slip, but *a-a* here is to be regarded as a plural of *a* and read *ate*. In no. 436, we have clearly *X-a-ta-a-a*, here the plural form *a-ta* has had the plural *a-a* added, forming a sort of plural of plurals. The form *X-ta-a-an*, in no. 502, is another graphic form of the same, *ata* added, then *a-an* for *a-a'*; cf. *X-a-ta-an* in no. 428.

It may of course be true that these spellings represent *ešrêti*, but on the face of it *ešrâte* seems the right reading. On the meaning of the endings *TA-A-A* etc., see also § 248.

The occurrence of *XII-a-ta-an*, which I take to mean 'twelve-fold,' in no. 474, seems to me conclusive against 'a tenth' or 'a tithe.' It could hardly be maintained that beside the tithe, a twelfth was levied, and that the penalty was to go to the collector of the twelfth.

The older view agrees, of course, admirably, with that universally adopted custom among Semitic peoples of paying a tithe to the government, and the penalty would amount to this, that the quondam seller would have parted with his property to the buyer, and then on raising his suit, would have lost the price which he had obtained for it, the *ešrâte* or tithe chest of his village, city or province being the gainer. That of course is a quite conceivable and reasonable sort of penalty. The *-šu* in *ešrâtešu* would be taken as meaning 'his' *ešrâte*, that is, his local tithe chest.

It is the very reasonableness of this penalty that makes me doubt its being intended. All the others breathe a spirit of fierce vindictiveness, and are rather of the nature of Oriental reprisals than legal

finer. I have already remarked that when a sum is made out as penalty to be paid to the gods, although no really fixed ratio to the price, or presumable value of the property, is observed, yet the commonest of all customs is to name exactly ten times the price. I am not so foolish as to regard this as a proof, but it helps to shew the way things were regarded there and then.

I usually shall leave the question open by adopting the native term *ana ešrâte* and shall call this the *ešrâte* clause and denote it by *F*<sub>6</sub>.

Some further observations on the form of this clause are to be made.

The general usage is to write *kas-pu* here, and I, following my rule, render it 'money' or 'price.' A small variation is *kas-pi* in nos. 209, 237, 480. The ideogram *KU-BABBAR* does occur, five or six times, and *KU-BABBAR-MEŠ* at least once in no. 264. As the price was, as far as we know, always in silver, in these cases I take it that we are to render here simply by 'the silver.' In no. 198, we have *kaspu gamur* here, which is a little surprising, but quite reasonable any way. In no. 612, line 2, of lower edge, we have a considerable variation *kas-pi-<sup>2</sup> kin-nu*, which, of course, may be a way of writing, 'full price.' The last character *nu* is doubtful, it may be *tú*, and then we could read *kaspi<sup>2</sup> kintu* which I think unlikely, or *kaspi<sup>2</sup> HAR-tú*, i.e. *kaspi<sup>2</sup> šuatú*. This seems to me the best reading of all.

The preposition *ana* is usually written *a-na*, but both the single horizontal, and the single vertical wedge, are used. This applies to both the places where it occurs, before and after *ešrâte*.

In the phrase *ana bêlêšu*, the usual way is to write *EN-MEŠ-šu*, i.e. *bêlêšu*, but *EN-šu* is quite common. The *šu* is omitted in nos. 360, 397, 448. In no. 503, we have *EN-MEŠ-e-šu*, i.e. the phonetic complement *e* is added, to shew that the plural is to be read *bêlê*. In no. 225, the singular spelling is given *EN-MEŠ-TI*; are we to think of a plural in *ti* or is *TI* an ideogram? Perhaps this is a scribal error.

The suffix *šu* is usual, *šú* occurs once in no. 381.

The meaning of *bêlêšu*, according to the usage of our contracts, must be 'its or his owners.' Apart from the fact that *šu* occurs always, never *ša* or *šunu*, it is difficult to see who could be meant by 'his owners.' I take it, *šu* refers to *kaspu*. 'Its' owners would by all natural justice be, when the bargain was annulled, the buyer or

his representatives. How the money could be returned to them for the tithe, I fail to see. I take it, it was to be returned to the buyer, either plus an addition, or 'tenfold.'

The verb is *utâr*, 'he shall return.' That alone seems to me strong against the tithe. For as the purchase money did not come from the tithe, it could not be returned to it. The verb *târu* means 'to return,' and can hardly have acquired the meaning 'to present.' The person to return the money, of course, would be the plaintiff in the process for annulment.

As the ideogram for *târu* was *GUR*, the scribe seems to have revelled in his opportunity for fine spelling. The most common form is *GUR-ra*, i.e. *utâra*, but *GUR* alone is nearly as common. Both phonetic prefix and suffix appear in *û-GUR-ra*, nos. 211, 225; a pure phonetic spelling is frequent, *û-ta-ra*; also in nos. 216 and 384, *û-ta-a-ra*; and *u-ta-ra*, in no. 361. A variant, in no. 373, is *û-tir-ra*. These endings in *ra*, I take to be really plurals, used as a sort of impersonal form, 'one shall return, or they shall return.' We also meet the form *utâr*, rather often, thus *GUR-âr* in nos. 172, 492: *û-tar* in nos. 207, 350. Also we have *GUR* with a phonetic prefix, *û-GUR*, six times, and *u-GUR*, in nos. 181, 310.

In place of this verb we twice have simply *iddan*, 'he shall give,' in nos. 246, 507. It appears to have been accidentally omitted, in no. 386.

A distinct variant to the whole clause must be included here.

In no. 436, we read *kaspu uḥḥar ana cšrâte ana bêlêšu utâra*; and in no. 474, *kaspu uḥḥar ana XII-A-TA-AN ana bêlêšu utâra*. That is 'he shall give back the money, and return ten-(or twelve)-fold to its owners.'

The new verb *uḥ-ḥar* is from *aḥârû*, the use of which in the sense of 'going back,' in the astronomical tablets, is noticed in *H. W. B.* p. 44. The sense of retrograde motion is there well established. It is used there apparently only in II. 1. Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 5, quotes from the letters several passages, from which he deduces the sense *kommen*, but with a (?). Our passages could both be read *uḥ-ḥar*, which would bring them into line with the rest. It seems, however, clear that they are to be taken as implying a 'return' of the money.

It is possible that the whole phrase may be taken with *kaspu* as subject and read 'the money (shall go back and) tenfold return to its owners.'



612. In close connection with this repayment of the price to the buyer sometimes occurs what looks like a return of the property. These are of very varied complexion, so much so as to perhaps rather be considered in the comments on the separate texts. Yet as they have some details in common and thereby receive mutual illustration, they may be taken together. Here we must try to distinguish between sales and mortgages; in the latter case, we continually have the clause, *mannu ša kaspu idanûni*, (the property) *ušeša*; which certainly means 'whoever on behalf of the debtor shall return the loan, the creditor shall release the pledge.' The verb *ušeša* from *âšû* 'to go out' must mean 'shall cause to go out': that is 'release,' when used of a pledge. It is used of all sorts of property, or of the debtor himself, when taken as security for debt. The nominative to it cannot therefore be the property, we cannot say of a pledged field, *eklu ušeša*, 'the field shall go free': it must either refer to the creditor or be used impersonally. It is distinctly transitive and causative in meaning. See further, under Mortgages; § 461.

The return of the property, on the expiry of a lease, is of the very nature of the transaction, and we may expect such a term as *ušeša* there also. The lessee of course had to 'release' the property. It will be seen in the Chapter on Leases, that so far as form of document is concerned, the Assyrians treated a lease exactly as a sale for a limited period, and used the same phrases as for a sale, only adding the qualification 'for a term of years,' where necessary.

As a consequence, the occurrence of the words *eklu etc. ušeša* is not decisive as to the nature of the document and the cases where it appears to be a penalty must be very cautiously handled.

A clear case appears to occur in no. 213, where in lines 8 ff. we read, *mannu ša ina urkiš etc. lû A etc. dînu ištu B etc. ubta'ûni, II manê kaspi iddan, amiltu ušeša*, that is to say, 'whoever hereafter on the seller's side shall seek a decision against the buyer, shall pay two minas of silver and he shall release the woman.' Here the buyer had paid a mina and a half for the woman. It is clearly a penalty: if the seller tried to upset the bargain he was to pay two minas, when he had only received one and a half. But who was to release the slave? Not the seller, for the buyer was supposed to have her. It is not likely she was to be set free of both masters. I think the verb here is impersonal, and we should say 'the woman shall be released.' That I take to mean, go back to her former master. Another view is possible. The seller may be assumed to

have kept back the slave after receiving the price, in spite of the express declaration that she was sold and taken, *lakkiat*, in line 8.

We may therefore consider three alternatives :

1. Property not delivered, but price paid. Seller raises legal point. Penalty: he has to deliver property, and return price with heavy interest.

2. Property delivered and price received. Seller tries to upset bargain. Penalty: he has to forfeit property, but instead of getting any money, has to pay a sum to a god, or the buyer.

3. Property delivered and price paid. Seller tries to upset bargain. Penalty: he gets back his property but has to repay more than he got for it.

It is to be noted, that in this first case the person who is to receive the two minas is not stated. The amount of fine here is one-third of the price. There is no *ešrâte* clause. If we take it that the two minas went to the buyer, he gains half a mina on the whole, if it went to the god, he is exactly in the same position as before.

In no. 218, we also have an undoubted sale of a female slave for a talent of bronze, about three-fifths of a mina of silver. In lines 5 f., we read: *mannu ša ina urkiš lû A etc. izakupâni, mâ amiltu apattar, I manû kaspi iddan amêl ušêša*, that is to say, 'whoever hereafter on the seller's side shall set up a claim saying, I set free the woman, shall pay one mina of silver, he shall release the person.' Here the excuse, made by the seller, is clearly; I cannot deliver the property, I had set her free, she is no longer under my authority. The penalty is that he is to pay about two-thirds more than he has received, and the slave is released. If the buyer got back a mina of silver for a talent of bronze, he ought to be satisfied. But what happened to the slave? Who released her? Clearly not the buyer, for he never had possession: it is not likely that the seller would have to return the purchase money, and hand over the property as well. Nor is it likely he would have to make good his excuse, by really giving her her freedom. It looks most likely that the *ušêša* here refers to the buyer and means that he 'releases' her, in the sense that he waives his claim to have her.

With this view agrees, as far as it goes, no. 184, where a male slave is sold for half a mina of silver. In lines 10 f., we read, *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma izakupanni eparikûni...iddan amêl ušêša*, 'whoever hereafter on any occasion shall set up a claim or take

exception..., shall give so much, he shall release the person.' Analogy shews that the 'whoever' meant is on the seller's side. Unfortunately, in this case, we do not know how much he had to pay, nor are we told to whom he had to pay it. The slave was to be 'released.' We may take it, the buyer on getting back his money, and something more, would waive his claim. On the other hand, if he had received the slave, he would relinquish him.

Again in no. 254, where a woman and her two sons are sold for half a mina of silver, we read, reverse 1 f., *mannu ša iparikûni... manê kaspi iddan (nišê) ušêša*, 'whoever shall take exception, shall pay so many minas of silver, the slaves shall be released.' Here again we do not know how much was to be paid, nor to whom, but the slaves are released. As far as it goes, this is consistent with either of the alternatives.

In no. 289, some slaves were certainly sold, note the *zarpû lakkiû*, plurals, in line 3, then we have, in lines 5 f., (*mannu ša*) *ina urkiš (ina matêma) izakupâni (... manê kaspi) misû idan (nišê) ušêša*: 'whoever in future, on any occasion, shall set up a claim, shall pay so many minas of pure silver and the slaves shall be released.' Once more, we do not know the amount to be paid, nor to whom it was due. The epithet *misû* is suggestive of a payment to a god. The slaves are to be released. This example does not decide between our alternatives.

In no. 385, six homers of land were sold by some servants of the Crown Prince for thirty homers of grain. In lines 8 f., we read *mannu ša iparikûnu ŠE-PAT-MEŠ ina atrišu ana (ilu) Nabû iddan eḫlu ušêši*, 'whoever shall take exception, shall pay the grain to Nabû, in his court, the field shall be released.' Here then apparently the price received by the seller is forfeit to Nabû. It is not likely the buyer would forego his claim; *eḫlu ušêši*, must mean that the seller gave up the field. So he lost his property and what he had received for it, as well. It seems impossible to take it otherwise.

In no. 427, a considerable estate, including plantations, a field and the cultivators of them, was undoubtedly sold. In lines 16 f., we read, *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matême izakupâni lû A etc., ša ištu B etc. dinu dabâbu ubta'ûni, ... manê kaspi iddan, kirê eḫlu nišê ušêši*, 'whoever hereafter, on any occasion, either the seller, or his representatives, shall set up a claim against the buyer, or his representatives, he shall pay so many minas of silver, the plantations, field and people, shall be released.' Here again, we do not know

what was to be paid, nor to whom, nor who was to release or relinquish the property.

In no. 453, a considerable property, a field, a house and some people were sold, and we read, in lines 3 f. of the reverse, 'whoever hereafter, on any occasion shall take exception, etc., shall pay so many minas of silver, or five minas of gold, to the *burki* of Ištar of Nineveh, and the property shall be released.' Here we do have the amount to be paid, at any rate part of it, and we learn it was payable to a god: but we do not know who actually was in possession of the property, nor certainly to whom it was to be relinquished.

No. 440 certainly had a similar clause; we only have left, however, the words *ša...ubta'ûni...ušêša*, which we may render 'whoever shall seek a revocation of the bargain, shall pay, and the property shall be released.'

On the whole, therefore, we are left with our alternatives undecided. The analogy of the other penalties inclines me to think that the objector had to part with the property and lose also the money paid him for it. He probably had to pay back more than he received. That seems to me in any case most likely, though to us it seems odd. Whether the buyer got back his money as well as the property he had bargained for I cannot say. It is possible that always the money disgorged was a fine paid to some god: and that, as in some other cases, *iddan*, in these clauses, implies payment to a deity. On the other hand, as the buyer obtained what he bargained for, he could not expect to receive anything else. Still, it is quite possible he inserted this clause for the purpose of being able to claim back his money, if the seller disturbed him in the possession of his purchase, or tried to keep him out of it. In these cases, he may have put in the god as the recipient of the penalty in some cases, much as a man who has obtained damages in a law-suit, might elect to pay over his gains to a hospital. In some of these cases, however, the buyer may really have been the god, that is, his priests. It is probable on many grounds, that, in our documents, we often have the record of an acquisition of property for the temple, even when it does not expressly appear to be so. In the absence of the documents drawn up on the seller's side and in the absence of transactions between strictly private parties, it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect the real meaning of such a clause as this.

Owing to the prominence given here to the 'release' of the property, without deciding who is to 'release' it: I call this the

'release' clause and denote it by *R*. That it really makes possible the revocation of the bargain is not likely, in view of the clause *S*<sub>3</sub>, discussed later. That it is really a penalty is rendered probable by its position and likeness in statement to the penalties already discussed. I do not pretend to have mastered its real purpose, and it remains, to me, the most obscure clause in the ordinary sale formulae.

**613.** A penalty which may be appended to any of the former is the payment of a quantity of tin, or lead, to an official of the state. The most common statement of this clause is, *I biltu anâki ana amêl bêl paḥâti âlišu iddan*; 'one talent of tin he shall give to the *bêl paḥâti* of his city.' This form occurs, more or less completely, in nos. 248, 326, 394, 417, 498 and 554. In no. 350, the tin is to be given to the *šaknu*; and in no. 500, to the *râb BI-LUL*. In nos. 303, 523 and 574, only the beginning of the clause is preserved, so that it is not quite certain to whom the payment was to be made.

Usually the numeral, 'one,' is written with a single vertical wedge, but in no. 248, a single horizontal is written, as so often in the early and late Babylonian contracts. In no. 326, the numeral is omitted, probably *biltu* alone is considered to be equivalent to one talent. This numeral 'one' is also left out each time before the phonetic spelling *bi-lat*, in nos. 303 and 498, which we are to take as 'a talent.' Except in these two cases, *biltu* is expressed ideographically by *TIK-UN*. The conclusion that *TIK-UN* is to be read *biltu*, or *bilat*, is almost unavoidable; the alternative being that, in these two cases only, a different weight is referred to.

The metal is always expressed ideographically *AN-NA*, i.e. *anâku*. This is often stated to be 'lead,' see § 318.

In this clause, *ališu* follows *bêl paḥâti*, in all the cases, where the formula is fully preserved; and we may therefore assume it elsewhere. As we said before, the *šaknu* and the *bêl paḥâti* are precisely the officials who had the right to interfere in sales of persons, on the ground of their dues and obligations to service. There does not seem to be any special reason to connect these documents, however, with persons sold. Still, in most of them, persons may have been sold. It is odd that the *râb BI-LUL* should appear here and not the *ḥazânu*. It does not, I fear, afford any clue to the real character of that obscure official. All I can deduce is, that in no. 500, he is the overlord of the sellers.

What the tin was needed for, is a puzzle. If it had been 'lead'

one might think of ammunition for the slingers. The use of tin to form bronze may be the key to the custom. We never have anything but *tin*, never the 'copper' that would be also needed.

The verb *iddan* is written phonetically *id-dan* in no. 326, otherwise *SE-an*.

I call this the 'tin penalty,' and denote it by *F<sub>8</sub>*.

**614.** A penalty, occurring in a few cases, which are all somewhat defaced, fragmentary, or otherwise uncertain, may be given here, as far as I can make it out. It appears to consist of two separate but coordinate clauses, the first of which reads *I MANA SU TAB-BA KÚ*: which may be read, *I manû takalti asî ikkal*, that is to say 'he shall eat a mina of *takalti asi*.' What is this? *Âsû* is a physician, also perhaps 'a dog' (for in Esarh. II. 4, i.e. I. R. 28 a, 23, we read of captives being set at the gate of Nineveh, with *asi*, dogs and swine). Hence if, as is very likely from the verb *ikkal*, this is something edible, we have either a physician's preparation of some magical or medicinal nature, or else we may render 'dog's meat.' The ideogram *SUTAB* is given in v. R. 19, 35 a, as = *takaltu AZU*, and *H. W. B.* p. 320 refers this *takaltu* to  $\sqrt{k\hat{a}lu}$ , giving it the meaning *Behälter* or something similar. This he seems to do, because he wants to get in the meaning of *SU* as 'leather.' *SU* however is *mašku*, 'skin,' as well as leather; *šêru*, 'flesh' or body; *zumru*, 'body,' etc. Hence it is quite open to us, if necessary, to think of 'offal,' the food of the *asi*. Dr Oppert, *Le Droit*, p. 15, arrives at the sense of '*matières fécales*,' by a somewhat similar line of reasoning. In the list in *V. R.* 19 however it seems most likely that *A-ZU* is 'the physician.' The sense of *TAB* is clearly that of 'duplication,' 'collecting together,' rather than anything else: see list of verbs under *TAB* in Brünnow. So we may here read, *TAB-BA* as *šurruḫpu*; and take that to mean not 'defecated,' so much as 'concocted.' It is then 'concocted flesh,' that is, some medically or magically prepared meat.

In the later Babylonian contracts, cf. Nbd. 617, *SU TAB-BA* appears to be some sort of an animal, named alongside *GI-DI*, which is also rendered by *takaltum* in *V. R.* 19, 37 a.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII. p. 264, renders *SU TAB-BA* by *Menschenoth*, he takes *takaltu ašu* to be '*Speise die herausgeht*,' the ideogram he says means '*was der Bauch aussegt*.'

In no. 436, rev. 5 f., the above phrase is complete: no. 474, rev. 3, has all but the verb. In no. 244, 14, in place of *SU TAB-BA* we

have *SIG-RU-DU*; and no. 303 has *SIG*.... In no. 481, we have only *I MANA*.... If in no. 498, rev. 6, we are to read *BAR SU KUR-RU ikkal*; then perhaps *BAR* here is = *takaltum*, as in *V. R.* 16, 52 c, d: or perhaps also *BAR* is to be taken as equal one half mina. In other passages, *SU KUR-RU* seems to be followed by *išatti*, see below. It is not clear whether *ikkal*, or *išatti* is on the tablet.

The second phrase, in full, appears to be, *ammar karpat aganni KUR-RU išatti*, that is 'an *aganni* pot full of *KUR-RU* he shall drink.'

We have, in no. 436, all but the *KUR-RU*; in no. 481, all but the verb is preserved and part of *ammar*; i.e. *am* is not complete. In no. 474, the *ammar* is either lost, or was never written, only *karpat aganni KUR-RU* is certain. The sign at the end of the line may be *ti* followed by others. Also *as*, *az* is possible.

In no. 498, the two phrases are replaced by *BAR-SU KUR-RU išatti*.

In no. 244, we have *mar* alone, the *am* appears never to have been written, then *karpat a-ga-nu KUR-RU išatti*.

Hence *ammar* is, of course, 'the contents' of the pot; *karpat aganni* seems to be the singular of the *aganate* of Asurnâsirpal, see *H. W. B.* p. 17 a. The spellings *a-gan-ni*, in nos. 436, 474; *a-ga-ni* in no. 481; *a-ga-nu* in no. 244, leave no doubt of its pronunciation. We may compare 𐎶𐎵, Talmudic, *crater*, and 𐎶𐎵, Heb. 'a bason or bowl.'

What the *KUR-RU* was, is still obscure to me. In no. 498 we may perhaps read *BAR SU-KUR-RU*: now *SU-KUR-RU* appears to be a divine name in III. R. 68, 8 c; and, in II. R. 44, 73 a, we see that *AN SU-KUR* is *AN-AMAR-UD*, usually read Marduk. In no. 244, we could read *MAR-DUK aganu KUR-RU*. Of course, for *KUR-RU*, we might read *šat-ru*, *šad-ru* etc., *madru*, *nadru*, *latru* and many other readings. Perhaps as *BAR = TAPPU*, *BAR-SU* is = *SU-TAB-BA*.

The penalty clearly was that the delinquent was to drink a cup of something, probably some magically prepared decoction.

Oppert, *Le Droit*, p. 15, read *a-i-ni* for *a-gan-ni*, and then thought of the Semitic *yayin*, but suggested it should be *saini*, 'urine.' That *KUR-RU* can mean 'urine,' I doubt.

It is, of course, tempting to compare Rabshakeh's curse on the obstinate defenders of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 27). I am much more inclined to compare the 'bitter water that causeth the curse,' given to the suspected wife in Numbers v. 18 f.

Oppert, *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, Z. A. XIII, p. 265 takes *a-kan-ni* to be 'water,' with the complement *kannu*, Assyrian, *sîni*, *sinâti*, *Urin*. Also *Ultu pani SIK-NUN* he thinks means *anfangend mit dem Schamtheil*. He thinks the ideogram must mean *supalu*, *unterer Theil*. On the other hand, he recognises that the tree of the same name was the cypress, *erinnu*. He adds, *die ganze Stelle trägt den Stempel obscöner Grausamkeit*.

The above penalty appears to me distinctly to be an 'ordeal' of some kind, I therefore call it the 'ordeal' and denote by *O*.

615. There are further several exceptional penalties, which are too fragmentary and too obscure for me to classify or name. I have adopted the signs *E*, *E'*, *E''*, for them.

The first *E* seems to be an expansion of *O*. The context of this penalty, in no. 481, is very fragmentary, but I should not be surprised if it really contained further information on the nature of the ordeal. The remains are ...*HI-LI-SAR adi šumma...lišānušu ilakḫut... GIŠ-BAR-šu ú-mal-lu-u....* The first group of characters are probably the end of *TAK-NA-ZAG-HI-LI-SAR*, which II. R. 30, 1 c d gives as *elit urši*. Then K 240 rev. 8 and 9, gives *uršu* as a syn. of *mazuktum*, and *elit urši* as a syn. of *amitti*; *H. W. B.* p. 137. This *mazuktum* may be the Targumic מִזְבֵּי, 'a mortar,' as *amitti* may be מִנְתָּה, 'mint.' In any case I am inclined to think we have here a mention of some constituents of the magic draught. The operation of it appears to be alluded to in the words *adi šumma*, 'until if': very likely the idea being that a certain effect would follow if the contention was right, etc.

The next line appears to contain the penalty, if by this ordeal the contention be shewn to be false; *lišānušu ilakḫut*, 'they shall tear out his tongue.' Then the phrase *ginûšu umallû*, 'they shall fill up his *ginû*' appears to be another consequence. It is not certain, however, that *GIŠ-BAR* means *ginû*, nor is it at all clear what that means, in such a connection.

The collection of penalties, in no. 498, starts with *BAR-su KUR-RU išatti*. Whether *BAR-su* is really equivalent to the *karpāt aganni* I do not know. In v. R. 16, 52 c, d, we see that an ideogram, ending in *BAR*, is to be read *takaltum*. Whether this is meant here, and *su* is to be combined with *KUR-RU* does not seem clear. After the forfeit of 'two horses,' probably to some god, and four *ḥarbakanni* to another, we have mention of two *GI-MEŠ ša la kišir*. These may be some 'reeds,' or 'canes,' of a kind used in



divine worship, one can hardly suppose *GI* to be a measure here. Then, a talent of tin is to be paid to the *bêl paḥāti* of the delinquent's city, and a talent of lapislazuli, *ZAGIN*, or *uknu*, to someone else. This last phrase I read, *bi-lat ZA-GIN HI-IB-ŠE ZA-DU*. Whether here *hibšu*, 'a band,' or 'riband,' is to be thought of, does not seem clear. In the next line, there seems to be mention of an *amêl ga-a-ru*; has this anything to do with *garû*, 'the opponent'? Whether the *ŠAL* that follows ended the line or not, I do not know.

In no. 560, beside a money forfeit to Ištar, we have in line 1 of the lower edge, *VII GI-SUG-GE (-A)*, which may perhaps be compared with the *GI-MEŠ* in no. 498.

In no. 426, rev. 8, we have *TAK-ZA-GIN HI-IB-ŠE*, reminding us of the *uknu hibše* of no. 498 above.

616. The preceding sketch of the penalties falling upon the sellers who should attempt to withdraw from their bargain, or make further claim upon the buyer, does not by any means pretend to have exhausted the subject. For the most part, I have considered the cases, where by the comparison of several examples closely similar, I could gain some insight into the purport of the clause. By taking the full formula, I hoped to render clearer what has only been fragmentarily preserved. The reader will turn to the comments on the individual documents to find other cases.

A few more interesting varieties that I have noticed may be pointed out here.

Thus, in no. 174, we have the condensed form, *mannu ša izakupâni etc. VI manê kaspi iddan*: that is, 'whoever shall litigate, shall pay 6 minas of silver.' It is not said to whom this fine was to be paid: cf. no. 509, 265.

In no. 216, we have *ša ibbalkattûni ipariḫûni I manû kaspi ina maḥîra ša âl Ninûa iddan*, that is, 'whoever shall fall out, or take exception, shall pay a mina of silver, according to the market rate of Nineveh.'

In no. 288, to all appearance a sale of slaves, on the reverse edge, we read *šumma lâ idin X manê kaspi (iddan)*, that is, 'if he do not give (the slaves), he shall pay ten minas of silver.' Here, the possibility of the seller not being able to deliver the purchase seems contemplated.

In no. 410, which has several phrases indicative of a sale, the situation of the property is put after the price, and divided from the rest of the formula by ruled lines. It looks as if this part of the

specification had been omitted from its proper place, and was put in later. Its present place is, of course, quite unusual, and it must be regarded as an interpolated section.

In no. 285, after the usual *kunuk A bēl nîšē tadāni*, and the space for the seal impressions, the scribe went on to write a list of *kunuk*'s, each with a name and title after it. As the rest of the document only contains the witnesses and date, it is impossible to say what this really meant.

In no. 235, clearly a sale of several slaves, we have, rev. 7, this clause, *šumma nîšē ina mat-e lâ iddini kaspu urabba A and B ŠAL-TE* (?), 'if he do not give the slaves presently, the money shall bear interest, and the seller shall return it to the buyer.' Here, as above, the seller seems not to have delivered the slaves, when he took the money.

In no. 386, left-hand edge, we have *mannu ša eli ilki du(ψikki) etc. kaspu ana ešrâtešu* 'whoever on the score of the *ilki dupsikki* shall bring up a claim, shall repay the price tenfold.'

617. Usually, the last clause of the formula is one of the bitterest scorn and consummate mockery of the man who shall dare to seek the invalidation of the contract. It is extremely frequent, perhaps second in frequency only to clause *F*<sub>6</sub>. It reads thus, in its usual shape, *ina dīnišu idabub ma lâ ilakki* 'in his suit he shall plead and shall not take'; that is, 'he may plead, if he will, but he shall gain nothing.' The same legal terms are used as above, *dīnu dabābu* 'to plead a suit'; and *lakû*, 'to take possession.' Professor Oppert was a long time before he could bring himself to believe this was the meaning. He felt that if a man were willing to face the penalties that are usually set down as awaiting him, he deserved, if he had right on his side, to gain his case. The scribe, however, declines to admit that any such right could ever be on his side; plead as he may, he shall not succeed; and the penalties of course will have to be paid.

In his *Doc. Jur.* Professor Oppert tried to avoid what seemed to him to have been an inconceivable height of mockery by taking *lakû* in the sense of 'sell.' He assumed that under the harsh conditions imposed by the penalties, the seller could get the contract annulled. So, *Doc. Jur.* p. 148, he renders, *et liberatus erit, non vendiderit*; p. 165, *a contractu suo liberatus erit, non vendiderit*; p. 190, *a negotio suo liberatus erit non vendiderit*; and often. In the French version too he has, for example, p. 191, *la nullité sera prononcée, il n'aura*

*pas acheté*; p. 166, *il sera délivré de son marché, il n'aura pas vendu*, and often.

The error arose partly from taking *KA-KA* to mean 'nullity' and partly, I think, from supposing a judge to be giving the decision. I imagine Dr Oppert, seeing *KA-KA* meant 'words,' contrasted 'words' with 'reality,' and took 'words' to mean 'nothing worth.' He often renders *KA-KA* by '*ininitas*'; e.g. p. 165, *di-e-nu ka-ka yub-ta'-u-ni* is rendered *contractus ininitatem postulabit a me*. However, Dr Oppert is now of a different opinion. In his intensely interesting article, *Le Droit de Retrait*, p. 14, [575] he renders '*in causa sua actionem feret non acquirat*' and adds *autrefois je traduisais: 'non vendiderit,' 'il n'aura pas vendu.'* It had seemed to him that the plaintiff, after such sacrifices, must surely be able to obtain a revision of his bargain. It was M. Victor Révillout who pointed out that the words '*lu ilakki*,' literally '*non emet, il ne prendra il n'achètera pas*,' must be taken literally. Dr Oppert, comparing the various forms that this phrase has in our documents, yields the point, although he still finds it all but 'incomprehensible.'

This conversion to the view I take, of so skilled a translator as Dr Oppert, is worth a great deal to me. It has given me confidence. Dr Peiser may be of the same view, but he does not seem to me to put it very clearly. In *K. B.* iv. p. 113, he renders the phrase by, '*so lange er in seinem Prozesse Klage führt, wird er es nicht nehmen*,' p. 115, *während er in seinem Prozesse Klage führt, soll er es nicht nehmen*.' Similarly, p. 123, line 21, and often. At least, it seems to me, Dr Peiser tried to be literal, and in doing so imported a little more than is implied.

Let us first consider the variants, to be sure of our ground.

I have followed Oppert and Peiser in reading the preposition *ina*: but we must not insist on its not being *ana*: for while the phonetic spelling *i-na* does once occur, in no. 481; *a-na* occurs at least six times. It is therefore not only 'in his plea,' that is 'when he pleads'; but 'at his plea,' i.e. 'when it takes place'; not exclusively 'while,' but only 'when.'

*Dinišu* is of course in the oblique case because of *ina*, and the whole phrase, *ina dinišu*, is adverbial to the verbs. It is the occasion. The word *dini* is never departed from really, most often it is written *di-ni*, once *di-e-ni-šu*, in no. 503, and once, the presence of the suffix leads to the form *di-en-šu*; no. 480. Once the word is written deographically, *DI-TAR*, in no. 216. Now very often the phrase

appears without *ina*: we then have *dinišu idabbub lâ ilakki*. Here, however, *dini*<sup>1</sup> is governed by *idabbub*; we are to render 'he shall plead his cause and shall not succeed.' In passing, we may note the suffix is always *šu*, only once can we think of *šû*, in no. 443, R 6: where *ina dini* before it is a probable restoration.

The first verb, *idabub*, is most usually written *KA-KA*, the ideogram for *dabûbu* and its derivatives. We have a phonetic spelling *i-da-bu-bu*, in nos. 376, 386, and 503. Also *i-da-bu-ub*, in no. 384, cf. also, no. 322, rev. 2. *KA-KA* occurs, with phonetic prefix *i*, thus *i-KA-KA*, read *i-dabubu*, in nos. 209, 225, 260, 383, cf. 480. With phonetic suffix, we have *KA-KA-ub*, i.e. *idab-ub*, in nos. 374 and 381. The form therefore of the verb here is without question *idabub(u)*, 'he (or possibly they) shall plead.'

The enclitic *ma*, 'and,' occurs more often than not.

The adverb, 'not,' is usually *lâ* simply, but very often *NU*, read *lâ*. Once we have *la-a*, i.e. *lâ*, in no. 384.

The verb *ilakki* occurs here in a variety of forms. *TI* being the ideogram for *lakû*, and its derivatives, we often have *TI* simply, frequently *TI-ki*, and once *TI-ki*, in no. 215. The commonest phonetic spelling is *i-lak-ki*, but *i-lak-ki* is frequent: *i-la-ki* occurs six times, and curiously *il-ki* twice, in nos. 446 and 472. A noteworthy variant for *lâ ilakki* is *lak-ki*, the *la* absorbing the *i*, in nos. 212, 285, 326. So for *la ilaki*, in no. 386, the scribe wrote *la-a-ki*. In no. 469, rev. 5 we have *ZI-ku*: whether this means that the scribe took *ZI* to be the ideogram for *lakû*, and used *ku* for his phonetic suffix, or whether *ziku* in his mother tongue meant 'to fail,' I am not able to decide.

The prominent idea of this clause is the utter failure of any attempt on the part of the seller to get a legal decision for his retreat from the bargain. I call it, therefore, the 'failure' clause, and denote it by *S<sub>3</sub>*.

618. What looks, at first sight, to be a different clause, reads *ina lâ dinišu idabub ma lâ ilakki*. It occurs, more or less complete, about twenty times. I take it to be only a more emphatic way of putting the last. I render it, 'in his no suit, he shall plead, and fail.' The scribe will not pay his contention the compliment of calling it a suit at all: he calls it a 'non-suited claim' from the beginning. Dr Oppert, '*Le droit*,' p. 14, renders *in non causa sua*.

<sup>1</sup> That this is the case here is proved by the variant *di-nu-šu idabub*, in no. 310.

Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 133, admirably renders '*in seinem Nicht-process*'; and, in a footnote, adds '*d.i. so lange er Klage führt und der Process nicht zu seinen Gunsten entschieden ist, die Richter ihm nicht dinu gegeben haben.*' Perhaps so, but I believe that *dinu* not only means the legal decision, but also the effort to obtain one, the legal process, or suit. The scribe denies the seller's contention to be even a moot point, it is not matter for discussion, it is a *lâ dinu* from the start; a question that cannot be put.

As to the writing of this clause, there is little to remark beyond the presence of *lâ* before *dinu*. Twice the suffix *šû* occurs, in nos. 352 and 418. In no. 280, we have *lâ lakki*, and in no. 231, *i-la-ki*.

In consequence of the close relation of this to the last clause, I call it also the 'emphatic failure clause,' and denote it by *F'*.

**619.** If any doubt remained as to the real purport of this clause, it must surely be removed by the parallels, in nos. 206, 330, 460, 471, 501, and 503. In no. 460, we have the clause *F, ina dinšû idabub lâ ilakki*, followed by *dênu daianu lâ išamû*, 'the judge shall not hear the suit.' In no. 471, after *F*, we have *dinšû DI-(TAR lâ išamû)*: 'the judge shall not hear his suit.' In no. 330, *ina di-e-šû DI-TAR lâ išamû*, 'in his suit, the judge shall not hear.' In no. 501, after *F*, we read again *dinšû etc.*, as in the last case but one. In no. 503, after *F*, we have *bêl dinu lâ (išamû)*, as before. In nos. 330, 460, 471, and 501, we have the ideogram *DI-TAR = daianu*: in no. 503, *bêl dinu* may be the term for 'judge'; or perhaps *dinu* is, as before, the object of the verb *išamû*.

These remove all doubt that *dinu* is, not only the decision of the judge, but also the 'suit' of the plaintiff.

We have here, in nos. 471 and 501, *di-en-šû*; in no. 330 *di-e-šû*, for *di-e-nu-šû* (?) The verb actually occurs only three times, but the restoration in all cases is merely obvious.

As this clause could clearly occur alone, and is a counterpart, if not altogether a synonym, of *F* or *F'*, I do not separate it from them, but call it *F''*.

The 'failure clause' usually closes the body of the document; and is followed by a division line before the date and names of witnesses.

**620.** In accordance with the analysis of the sale formula which has now been made, it is possible to give to most documents a notation, which will stamp them at once; and enable us, at a glance, to see what we are dealing with.

Accordingly here I recapitulate my notation.

The 'preamble' is denoted by *P*; followed by *k*, it denotes the presence of a seal, or *kunukku*; and similarly *š* stands for *šupru*, or a nail-mark. The designation of the property here is *D*.

The 'specification,' is not general, but particular, and as it is generally summarised in my abstracts, no abbreviation is needed to denote it.

The 'acquisition clause,' *upišma B etc.* down to *ilki*, is denoted by *Ac*.

The 'closure' of the bargain, by actual payment, implied in *kaspu gammur tadin*; and its converse, expressed by the verbs *zarip lakki etc.*; are denoted by *C* and *C'*.

The closure clause often designates the property afresh. This designation is *D'*.

The 'stipulations,' that there shall be no litigation, nor attempt to evade the bargain; are denoted by *S<sub>1</sub>*, and *S<sub>2</sub>*, etc.

*S<sub>1</sub>* denotes *tuaru dinu dabâbu laššu*.

*S<sub>2</sub>* denotes the great clause *mannu ša ina urkiš ina matêma izakupâni iparikâni lû A etc., ša ištu B etc. dinu dabâbu ubta'ûni*, with its penalties attached.

The 'penalties' are denoted by *F<sub>1</sub>* etc. enclosed in a bracket after *S<sub>2</sub>*.

*F<sub>1</sub>* denotes the penalty, 'so much silver, so much gold, he shall pay to the treasury of a certain god.'

*F<sub>2</sub>* denotes the forfeit of 'white horses to a god.'

*F<sub>3</sub>* denotes the forfeit of '*mûrbakâni*' to a god.'

*F<sub>4</sub>* denotes the devotion of a child to some god.

*F<sub>5</sub>* denotes some other forfeit, payable to a god.

*F<sub>6</sub>* denotes the *ešrâte* forfeit, to the buyer.

*F<sub>7</sub>* denotes the enforced relinquishment of the property *ušêša*, the 'release' clause.

*F<sub>8</sub>* a forfeit of a quantity of tin to an official.

*F<sub>9</sub>* the 'ordeal,' or *O*.

*F<sub>10</sub>*, *F<sub>11</sub>*, *F<sub>12</sub>*, denote exceptional penalties.

*F* denotes the failure clause, and its variants *F'*, *F''*.

621. These formulae are evidently the outcome of a long experience in business, and shew great legal acumen in avoiding the pleas that could be raised. In earlier times there was much less to be said. In seeking for parallels we must make a distinction between the actual contracts, written in a cursive script, on clay

tablets, concerned with persons in a private position, on the one hand; and the monumental records of deeds of gift, charters, etc. mostly engraven on stone, and generally executed by royal personages, or public officials, on the other hand.

Many of the earlier contracts are written in non-Semitic phraseology. Although a Semitic rendering of many of the phrases has been given in the so-called paradigms, and a conjectural rendering is, usually, not difficult to construct for others, it is by no means certain that we always really know how an Assyrian scribe would have rendered them. Hence they may be less like the phrases we have been discussing than they seem to be; or, on the contrary, may really be closely related, if not practically equivalent.

In his search for early parallels, the student will find most help from Dr B. Meissner's *Altbabylonische Privatrecht*; Dr Peiser's selection of contracts in *K. B.* iv., pp. 1—98; and *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*; from which only a few striking parallels can be here adduced.

At this early period, B.C. 2300—2000, *circ.*, the formulae are somewhat varied, but simple. Thus we have *išâm, X kaspi ana šîmîšu gamrim iškul*, 'he bought, and X silver pieces as its full price he has weighed.' Of course, there was sometimes a preamble, and generally a specification of the property, but nothing corresponding to the acquisition clause.

A stipulation, that neither party, especially not the former owner, should raise any objection to the transfer, nor disturb the buyer in his possession of the property, usually occurs. Thus we have *ana arkât ûmê matêma ana ragâmu ulâ itârma ulâ ibagaru*, 'in after days, on any occasion, one shall not turn back to dispute, nor prosecute.' The phrase is concise and my rendering free. The verb *ragâmu* is general in its meaning, literally 'to cry out,' here 'to protest.' The sense of *târu* is literally, 'to turn back,' here 'to retreat' from a bargain, or to attempt to resume possession. The verb *bagâru* appears later in the form *paḳâru*, and means 'to cry out, complain, prosecute.' This sentence has many variants. We may have *ana arkât ûmu amêlu ana amêlim ulâ iturûma*, 'in future days man with man they shall not retreat,' i.e. 'withdraw from the bargain.' The clause is even simpler in some agreements, simply, 'the party' *ûl itûra ûl ibagara*, 'shall not withdraw, shall not prosecute.' The parties are regarded as 'brethren,' and we often find *aḥu ana aḥam*, 'brother against brother, shall not dispute.'

The sanction, as a rule, was an oath, by the name of one or more gods, and the king. Thus we read *K. B.* iv. p. 4, *MU AN NANNAR u Nu-ur-Adadi LUGAL IN-PA-DE-EŠ*, 'by the name of Nannar and Nûr-Adadi the king they have sworn.' The phonetic reading of *MU* here is *nîš*, probably to be connected with *našû*, 'to lift up,' referring to the lifting up of the hand in prayer, see King's *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*. The reading of *IN-PA-DE-EŠ* is probably *itmû*. It is also written *IN-PÁD*, and the various forms are given in *H. W. B.* p. 708 b.

These oaths are of great interest, as they so often give the name of the reigning king, who is in some cases only known from such references; e.g. Immerum, Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 38.

622. The monumental records, chiefly the boundary stones, or so-called *Kudurru Inschriften* (see specially Belser, *B. A. S.* II. p. 171 ff., Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 56 ff., Scheil, *D. P.* pp. 86 f., 99 f.; etc.; and *C. T.* ix. no. 92987, x. no. 87220, 90922), are, on the contrary, often very full in their phraseology. They are not, however, deeds of sale, except perhaps the Sargon stone, *P. A. S.* p. 6, ff. In them we frequently meet with the words *matêma ina arkât ûmê*; as early as Nazimaruttaš, B.C. 1320—1295, Scheil, *D. P.* p. 89. But then followed a list of officials likely to interfere to appropriate the land granted. These officials we shall turn to consider under the sales of land, as they were specially concerned with the liabilities of estates.

But, in a charter of Marduk-nâdin-aḫi, III. R. 43, see *K. B.* iv. p. 69 ff., we have the words *immatima ina arkâti ûmi ina aḫê mârê ina kimti nisûti u ṣallâti ša Bît Ada ša illamma ina ekli šuatu idabubu ušadbabu eklu ûl nadan iḳabû u kunukku ûl kanikma iḳabû*, 'on any occasion in future days, among the brethren, or sons, of the family, male or female, of Bît-Ada, who shall come and shall plead, or cause to be pleaded, concerning this field, and shall say, the field was not given; or shall say, the seal was not set.' Then follows a list of the officials who might attempt to make claims on the field. But this is a good parallel to our clause *S<sub>2</sub>*; and it shews that the family, or clan, of Bît Ada, to whom the field had belonged, were likely to lay claim to it again, by denying the title of its new holder. In itself, this clause must be classed with a number of other examples of the clan claim, and considered together under the sales of land. It seems that, in the earliest times, the elders of the city, the clan fathers, had an important function in agreements as to the transfer of land; then, that gradually the state officials absorbed their power, and



finally, were the only persons whose interference was to be dreaded : compare the later Babylonian clauses, § 623. It seems clear that the right of the clan, or of the state officials, to interfere, was really a territorial right.

**623.** A comparison with some similar stipulations, in later Babylonian times, may not be without interest. Thus in Nbkd. 164, rev. 1 f., we have as follows, *Marduk-šâpik-zêr, mâršu ša Marduk-zêr-ibni, (amêl) Ê-MAŠ (ilu) Ninip, šim bitišu kasap gamirtim maḥîr apîl rugummâ ul išû ul iturruma ana aḥameš ul iraggamu; matima ina aḥê mârê kimti nišutu û salata ša mârê amêl Ê-MAŠ (ilu) Ninip ša iraggumu umma bitu šuatim ul nadinma kaspa ul maḥîr paḳirâni kaspa imḥuru adi XII (ta-a-an) itanappal ana lâ ênê niš Nabû u Marduk ilânišunu u niš Nabûkudurururur šarru bêlšunu ištêniš izkuru.*

We may note that Marduk-šâpik-zêr is the seller. He is son of Murduk-zêr-ibni and an *amêl Ê-MAŠ* of Ninip. 'The price of his house,' *šim bitišu*, 'the full money,' *kasap gamirtim*, 'is received,' *maḥîr*, 'and paid,' *apîl*. 'There shall be no dispute,' *rugummâ ul išû*, literally, 'they, the parties, shall not have dispute.' 'There shall be no return,' literally, 'they shall not return' (either house, or money), 'one with the other,' *ana aḥameš*, 'they shall not dispute,' *ul iraggamu*. 'In future,' *matima*, 'among the brothers, sons, family, male or female, of the sons of the (*amêl*) Ê-MAŠ of Ninip, whoever shall,' *ša*, 'dispute,' saying, 'this house was not given up, the money was not received,' 'the claimant, *paḳirânu*, shall pay the money back, shall pay twelve fold.' 'That there shall be no alteration,' *ana lâ ênê*, 'they have singly sworn,' *ištêniš izkuru*, 'by the name of,' *niš*, 'Nabû and Marduk, their gods, and by the name of Nebuchadrezzar, the king, their lord.'

Here we note the different modes of expression. We have the new word, *maḥîr*, in place of *tadin*; and *kasap gamirtum*, for *kaspu gamur*. Also *kasap* is spelt phonetically, *ka-sa-ap*. The word *apîl* occurs occasionally in our documents. The verbs *išû*, *iturru*, are plurals, and may be referred to the parties, or the plural may be taken as impersonal. There is no *mannu ša*, its place being taken by *ša* simply. The pleas contemplated are a denial of the bargain. The claimant has a special name, *paḳirânu*. The penalty is to refund the price, 'twelve-fold,' in place of our 'ten-fold,' *ana êšrâte*. The meaning of *ana lâ ênê* is clear, 'that there be no alteration,' and that is the purpose of the oath.

In *Dar.* 321, obv. 16 f., we have an almost identical formula, with a few variants. Here *kintu* is replaced by *IM-RI-A*. The pleas are the same. The claimant is to repay the price 'twelve-fold.' There is no oath here.

In another tablet of the time of Cyrus, *S. A. V.* 590, much the same formula occurs in a condensed form. Here also the price is to be repaid 'twelve-fold.'

It is noteworthy that beside actual relatives, in the first case, representatives of the clan or guild to which the seller belonged, are named, *ša mârê amêl Ê-MAŠ (ilu) Ninip*. In *Cyr.* 188, we have *ša mâr abu bîti*; *Nbd.* 196, *ša bîti mâr išpari*; in *Camb.* 330, *ša bîti Ašarîdu*.

A variant, in *Nbd.* 668, is *aššu matima lâ saḥarimma ana eli amêlûti šuatu lâ ragamu*, 'on any ground shall not dispute, concerning these persons shall not complain.'

Divine sanction is implored, by a curse, on any who shall 'alter,' *ênû*, the agreement. So, in *Cyr.* 277, we read, *ša dababa anna' innû Anum, Bêl, u A-Ê arassu marrâtu lîrûr, Nabû dupšar Êsagila ûmušu arkutu ikarrîr*: 'whoever shall attempt to alter this agreement, may Anu, Bêl, and A-Ê, curse him a bitter curse, Nabû the scribe of Êsagila shall put a period to his future.' In *Nbkd.* 368, the same attempt is cursed, 'may Marduk and Zarpanît decree his destruction,' *ḥalâkšu likbû*.

A penalty, in the form of a payment to the injured party, occurs in *Camb.* 97, where the rent of a house being five shekels a year, the dissident, *nabalkattânu*, was to pay ten shekels. In *Camb.* 147, the *nabalkattânu* was to pay one mina. This is also contemplated in the return of the price 'twelve-fold' to the buyer.

The transfer, or cession of the property, was called a *nidintu*, cf. *Nbkd.* 416, l. 7, *ša nidinti annâ innû*, 'who attempts to alter this cession.'

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

### RELATION OF PENALTY TO PRICE.

In a large number of cases the penalty is tenfold the price, at least. Thus, in nos. 203, 233, 235, where the price is one mina of silver, the penalty is ten minas of silver and one mina of gold. Further, in nos. 175, 177, 245, 313, 324, 327, where no gold is named, the silver penalty is ten times the price. In no. 236, the silver penalty is lost, but the gold is one mina on a price of one mina of silver; in no. 260, the price is lost, but the penalties are ten minas of silver and one of gold.

With this relation agrees no. 180, where a price of 100 minas of bronze corresponds to a penalty of ten minas of silver and one mina of gold. Here the relation is the same if silver be worth one hundred times bronze.

If these had been all, we should have had good reason to assume that the gold and silver penalties were alternative, and that gold was worth ten times as much as silver. But it seems that ten minas of silver and one of gold was a conventional amount, for it is given as the penalty, when the price was half a mina of silver, in nos. 211 and 336; three and a half minas, in no. 349; ten shekels of silver, in no. 373; five minas of silver, in no. 383; three minas, in no. 414; six minas, in nos. 422 and 423; a half mina, in no. 208; thirty-five shekels, in no. 209; two minas, in nos. 231 and 245; ten minas, in no. 263.

Hence the penalty of ten minas of silver and one of gold is laid down no less than 24 times, in one-third of which it appears to be tenfold the price.

Here, of course, I am assuming that a mina of silver had the same weight as a mina of gold. If there are only 50 shekels to the

gold mina, the value of gold would on the alternative theory be twelve times that of silver, as in the time of Nabonidus.

Another penalty was one mina of silver, and one of gold; the corresponding prices being, in silver, five and a half minas, in no. 357; thirty shekels, in no. 386; three minas, in nos. 234 and 244. The same ratio of silver and gold appears in no. 389, a case of barter; in no. 215, two minas of each, price only nine shekels; and no. 642, ten minas of each on a price of one and a half minas. Also, we have one mina of each, on a price of 180 minas of bronze, in no. 259.

A penalty of ten minas of silver and five of gold corresponds, in no. 350, to a price of 80 minas of bronze; in no. 262, to a price of 96 shekels of silver; and in no. 311, to a price of two and a half shekels of silver.

A penalty of ten minas of silver and two minas of gold corresponds to a price of one and a half minas of silver, in no. 249; to 95 shekels, in no. 361.

Ten shekels of silver appears as a penalty also in nos. 307, 308, 334, 335, 339, 360, with or without a gold penalty, and associated with various prices.

The variations are therefore great, and sometimes the penalty seems set down at random. Thus, while a price of 180 minas of bronze has a penalty of ten minas of silver and one mina of gold, a price of only 20 minas of bronze has a penalty of one mina of silver, but two talents of gold. The last penalty is surely a farce, for no one merchant was likely to be able to pay it.

These penalties must surely be merely conventional and intended as deterrents; they were not contemplated as likely to be enforced. The whole tone of their expression forbids the idea that the resumption of the property was thought of as possible. They are threats, and probably empty threats at the best.

TABLE.

No.	Price in silver shekels, Assyrian standard	Silver penalty in shekels	Gold penalty in shekels
172	90	300	?
174	60	360	—
175	60	600	—
177	60	600	?
183	60	600	—
203	60	600	60
208	30	600	60
209	35	600	60
211	30	600	60
213	90	120	—
215	9	120	120
216	60	60	—
230	9	720	—
232	240	900	—
233	68	600	60
234	180	60	60
235	60	600	60
236	60	?	60
237	60	60	?
239	18	1200	—
242	60	60	?
244	90	60	60
245	120	600	60
246	210	60	—
249	90	600	120
257	120	300	120
262	96	600	300
263	600	600	60
283	120	1200	?
307	16	600	—
308	30	600	—
310	180	?	60
311	150	600	300
312	34	300	—
313	60	600	—
324	60	600	—
325	120	3600	600

No.	Price in silver shekels, Assyrian standard	Silver penalty in shekels	Gold penalty in shekels
326	180	300	?
327	30	300	—
335	30	600	—
336	30	600	60
339	250	600	?
349	210	600	60
357	330	60	60
359	240	30?	?
360	31	600	?
361	95	600	120
373	10	600	60
378	11	300	60
381	30	120	—
383	300	600	60
384	240	?	60
386	30	60	60
389	barter	60	60
393	120	60	?
414	180	600	60
418	600	3600?	600
422	360	?	60
423	360	600	60
425	600	3600	600
428	3510	?	600
444	240	60	60
446	180	3600	300
642	90	600	?
	Price in bronze minas		
180	100	600	60
181	50	?	60
218	60	60	—
248	180	600	—
259	180	60	60
319	50	120	—
350	80	600	300
376	20	60	7200
468	100	60	—
492	20	240	60

## CHAPTER VII.

### SLAVE SALES.

624. In the deeds of sale, contained in nos. 172—323, we are concerned with the sale of slaves. The term 'slave,' as a rendering of the Assyrian *ardu*, is now consecrated by usage. It denoted a condition far removed, however, from that so hateful to our ideas, modern slavery, the joint product of European and African nationalities. Slavery, as we have now learnt to regard it, would have been as abhorrent to Semitic ideas, as its horrors were foreign to Assyrian practice. The slave was certainly a person of inferior social status, but the *ardu* is rather to be compared with the Roman *servus*, than with a negro slave. In some respects, he was more like the *cliens*. He probably had more real freedom than any other who ever bore the name of slave.

625. The innumerable later Babylonian documents, published by Strassmaier, have been much discussed, and the status of the slave in Babylonia, in the viith and vth centuries B.C., is now well known. Especially valuable are the discussions of Kohler and Peiser in their *Aus Babylonische Rechtsleben*. Professor Oppert's *La Condition des esclaves à Babylone* contains much interesting matter, unfortunately, for the most part, with few references to the sources of his conclusions. Dr Meissner's very valuable tract *De Servitute Babylonico-Assyriaca*, on the other hand, gives a very useful selection of passages, with references, in support of his conclusions.

Equally valuable, for early Babylonian times, is the work of Meissner, in his *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht*. Indeed, the affinities of our documents are rather with the Babylonia of B.C. 2300—2000, than with the contemporary southern country. Assyria, or rather the usage in the palace household, seems to have

been highly conservative of the ideas prevalent in Babylonia fifteen centuries before. True, we have but few contemporary Babylonian documents, nor do we know how private persons acted at Nineveh. Probably the common people in both countries had many customs very similar. At Dûrîlu, at Laḥîru, we find terms and phrases that are very unlike those of our documents and more like the later Babylonian terms and phrases. The few properly private contracts, found at Nineveh, for example, nos. 779—782, are very Babylonian in style. It is my conviction that both in Assyria and Babylonia, the business of the palace was conducted on ancient models. If we had the family deeds and documents of Merodach Baladan II., or of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, we might expect them to be very similar to our Nineveh specimens. If, on the other hand, we could compare the legal documents of a great merchant firm in Nineveh with those of some merchant prince in Babylon, of the same period, we should probably find an equal degree of similarity. Further exploration may one day enable us to make such comparisons.

On the whole, however, the position of the slave was probably much the same, throughout long periods of time. Only, we must be cautious in applying results deduced from Strassmaier's texts, to a different place, at least a century earlier. Palace slaves may have had privileges denied to the slaves of a private householder. On the other hand, slavery may have been more strict in the palace than in private homes. We must use the indications of both earlier and later Babylonian times as suggestions of what to expect rather than as rules to determine our views. At every point we must check these external witnesses by the internal evidence of our own documents.

626. In Babylonia the slave had his *peculium*, he could own property. Here, also, we must be on our guard against misunderstanding. Time after time, the party to a transaction is called *ardu ša*, 'the slave of,' some one. When he buys and sells, bearing such a description, is he the owner of the property, or is he merely the agent of his master? That agents did conduct business, for persons of high rank, is plain from the occurrence of the term *kâtâ*, 'by the hands of.' Thus, the Crown Prince might advance corn to a number of people; he was the owner of the corn, but he acts 'by the hands of' his agent. This agent is not called his 'slave.' The agent may have been a free man. A slave acting for his master might be regarded as agent, and the statement of his condition might be



omitted. His position as agent might be regarded as overriding in importance the status of slave. Hence no reference would be made to the fact of his being a slave. But, if he could hold property of his own, we might expect that, if the property sold was his master's, that fact would be explicitly stated. On the other hand, we may assume, that when the property is called his, it was not his master's. But many cases are ambiguous, and it would be unsafe to found any theory on the appearance of a slave as apparently buyer or seller in his own right. Agency might generally be suspected, and is difficult to disprove.

For the solution of the question, whether a slave in Assyria could hold property, as distinct from what he enjoyed as his master's gift, we must examine the usages in Babylonia. If we find there explicit statements of what is only referred to in our documents, we shall have good ground for assuming that the reference implies what is explained in other cases. Each term or phrase fixed by Babylonian usage may fairly be assumed to have borne the same sense in Assyria. But a custom, which obtained in Babylonia, cannot be assumed for Assyria, unless such terms can be produced to vouch for the existence of the same custom.

**627.** What rights had a master over his slave's property? Analogy shews that the master had a yearly income from the slave, if engaged in business on his own account. The master had the right, probably, to all the service of the slave, but owning men whose ability went beyond manual labour, he suffered them to engage in business on their own account; commuting his right to service for a fixed yearly payment. This is called in the later Babylonian times *mandattu*. The word does not occur in the Assyrian documents. This constituted the profit of the slave to the master. The most frequent word for interest on money, or increase from cattle, is *šibtu*. Now supposing a man pledged a slave for so much money, he would, with possession, also lose the services of that slave, while the mortgagee would gain them. These services, therefore, would roughly be a set-off against the interest due on the money, and this is sometimes expressly stated to be the case. When a man bought a slave, he gave for him such a sum as would bring in an interest, at current rates, equal to the value of his services. A slave, however, was worth somewhat more than the capitalised value of his services. He might increase his master's stock of slaves: he might learn a trade and so become more valuable. A slave girl might be sold as

a wife, even when her manual labour was already pledged. But, roughly, the interest on the purchase money was the value of the slave's services to his master. That I believe lies at the root of the rates charged as interest in Assyria. The rate of interest was 25%, because if one paid £100 for a slave, his services would be worth £25 to his owner.

Now a slave might be bought solely as a domestic, and his or her services in house or garden might possibly be worth so much. But a limit exists to the number of servants in a house, or of labourers on an estate. It was then an obvious thing to buy, or to own, more slaves than necessary for personal or domestic service; and to permit them to engage in business, and to acquire property, on payment of a fixed sum. They would do more business on such conditions, than if the master took all. It would perhaps suit him better to take a fixed proportion of the business profits; and probably he did that, in some cases. What should be the rate, or basis, of the commutation of service for payment? Doubtless this was an offer, made by the master, and accepted by the slave; it is not likely that the latter had the power or will to refuse what was offered. There would soon spring up a fixed custom, and men would come to regard it as a right. Instead of the whole of a slave's services the master would accept part; and the slave being able to gain his own living, the master was relieved from the responsibility of his 'keep.' I imagine that on such considerations the master would be justified in accepting a third of his services: or in a rough way a hundred days out of the year. On this may have been based the *mandattu*. Taking the price of a slave in Babylon as 60 shekels of silver, the current rate of interest being 20 *per cent.*, the value of his services should be 12 shekels. Now in *Nbd.* 838, as Kohler-Peiser, *A. B. R.* 1. p. 2, argue, the yearly *mandattu* of the slave Nabû-utirri was only four shekels. The *mandattu* due from his wife Mišâtum was 12 shekels. Evidently she had cost a mina to buy. Her master bought her, but lost her services, when she married and left his house. Hence he expected a full *mandattu* from her. She was his slave still, he would have sold her for a mina still. Her husband pays her *mandattu*, his own, and the interest on the money, which had been lent him for business. We have thus a total of 71 shekels in two payments, 59 shekels for himself, 12 for his wife, *Nbd.* 838, 858. So far as we are in a position to estimate the facts of the case, Nabû-utirri had borrowed 5½ minas, on which the ordinary interest was 55 shekels.

Hence his own *mandattu* was clearly 4 shekels. So at any rate Kohler-Peiser argue. The loan may be differently estimated, however. Nabû-utirri borrowed 4 minas in Simânu, and paid interest in Aaru. If there was no second Adar in the 14th year of Nabonidus, he had eleven months' interest to pay. That was 44 shekels. He also borrowed another mina and a half in Tišrîtu, which would give seven months' interest. That would be  $10\frac{1}{2}$  shekels. According to Mahler's *Chronologie der Babylonier*, p. 11, there was a second Adar in the 14th year of Nabonidus. Unless this month was not counted, there was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  shekels interest more to pay, and then the sum would be exactly one mina. This assumes that each loan dated from the 14th of the month, on which date it was paid in Aaru. There is a discrepancy of one shekel. The receipt expressly states, moreover, that the *mandattu* of both Nabû-utirri and his wife remained in his hand. It was not till Simânu 24th that he paid his wife's *mandattu*, and we have not the record of his own payment at all. There is, therefore, not a clear proof that Nabû-utirri paid a yearly *mandattu* of 4 shekels, either for his freedom, or for any post which he held.

But it is clear that the *mandattu* for Mišâtum was 12 shekels. There is a further suggestion, in *Nbd.* 573, *A. B. R.* p. 2, that this *mandattu* was the real value of the slave to his master. A slave Nabû-natânu was sold by his master Arrabi, who could not deliver him at once. Perhaps he had fled, or was away on business. It is agreed that on the day that he is seen in the possession of Arrabi, he shall be handed over, and his *mandattu*. As the buyer was deprived of his services, but also relieved of his keep, he would be in the same position as the owner of a slave trading on his own account. The slave, however, was not in that position, and could not be expected to furnish a *mandattu*. The former owner, therefore, has to make it good. It is really interest on the price which he receives in advance, before delivering up the property sold.

628. Theoretically no doubt a master had possession of his slave's property; but he could not take it away. He could tax it, but not separate him from it. When the slave was sold, his family was sold with him, he was not separated from them. Further, his slaves were sold with him. No doubt in one sense these were his master's slaves. They were counted in the number to be paid for. But they were also his, and could not be sold away from him. No doubt, in such cases, the slave merely paid over his *mandattu* to the new master. He was a source of income and as such was sold, but

his new master had not the right to disturb him in the possession of the property, which he had acquired, nor to reduce him from his semi-independent condition.

Under such circumstances, what we may call the industrial slaves, who lived outside their master's house, and in their own home, had their own family and servants; and the burden of their slavery only consisted in their tributary condition. In this respect, they were not unlike the tributary nations, they paid tribute; and the word *mandattu* is used of the tribute of the nations. Like them, they could not migrate, nor enter into external relations with other masters, without the consent of their own. To do that was rebellion, *sihu*. Nor could they shift their residence. In all other respects they seem to have been free.

629. Further, there was in Assyria a large body of serfs. These men were *glebae adscripti*, they cultivated the land, and belonged to it. They were bought and sold with it, and presumably could not leave it, at their own pleasure. But they could not be sold away from it. They were able to hold land of their own, and had oxen and other property of their own. Hence they were not properly slaves. This class does not occur in our sales of slaves, but we shall meet with them later, as bought and sold with estates. To that extent, they were owned by the owner of the estate. They were an essential part of it. They too, probably, paid a rent; in all probability, one-third of the produce. They looked to their landlord to furnish them with free loans of seed corn, food for themselves and their reapers, and probably, also, to some extent, with tools and stock. To a certain extent, they could become peasant proprietors, but there is no trace of any large body of such men, who were not also serfs. There is little trace of serfs in Babylonia, except on temple lands.

630. We may therefore regard the subject population in Assyria as consisting of three great divisions. The domestic slaves, resident in their master's house, fed and clothed by him and employed in household work, were for the most part females, and unmarried. In many cases, they were employed in weaving, as well as cooking, and attending to the personal service of their mistress. There were, in great households, a certain number of men, as cooks, brewers, gardeners, washermen, and in some few other offices.

The married slaves, in towns, lived generally in their own houses.

They engaged in business, or various crafts, and owned property; but paid a yearly due, or tribute, to their masters. They kept themselves.

The serfs, in the villages, seem to have been provided with houses, and most of the necessities of their profession. They were only subject to rent, but tied to the soil. This class was often recruited from the industrial classes.

631. Slaves often appear as skilled labourers; in many cases, even when sold, their trade or occupation is stated. It would be rash to say that all artisans were slaves. Such occupations as goldsmith, silversmith, etc., were doubtless carried on by Assyrian freemen. But their slaves could be of the same craft. On the other hand, there seems no trace of a military or sacerdotal office being held by a slave. Of course there were temple slaves, but these were not necessarily 'priests.' The army seems to have been largely recruited from the slave population, and especially from the serfs. It is not unlikely that slaves could rise to high offices, as they could purchase freedom, and were often freed. But then they had ceased to be slaves. It is true, that the officers of the king usually style themselves 'his slave,' but that need not be more than a compliment. Even strangers might address their correspondents as 'my lord,' and style themselves, 'thy slave'; as we subscribe ourselves, 'your obedient servant.' We may not argue that they had ever been in real servitude.

632. It is not easy to determine how far the term *ardu* implied any disgrace. In the early documents, see Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 92, the slave was usually termed *SAG*. That has usually been read *kaḫḫadu*, and taken to imply that he was regarded as only a chattel, *caput*, to be counted. But it is more likely to have been read *rêšu*, a word which has no necessary connection with *rêšu*, 'a head.' It is regarded, in some explanatory lists, as belonging to the same class of terms as *amtu*, 'maid,' and other words for 'domestic servants,' *H. W. B.* p. 615 b. The slave was named, as a rule, but not his father. This has been regarded as implying that he was not a citizen, not a *mâr banû*, *generosus*. This deduction is not quite convincing. For in the case of the mediaeval serf, it was the naming of his father that specially denoted his being a serf. In the case of the Harran Census also, the name of the present holder is always followed by the name of his father. Hence the absence of a father's name may only stamp the slave as not a serf. Further, in the case

of foreign slaves, it seems likely that the father's name would often be unknown, or regarded as unimportant.

633. We have now sufficient indications of the probable status of the slave in Assyria, drawn by analogy from that of the slave in Babylonia, to guide us in our examination of our documents. The slave is generally termed *ardu*, written with the sign *NITA*, which Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 129, reads *ARAD*, because in this case its Sumerian value is unknown. The use of *SAG* has completely disappeared; unless it survives in a few cases in the title *amêl SAG*, see § 214. The sign *ARAD* is often preceded by *amêlu*, see nos. 202, 464, etc. Hence the slave is treated as a person, certainly not a chattel, perhaps even as a professional. The word *amêlu* is substituted for *ardu* in the clauses *Ac*, or *C*, in nos. 173, 4, 11; 174, 3; and often.

The slave's father is very often named in our documents. This does not, however, in itself mark a rise in social position as compared with earlier times. When both father and son bear good Assyrian names, we may have to do with a case of a free-born citizen having become enslaved, through poverty. We shall see in § 638 that this was common. Or we may have to do with one originally a serf. All we can say is that if any indignity attached to the omission of his father's name, that has become less frequent. But here we have to do with palace servants and they may have been of a better class.

When we examine the offices which the slave could hold we have the same difficulties in drawing any conclusion from merely negative evidence. No one called *ardu* also holds a military title, or acts as priest, or even as *aba*. But if a man had been freed and had risen to such a post, he could not be styled *ardu* any longer. Even if he had not been freed, his acting as *aba* would probably lead to his recording only the honourable title. But as a serf is never termed *ardu*, presumably he was regarded as a more honourable person than a slave.

634. At any rate the *ardu* could act freely as witness. Of course the *ardu ša šarri* may have been as much a free man as most private persons. Even the *ardu ša mâr šarri*, or servant of the Crown Prince, was probably an important personage, although actually a slave. The presence of such servants of the Crown Prince, as witnesses, in nos. 242, 253, 259, 360, 446, 606, does not prove much as to the status of the slave. But the presence of the slaves of minor officials, and even of private persons, shews that an

*ardu* was not incapacitated from at least one important civil function. We have as witnesses, the *ardu* of the Tartan, in nos. 244, 371; of the *Abarakku* in no. 244; of the Rabshakeh, in nos. 216, 500; of the *ràb BI-LUL*, in no. 416; of the *BI-LUL*, in no. 247; of the *sukallu*, in nos. 244, 248, 416; of the *amêlu ša eli bitâni*, in no. 326; of the *bêl paḥâti* of Kalḥu, in no. 248; even of Sin-kîa, a private person, in no. 244. In no. 464, we have four *ardâni* of the *amêlu ša pâni êkalli*, three *ardâni* of the *amêlu ràb nâdin akli*, two *ardâni* of the *Abarakku rabû*, one *ardu* of the *ràb karmâni*, and another *ardu*, in all eleven slaves acting as witnesses. A group of eight, or nine, witnesses is noted as the *ardâni* of one man, in no. 75. Compare also nos. 181, 224, 257, 294, 370, 606, where slaves are witnesses, though their masters' titles are not preserved.

The servant of Ištar, *ardu šu Ištar*, who acts as a witness, in no. 172, may be a mere temple servant, a slave; but he might be a free man. The same uncertainty applies to the *ardu ša bit ili*, a witness, in no. 93; and to the *ardu êkalli*, who appears as a neighbour, in no. 434.

635. The slave could act as principal in a contract. Thus the *ardu* of *Zapânu*, in no. 161; the *ardu* of Adadi-rîmâni, in no. 311; a gardener and *ardu*, in no. 366; an *ardu*, in no. 482; and two *ardâni* of the *bêl paḥâti* of Barḥalza, in no. 447; all treat on equal terms with free men. It is, however, possible that in each case the *ardu* simply acts as agent for his master.

636. A slave might hold property. Although we lack evidence that he sold his own property; bought his freedom, lent money to other slaves or to free men, as he did in Babylonia; he could hold slaves, both menservants and maidservants, see nos. 241, 253, and possibly nos. 261, 426. We may note, however, that he himself is sold, with his slaves. They are counted in the total number of slaves sold. They were bought with him. He received no money at their sale. Hence it is possible that he could not sell them. But they must work for him. He could not be deprived of them. This is as far as we can go in asserting that the slave owned property. It is possible that he was as fully possessed of the rights to a *peculium* as his brother slave in Babylonia. But we have no express evidence.

On the other hand, in the Harran Census, we find that the serf is expressly stated to have land, oxen, etc., *ramânišu*, 'of his own,' beside what he held from his landlord, as serf.

637. The master took care of his slave. He even bought

him a wife, see nos. 308, 309, 711. A lady also buys a wife, or concubine (?), for her son, no. 307. In earlier times, the female slave seems to have been very often a concubine to her master, and he was bound to educate her children, and provide for them to some extent. They seem to have been free, but not coheirs with the sons of the wife. Slaves were often adopted, both in early and later times. The practice does not appear in our documents. The slaves were often hired at harvest time, the hire being paid to their owners. Slaves might also be hired from their owners for a whole year or by the month. In early times the customary wages of a hired slave was six shekels per annum. But the hirer had to keep the slave as well. The owner, however, found him clothing. According as these shares in the care of the slave were allotted to hirer or owner, so we may expect the hire paid to have varied. Sometimes a shekel was paid in advance, and the rest was paid monthly or daily. But it would seem that the value of a slave's services exceeded the expense of his keep by about six shekels per annum. In some cases a hired slave seems to have received about 250 *KA* of corn per annum. This is less than the amount of corn which one shekel would buy.

A slave, at any rate in later times, cost about 3 *ka* per day of corn to keep; see *Cyr.* 313. The penalty, which a master had to pay in case he failed to teach an apprenticed slave his business, was 3 *ka* of corn per day. This Kohler-Peiser, *A. B. R.* II. p. 54, reckon to be 6 *gur* of corn per year, worth about as many shekels. Hence, as the slave's services above appear to be worth about 12 shekels beyond his keep, etc., we may put his annual value down as worth 18 shekels. In the case quoted by Kohler-Peiser, from *Cyr.* 248, they note that the penalty for not teaching the trade was 6 *ka* of corn per day, double the former amount. They account for this by noting that here the teacher is also a slave; but we may further note that the work was to be learnt in six months, as against six years in the former case. Hence, as we should expect, when the teacher had to give such a long course of instruction, the failure was partly due to the pupil's ineptitude, and so the penalty was less.

In another very interesting case, discussed by Kohler-Peiser, *A. B. R.* II. p. 55 f., a slave was set to learn weaving. His owner finds him 1 *ka* of corn *per diem*, and clothing. If, at the end of a five years' apprenticeship, he has not learnt his trade, his master is to pay 6 *ka* of corn for him. Here we may doubt if the one *ka* per day was a fair keep. Any way we see the same penalty as in the



last. In this case there is an interesting sequel. The master weaver kept on the slave ten months, after his time was up, and had to pay 9 shekels as his *mandattu*: making that profit to be as before about 12 shekels per year. Hence as his keep was quite 12 shekels, he was worth 24 shekels a year, and he would sell for quite a *mîna*.

638. The sources from which the ranks of the slaves were recruited were practically the same at all periods. As in the earlier times, see Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 6, there was a certain number of slaves born in slavery. Large family groups are sold. We shall return to these family groups, in § 642.

Also free men might become slaves. We have instances of a free man pledging himself and family for debt, see nos. 63, 86, and compare no. 164. Such pledges, if not redeemed, must have added to the number of slaves. That the family, or clan, had the power to redeem its members from such a fate seems to be implied in nos. 62, 641.

But, as in early times, a father might sell his son, and exercised his right, see nos. 186, 201, 314, 319. The sale of a daughter was equally common, see nos. 221, 307, 315, 317. A brother seems to have had the same right over his sister, nos. 207, 208.

Hence it is clear that some slaves had been free-born Assyrians. The alternative is, that in these cases the seller was himself a slave, so that those sold were already slaves. In that case he may have sold for his master. This is, however, not hinted at, in any case. Among the total slave population, quite half bear names of the ordinary Assyrian type.

Of itself this argument from names is of small value. For, as in later Babylonian texts, see *Nhd.* 390, 3, etc., slaves were probably often renamed. Whether a slave often bore the same name as his master is not certain, but in one case, no. 204, a master, called Sâsû, sells a slave of the same name.

In the case of slaves of foreign origin, their nationality is rarely stated. We have a man from Tabal named as sold in no. 197. We have a long list, in no. 1099, of as many as 977 slaves from Kuê. In no. 763, we clearly have a list of Egyptian slaves, or at any rate of slaves possibly bearing Egyptian names. Usually the names are our only indication of the nationality of the slaves. But surely we cannot mistake such names as Aa-îuri, Addai, Aduniîu, Akbar, Atarhamu, Dakulê, Usi', Urai, Hamnunu, Hanedu, Ianuku, Imannû, Imšai, Kamabani, Ladukî, Marsete', Murai, Milkiûri, Sigaba, Sitîr-

kānu, Tarḥunâzi, or the female names Aḳbarai, Gadia, Ḥalmusu, Ḥasalai, Ḥambusu, Me'sai. They bear a foreign aspect. But we are not yet fully acquainted with all possible native names. The Assyrians seem to have adopted many foreign gods into their Pantheon. Thus Ḥaldi is surely the Armenian god known from the historical inscriptions, but it would be hazardous to class all Ḥaldi compounds as foreign names. The large infusion of Aramaeans, Chaldaeans, and even Arabs, must have influenced the names. The Assyrians may have formed a majority of the population, in the great towns like Nineveh, Calah, Aššur, etc.; but, in the country, an older non-Semitic population may have survived. The importations of war-captives must have been considerable, but we have singularly few traces of these among the slave names. Perhaps the captives were chiefly settled in outlying districts rather than brought as slaves to Nineveh. The use of the obscure term *rûtu*, as applied both to serfs and war-captives, suggests that the latter were usually settled as serfs, rather than sold as slaves.

639. The price of a slave in early times was very small. A female slave could be bought for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  shekels, and a male slave for from 10 to 20 shekels. In later times the price varied very much indeed, so that for all comparative purposes reference must be made to the chapter on Prices. But in our documents, whether from the uniformity of quality demanded for palace slaves, or from other economic causes, the price is extraordinarily constant, thirty shekels of silver. Outside prices were paid for specially qualified slaves, such as a skilled weaver of figured stuffs, probably an artist in his way, no. 172; or a gardener, in no. 235.

640. The slave might obtain his freedom, both in early times and in the second Babylonian Empire. There were at least two principal ways, first by purchase, and secondly by adoption. A sort of manumission seems to have taken place also, but what the exact status of the manumitted slave was does not appear clearly. In our documents very little evidence on the point comes out. The verb *paṭāru*, generally used for paying the price of freedom, called the *iptīru*, occurs in a few instances in our documents. In one of them, no. 176, the buyer, Baḥiānu, bought a slave for 50 minas of bronze, *iptatar*. This verb takes the place of the usual *ilki*, 'took possession.' It may only mean that he paid out money, but it may mean that he 'freed' the slave. In no. 218, the seller is contemplated as making an excuse for not delivering up the slave, in the words *amiltu apattar*,

which very likely means, 'I release or free the slave.' In nos. 7 and 85, the forms *iptaṭra*, *iptaṭar*, occur, but the connection is obscure for us to be sure of their exact meaning. Other indications will be noticed in the comments on individual texts. They will be slight to warrant our saying that we have any examples of a slave acquiring his freedom in our documents.

641. It is clear that there were public liabilities incumbent on the slave, or rather on the master who discharged them by his slave. I am not aware that these have been recognised for early times. Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 97, gives a number of examples where the parties who do not fulfil their contracts are subject *ana ṣimdat šarri*. Some have taken this to mean, 'the yoke of the king,' and even supposed that the delinquents were to be yoked to the king's plough. But Meissner's quotation, from *V. R.* 24, 15 ab, ff., shews that *ṣimittu* here is in some sense an equivalent of *dīnu*. It was the 'judgement of the king' to which they were referred. Winckler, *A. F.* II. p. 90, has established a word *ṣamādu*, with the sense 'to measure out,' whence we could easily reach the meaning 'decision.' Hence there is no reason to imagine any 'royal yoke' in the sense of a forced labour gang. There were liabilities, which lay upon the land, some of which have already been discussed in the second volume, §§ 225, 228 ff. Others will be referred to as the occasion demands, in the sections dealing with estates and charters. The later Babylonian texts mention the *ardu-šarrītu* and *amat šarrītu* as liabilities. To these Hilprecht, *B. E.* ix. p. 44, note l. 8, has added *šušanūtu*.

642. The number, and distribution as to sex, of the persons in a slave family may deserve notice. It has already been pointed out that to all appearance the family group was not broken up at a sale. Although an Assyrian master did transfer his slaves to another man, there is no evidence to shew that he sold them separately, and the inhumanity of tearing a slave from his family ties seems to have been practically avoided. The following groups are recorded in our documents. Man and wife occurs most often, nos. 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 246, 247, 258, 259, 261, 265, 268, 270, 275 *bis*, 277 *bis*, 296, 322, 447. Man, wife and son, in nos. 241, 288 *bis*; man, wife and two sons, in nos. 246, 259, 447; man, wife, and three sons, in nos. 240, 246; man, wife, two sons and a daughter, in nos. 241 *bis*, 305; man, wife, three sons, two daughters, a brother and two nephews, in no. 230; man, wife, son and two daughters, in no. 266; man, wife, son and four daughters, in no. 248; man, wife and four children, in

7. 274; man, wife and daughter, in nos. 235, 247 *bis*, 322, 424; wife and two daughters, in nos. 268, 275; man, wife and ; in no. 241; man, wife, mother, two brothers and two sisters, 231; man, wife, brother and daughter, in no. 244; man, wife, sons, daughter, three slaves and their two sons, in no. 261. These furnish a very complete record.

Of some ambiguity are the cases where a man is said to have 'two wives.' The proper sign for 'wife,' *DAM*, is not used in our texts, only *ŠAL*, which usually means 'woman.' But when the name of a man is followed by *ŠAL-šu*, it seems pedantic to render 'his woman,' for there is no indication that he had any other 'wife.' At any rate, she was the mother of his children. When 'daughters' are intended they are called *TUR ŠAL* or *mârtu*; 'maidservants' are termed *amtu*. That the scribe never called a 'wife' of a slave by her proper title need not surprise us, when we find that it does not occur in the Harran Census, nor is it used at all in our documents. As far as we know, therefore, if we press the point, the Assyrians had no 'wives,' only 'concubines,' which is unlikely. In the later Babylonian contracts also, Tallqvist only enters *DAM* once. The term *aššatu* does not once occur phonetically spelt in our documents, and when a woman is bought to be a 'wife' for a slave the term *ŠAL-u-tu* is used. I read this *aššûtu*, because on no. 711 the Aramaic docket regards it as referring to the status of the אשת of the slave for whom the woman was intended. When, therefore, a man is said to have 'two women,' *ŠAL-MEŠ*, I regard them as 'two wives,' in every sense in which an Assyrian could have a wife at all. Such cases are, a man and two wives, in no. 306; a man, two wives and two sons, in no. 277; a man, two wives, three sons and three slaves, in no. 253; a man, two wives, two sons and two daughters, in no. 229.

A man did not always have a wife. Whether a bachelor or widower, he had his mother, sister or daughter, living with him. Thus we have, a man and his mother, in nos. 236, 250, 284; a man, his mother and three brothers, in no. 447; a man, two brothers and a sister, in no. 447; a man, his sister and four sons, in no. 269; a man, sister and daughter, in no. 246; a man, two sons, a daughter and two maids, in no. 241; a man and his daughter, in no. 221. Sometimes there seems to be no female in the family. Thus we have, a man and at least three sons, in no. 240; a man and two sons, in no. 258; a man and his son, in nos. 275, 447; a man and

his brother, in nos. 249, 265. A man evidently might live with his children's family, for in no. 253, we have a man, his brother, his son and wife, and their slaves.

We are not always informed of the distribution of the family. Especially in the schedules of estates, we have merely, 'so and so with so many souls.' This use also occurs in no. 238. We thus only know the number in the family. An even less informing entry occurs commonly in the schedules, 'so and so with his people.' This phrase *adi nîšēšū* evidently includes all his relatives, living with him, and his slaves, if he had any.

In a few cases, the slaves sold were a mother and daughter, nos. 233, 245, 257, 267, 294. We have a mother and two children, in nos. 254, 270.

A man, wife, three sons, two daughters, his brother and his two sons, in no. 230; a man, his wife and mother, his two brothers and two sisters, in no. 231; form groups somewhat wider than a single family. But they are each a group related by family ties.

Sometimes the group of slaves sold seems unconnected by any family relationships, see nos. 232, 234.

**643.** These slave families shew a fairly large proportion of sons. In 36 families there are 56 sons and 29 daughters. But I take it that many daughters of slaves, who lived outside their master's house, were taken into service. Their use, as weavers and spinners, kept up their value, and at any rate, so far as our documents go, a female slave was worth quite as much as a male slave. Hence I should suppose that, from girlhood till marriage, a female slave stayed in her master's house. The wonder rather is to find so many girls at home.

**644.** The number of slaves referred to in these documents is considerable, fully 450. Rîmâni-Adadi is credited with the purchase of at least 70 slaves in some 16 years. He never appears as a seller. For his business transactions, see § 467. He seems to have acted throughout on behalf of the royal household. His title of *mukîl apâte*, borne also by other slave buyers, really meant 'holder of the reins'; but the existence of another word *apâti*, to denote mankind, makes it likely that the title was taken to mean a 'director of the domestics.' At any rate such was evidently the duty which he discharged. Another great slave buyer, also a royal *mukîl apâte*, was Šumma-ilâni; see § 467. He bought at least fifty-four slaves, in a space of some forty years. Another considerable buyer was Ninûai,

the *šâk šarri*; see § 508. The *šakintu* is often named as a buyer of slaves, chiefly females; see nos. 190, 208, 209, 242, 261, 267. But the title was borne by several different ladies. Several other officials of the king purchased slaves, notably his *râb kišir* in no. 252; his *mukil apâte* in no. 253; compare no. 255. In other cases the purchaser was an official of the king's son; see nos. 201, 207, 211, 231, 233. It is conceivable that these officials bought these slaves on their own account, and that their connection with the royal household led to the preservation of their deeds at Nineveh. But it is more likely still that they purchased slaves for the palace. It is also distinctly clear that the *mukil apâte* was most closely connected with the purchase of slaves; and then the *râb kišir*, and the *râb alâni*.

In earlier times the number of slaves in one house was not great. At the partition of a large estate, only one slave is named; Strassmaier, *Warka* 26. Meissner did not know of more than four, at one time, in any one man's possession. In our documents it is not easy to be sure that the slaves purchased were necessarily all from one household. In one case, however, Rîmâni-Adadi purchased 30 slaves, at one time, of Arbailai, *ardâni ša bîtišu*, 'the slaves of his house.' This looks as if Arbailai had owned 30 slaves as his own household; see no. 424.

**645.** The slave sales divide themselves into groups easily enough. I have arranged them thus:

- I. Sales of a single male slave, nos. 172-206.
- II. Sales of a single female slave, nos. 207-228, 791, 796.
- III. Sales of several slaves together, nos. 229-306. To this group we may perhaps add nos. 319, 320, 322, 323, 725, 789, 811.

In these groups no mention is made of the destination of the slave. They are sales for general purposes.

Sales for special purposes are:

- IV. Sales of a slave, as wife for another slave, nos. 307-309 and no. 711.
- V. Sales of slaves of the class called *rûtu*, nos. 310-317. Compare nos. 718, 783, 906, 1099.
- VI. Exchange of slaves, no. 318.
- VII. Assignment of slave as composition for manslaughter, no. 321.

Of course, a large number of slaves are included in the sales of estates, to be discussed later.

646. The general formula of a sale has been discussed in Chapter VI. Here we may consider some features common to slave sales and characteristic of them.

In the preamble, a single male slave is usually styled *amêlu tadânu*. He is not here regarded as the slave, but as the person granted. A single female slave in this place is nearly always denoted by *ŠAL*. Of the meanings in which this sign is used, *aššatu*, 'wife,' is clearly not intended. We might consider *sinništu*, 'woman,' as intended. But as *mîtu*, 'husband,' seems the proper antithesis to *aššatu*, 'wife,' so *zikru* seems the proper antithesis to *sinništu*, 'male,' as against 'female.' As here the meaning of *amêlu* is clearly a male person, the proper antithesis should be *amiltu*, 'female person.' A phonetic spelling of this occurs in K 3790, *K. B.* iv. p. 122, where a female slave sold, in the time of Esarhaddon, is described in the preamble, by a Babylonian scribe, as *a-mil-ti SE-nu*. Hence, I follow Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. *passim*, in transcribing *ŠAL tadâni*, as *amilti tadâni*. When several slaves are sold at the same time they are described here as *nîšê tadâni*.

In the specification, a single male slave is always named, and very often the name of his father is also given. The trade or occupation of the slave is given in nos. 172, 235. But he is usually styled *ardu*. His master's name is generally added here. The slave is usually *ardušu ša S*, where *S* is the seller's name. Sometimes *ardušu* is used, without the addition of *ša S*, the suffix *šu*, 'his,' referring to the seller named in the preamble, see nos. 178, 180, 181, etc. When there are more sellers than one, of course the suffix *šunu*, 'their,' replaces *šu*; or *ša* alone may be used, repeated before the name of each seller, as in no. 267; compare nos. 202, 318. The *ša*, followed by the seller's name, is usually put in the next line to the slave's specification. The reference to the seller is often omitted here, see nos. 246, 322, etc.

A female slave is generally styled *amtušu ša S*, in this passage. The word *amtu*, 'maidservant,' is the proper antithesis to *ardu*, 'manservant.' She is generally named, but the name of her father is not given, unless he is the seller. When there are more slaves than one, they are styled *nîšê*. Often *ardânîšu ša S* occurs here. In the case of family groups, the head of the family is generally named first: but his father is not named. Often the wife's name follows, though she is very often merely described as *ŠAL-šu*: or *ŠAL-su*, which I read *aššatušu*, or *aššatsu*. It would be pedantic to

deny that the slave was married, because the more accurate *DAM* is not here used for *aššatu*. Sons, brothers, sisters, daughters, are often named, but sometimes counted only. Often a mother is mentioned, sometimes named. Slaves of the slave are recorded. The relationships are generally clearly stated. These family groups are very interesting and are analysed in § 642. The specification of several slaves, sold together, generally sums up all with the words *naphar X napšāti ardāni ša S*, 'in all, X souls, slaves of S.' The word *napšāti* is written *ZI-MEŠ*, *ZI* being the ideogram for *napištu*, 'soul,' 'living person.' We may have *ZI* alone, without the plural sign, see nos. 284, 447; or even 2 *ZI*, in no. 237. The determinative *amēl* is used before *ZI*, in nos. 241, 249, 260, 261, 320. The Aramaic docket on no. 229 gives אַנְשֵׁי. This summation is omitted in no. 230.

Once again the purchase is concisely referred to in the closure clause, C. A single male slave here is usually styled *amēlu*, a female slave, *ŠAL*, i.e. *amiltu*. Sometimes we have *ardu*, or *amtu*. The usual plural is *nîšê*, sometimes *amêlûte*, no. 246, or when all are females, *amilâte*, as in nos. 233, 256. This clause is omitted in nos. 182, 218, 239, 307, 318.

The changes of the predicates, necessary to agree with the sex or number of the slaves sold, are very instructive, shewing with certainty the subject of the verbs, and so helping to fix the meaning of the sentence.

647. It seems likely enough, despite the declarations made, 'the full price is paid, this slave is handed over, etc.,' that sometimes delivery was delayed. In no. 213, for example, it is possible to understand the stipulations as meaning that, if the seller should hold back on some plea, he should repay the purchase money, with a substantial increase, and should all the same hand over the slave. The actual phrase is *amiltu ušēšâ*: but it is not clear who is the nominative to the verb. In the rest of the sentence the seller is, and my view makes him so still. Dr Oppert, *Le Droit de lignager*, p. 579, supposes a sudden change from the seller to the buyer. He renders '*payera deux mines d'argent et emmènera la femme.*' That looks as if he meant the two verbs *payera* and *emmènera* to have the same nominative. Just before, he refers to this text as one of the few, '*qui admet la restitution moyennant une modique augmentation du prix.*' If so, the man who paid the two minas must be the seller, and the man who returns the slave must be the buyer. It is impossible to suppose that *ušēšâ* means 'take back.' If we take



the same person as nominative to *both* verbs, it must be that the same person pays the fine of two minas and gives up the slave. Of course, the seller is certainly the one who has to pay the two minas, i.e. the purchase price, and a half mina more; if he also sets free the slave, he must have been holding back the property paid for, and is now condemned to lose both price and property. I think this is what the buyer's scribe really meant. As will be seen, Dr Oppert clings to the idea of a restitution of the property. Indeed the title of his article implies that he believes a right of resumption does really exist.

In the earlier times, see Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 18, the cash was paid in advance and the seller covenanted to deliver the purchase within a fixed time. A number of slaves were to be procured from Gutium, some distance to the north of Babylonia, the seller 'shall bring them in one month,' *ubbalam ana arhi KAN*. If he do not bring them, the seller shall repay the full price, to take back his bond, *ana nâš kanikišu*.

No. 235 adds an unusual stipulation, viz., if the slaves are not delivered according to contract, the money shall bear interest, and the seller shall serve the buyer. Clearly the buyer had paid cash in advance. This is like a contract in the ordinary sense, there is an undertaking to do something in the future.

*The šibtu bennu clause.*

648. A clause, which occurs with some frequency in slave sales, is *šibtu bennu ana C ûmê, sartu ana kâl šanâte*. It occurs, with more or less completeness, in nos. 172, 176, 181, 183, 187, 201, 208, 211, 212, 232, 242, 247, 248, 257, 280, 281, 284, 288, 289, 290, 310, 312, 323, 429, 642.

Of these, no. 642, K 296, was published in III. R. 49, no. 2, and transliterated and translated by Professor Oppert, in *Doc. Jur.* pp. 236 ff. Dr Oppert read the clause *zibti be bel ni ana C yumê sa-ar-tu ana nabhar sanat kak-mu an-na (mês)*, and rendered it, *fenus vetus erit domino nostro; per (post) centum dies erit obligatio per omnes annos*; also p. 238, *l'intérêt ancien écherra à notre seigneur (Ninip), et payable dans les cent premier jours*. The French translation appears only to deal with the first part of the clause, omitting to render from *sartu* onwards. On p. 239, we have the further remark; *enfin, ce contrat contient une clause qui ne se retrouve qu'ici et qui ajoute*

*encore au danger de la revendication, en fixant une redevance annuelle due à notre seigneur, c'est-à-dire, à Ninip, habitant Calach.*

No. 429, 83-1-18, 350, was published, *C. I. S.* p. 36 f., from a copy by Mr T. G. Pinches. The transliteration of the mutilated clause is there given as *bi-ni ana esten me une*; but no rendering is given in the summary of the meaning of the contract.

No. 208, K 321, was published by Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 132, who restored the text as I should, *šibtu bennu ana 100 umê sartu ana kâl šanâtî*, and rendered it, *Die Kopfsteuer ist bezahlt für 100 Tage, die Eintragungssportel für alle Jahre.*

The other passages are new, but it is probable that Dr Peiser knew some of them when he restored the text as above.

As to the individual words composing the clause, Dr Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 180, under *bennu* II., quotes, from III. R. 49, no. 2, the full clause, which he calls *ein Fluch*. To which root he refers *šibtu* is not clear, as he does not enter the passage under *ešêpu*, *H. W. B.* p. 308, nor *šabātu*, *H. W. B.* p. 562. I have not been able to find *sartu* elsewhere in *H. W. B.*

Dr Meissner, *A. B. P. R.* p. 97, devotes a long note to *bi-en-nu*, the form in which our *bennu* appears in his texts. He thinks first of *bānu*, 'to give,' but rejects it. He quotes our passage, from III. R. 49, no. 2, and the equation *šibtu = bennu*, from II. R. 35 cf. 41. He leaves *bennu* untouched. Dr Muss-Arnolt simply registers these previous efforts under *bennu*, but goes no further.

After the appearance of Volume I., Professor Oppert devoted a great part of his article, *Le Droit de retrait lignager à Ninive*, to a discussion of this phrase. On p. 157, he read it, *šibtu bennu ana 100 yume sartu ana kal sanati*, and rendered it, *voluntas libera et quies ad centum dies est conditio ad omnes annos*, or *liberté d'action et repos (ou bien, liberté de se reposer) pour cent jours, c'est la condition pour toutes les années*. He also quotes the clause considered by Meissner, from *K. B.* iv. p. 39, which he renders *pour un jour attouchement (tipsu), pour un mois repos (bennu)*. Dr Oppert says that the clause has long defied the sagacity of interpreters. Further, he explains the purpose of it to be that, lest the slave be overtaxed, he has for himself, or for the women whom he represents, the power of resting a hundred days, being bound to serve the remainder of the year, in perpetuity.

In *Das Assyrische Landrecht*, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 268, Dr Oppert returned to the subject. He rendered *sartu* by *obligatio*, and gave

the rendering, *Willensfreiheit und Ruhe für hundert Tage, dieses ist der obligatio für alle Jahre*. He said *šibtu* was for *šibitu*, which he derived from *šibû*, from which comes *šibûtu*, meaning 'wish.' He said that Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 180 b, had recognised rightly that *bennu* was 'rest.' He dealt with *sartu* on p. 258, and made it out to mean 'that which is bound up with the principal,' 'an accessory.' Here he gave it as *Verbindlichkeit*. The phrase he regarded as one of the ameliorations of slavery at Nineveh. The slave was to have a hundred days' rest in the year. If he had his sabbaths free, and one day off in each week, that would just meet the case. But is this thinkable? The only point in favour of Dr Oppert's explanation is that it is intelligible.

Dr Peiser's renderings are accepted as possible by Meissner, *Supp.* p. 24. But they too are only intelligible, by no means likely to be true.

649. The phrase itself occurs with so few variants that we are not in much better position for its interpretation than the distinguished Assyriologists who have already discussed it. There is no doubt that we have two members in the clause, the first being that *šibtu* and *bennu* are for 100 days, and the second that *sartu* is in perpetuity. On examining the above passages we find both *šibtu* and *šibti*, *bennu* and *benni*; and in no. 310, the order is reversed, we have *bennu šibtu*. Hence the two words are coordinate, they do not form a complex of noun in the construct with genitive. These terms are probably, as usual with coordinate terms in our documents, nearly synonymous. Further we have *šibtu* alone in no. 232, and perhaps *bennu* alone in no. 248. The *sartu* is said to be for *kâl šanâti*, i.e. 'for every year'; for *kâl ûmâte*, 'for every day'; or for *arkât ûmê*, 'for after days.' The only common meaning of these phrases is 'in perpetuity.' There is no verb in either member of the clause, and much will depend on how we supply these verbs.

The word *šibtu* has little variation: *šib-tû* occurs in nos. 172, 183, 208, 257, 289, 310, 312, compare the endings in nos. 212, 284. We have *šib-tu* in no. 288; and *šib-ti* in nos. 211, 232, 242, 281, 307, 642. The signs *šib* could of course be read *zib*, *šip*, or *zip*. The word *bennu* is spelt *be-en-nu* in nos. 208, 257, 281, 288, 289, 290, 312; *be-en-ni* in no. 642; *be-nu* in nos. 181, 284; *be-en* in no. 242; *be-ni* in no. 211; *bi-nu* in no. 183; *bi-ni* in no. 429; and perhaps *be-e-nu* in no. 310. The other occurrences are not decisive; in nos. 212, 247, 248, the word is only partly preserved. *Sartu*

we have already discussed in § 568. Whether we have the same word here seems open to doubt. It is spelt *sa-ar-tú* in nos. 183, 208, 211, 247, 248, 257, 290, 312; *sa-ar-tu* in nos. 288, 642; *sa-ar-ti* in nos. 232, 281; *sa-ár-tú* in no. 284; *sa-ár-tu* in no. 242; compare the fragments in nos. 212, 289, 310. This member of the clause seems to have been omitted in no. 429.

650. Professor Jensen in a recent communication by letter to me pointed out that *šibtu* and *bennu* are most certainly 'diseases,' perhaps 'fever' or 'ague.' In his notes on the name of the 'Fever Demon,' Bennu, in *K. B.* vi. p. 389, he shews that at any rate in the passages which he considers there, the associated words *bennu*, *šaššaṭu*, *maškadu*, *sakikku*, *ḥātu*, *murṣu*, *ši-ib-tu*, *ummu*, *ḥunṭu*, *li'bu*, are sicknesses of different sorts. Further he shews that *Šidānu*, *Miḫtu* are in some sense 'Disease Demons.' Hence he suggested that the first member of our clause might mean, 'may fever and fever heat attack him for a hundred days,' or something similar. This would be a curse, as Delitzsch seems to think it may be. But the way in which our clause occurs renders that a very unlikely view here. Professor Jensen has since made me a much more reasonable suggestion. It is that we should understand the clause to mean that *šibtu* and *bennu*, two fevers, may be pleaded as an excuse for 100 days, a *sartu*, or defect, at any time. Thus, if the seller, knowing his slave to be sickening for a fever, hastened to get rid of him, the buyer, on discovering the state of things, could without penalty repudiate the bargain. If there were any undisclosed defect in the slave, the buyer could repudiate his purchase at any time. That sounds reasonable, or it may be that a plea of sickness was allowed to delay the delivery of the purchase, till recovery, which was estimated to occur within 100 days. At the same time we could give to *sartu* the meaning of a defect, or illegality. Then the second member would imply that any illegality might be pleaded at any time. These clauses, so understood, would seem to be distinct instances of attempts to contract out of the very stringent stipulations that, after the conclusion of the bargain, the seller should raise no legal question to invalidate the sale. But it will be noted that it is the buyer who thus reserves to himself the right at any time to repudiate the purchase, on the score of illegality or defect. The rendering which Professor Jensen would then give to no. 307, rev. 13, *sarte ḫâtâ šibti ḥabulli* would mean 'a defect of the hands, fever and infirmity.' For these defects Karmeuni would be answerable.

Professor Jensen enters into a discussion of *sartu*, *K. B.* vi. p. 324, where he shews that *sarru* from *sarāru* is the antithesis of *kinu*. Hence the meaning of *sartu* may well be 'illegality,' or 'defect,' hence, as in the legal decisions, 'damage,' and the 'compensation' or 'fine' for the injury; see § 568. Finally we may note, as Professor Jensen himself does, *K. B.* vi. p. 389, that these terms may in legal documents have technical meanings, but there is a great probability that the sense is nearly the same.

651. The weak point in the above argument is that the word *šibtu* is used so often in other meanings. We have the *šibtu* which denotes 'interest' on money. There is also a *šibtum*, which denotes a cloth or clothes, from a root whence comes *šubātu*, see *K. B.* vi. p. 394. We know from *Cyr.* 64, that when a slave was apprenticed, the owner had to furnish food and clothes, *mušibtum*. Hence we might suppose that *šibtu* here was the clothing which the owner had found for the slave and which would perhaps last 100 days. The real difficulty is that the form of the clause is so constant and so concise that we find no internal evidence of its meaning. Then *bennu* might also be distinct from the *bennu* meaning 'fever,' and perhaps refer to the food which the seller had already allowed the slave for his keep. Or again *šibtu* might contain a reference to the interest of the money paid for the slave. In fact, each word is suggestive of many conjectures. At present, I think that some modified form of Professor Jensen's view will ultimately prove to be true. It seems to be the best solution yet advanced.

The presence of this clause will be denoted in the abstracts by *B*.

## SALES OF A SINGLE MALE SLAVE.

652. Curiously enough, none of the sales of a single male slave presents a perfectly complete text, so that it is difficult to select a really representative example of the class. A transliteration and translation of no. 172 is given here for the sake of those who might find difficulty in grasping the whole arrangement. The references to the renderings in Professor Oppert's work, and to Dr Peiser's presentations in *K. B.* iv., will be helpful to the student. But it seems unnecessary now to emphasise the differences between my views and those of these scholars; especially as they might not now wish to maintain their early attempts. I can only hope that neither they nor the ordinary reader will consider it a mark of carelessness, ignorance, or conceit, that I do not expressly notice the points in which I differ from them. Nor need the description of the tablet in the Catalogue be repeated, except where I am forced to express a different opinion as to the nature of the document. It may be taken for granted that every earnest student will first peruse what is said in that inestimable work.

*Transliteration and translation of no. 172.*

653. Obv. 1 *Kunuk (TAK-ŠID) Mu-še-zib-Mar-duk*  
 2 *(amêl) šaknu (GAR-nu) ša sîsê (imêr KUR-RA-MEŠ)*  
*ša bîti*  
 3 *ešši bêl amêli tadâni (SE-ni).*
- 4 *Nâsir (PAP)-Ninip (ŠI-DU), ŠIBIR KU šip-rat*  
 5 *ARAD-šu ša Mu-še-zib-Mar-duk*  
 6 *û-piš-ma Rîm-an-ni-Adadi (AN-IM)*  
 7 *(amêl) mukîl apâte (LU SU-PA-MEŠ) ša šarri*  
*(MAN) ištu pâni (TA ŠI)*  
 8 *Mu-še-zib-Mar-duk ina (AŠ) libbi (ŠA) 1½ manê*  
*(MA-NA)*  
 9 *ina (AŠ) ša šarri (MAN) il-ki kas-pu gam-mur*  
 10 *ta-ad-din amêlu šû-a-tû za-riþ*  
 11 *la-ki (tuaru?) di-e-nu dabâbu (KA-KA)*  
 12 *la-aš-šu (mannu ša ina) ur-kiš*

- 13 *i-zaḳ-ḫup*-(*anni iparikûni*)  
 14 *lu-u Mu-še-zib-Mar-duk*  
 15 *lu-u aḫê* (*PAP-MEŠ*)-šú *lu-u mârê* (*TUR-MEŠ*)  
 16 *šá di-e-nu dabâbu* (*KA-KA*) *ištu* (*TA*)  
 17 *Rîm-an-ni-Adadi* (*AN-IM*) *mâri* (*TUR*)-šu  
 18 *û mâr-mârê* (*TUR-TUR-MEŠ*)-šu *ub-ta*-(*'ûni*)  
 19 5 *manê* (*MA-NA*) *kaspu* (*KU-BABBAR*) *misû* (*LUH*)  
       .....(*manê*)  
 Rev. 1 *hurâši* (*GUŠKIN*) *sak-ru ina* (*ÁŠ*) *bur-ki* (*ili*.....)  
       2 *a-šib ali* (*Ninûa?* *išakkan*)  
       3 *ina* (*ÁŠ*) *dî-ni-šú* (*idabubma lâ ilakki*)  
       4 *kas-pu a-na ešr*(*âte ana bêlišu*)  
       5 *utâr* (*GUR-ar*) *šib-tú* (*bennu ana 100 ûmê sartú ana*)  
       6 *kâl û(mê)*  
  
       7 *pân Sin* (*AN XXX*)-*rîm*-(*anni*.....)  
       8 *pân Za-ma(l)-ma(l)*-.....  
       9 *pân Adadi* (*AN IM*)-.....  
 10 *pân Nabû* (*AN PA*)-*erba* (*SU*) (*amêl*) *šanû* (*II-u*) (*ša*  
       *râb urâte*)  
 11 *pân Aḫu* (*PAP*)-*û-a-su*  
 12 *pân Adadi* (*AN IM*)-*kas-sun*  
 13 *mâr* (*TUR*) *Iš-man-ni-Adadi* (*AN U*)  
 14 *pân Šum-ma-ta-še-zib* (*amêl*) *ARAD*  
 15 *šá Ištar* (*AN XV*)  
 16 *pân Nabû* (*AN PA*)-*nâdin* (*MU*)-*aḫê* (*PAP-MEŠ*)  
       (*amêl*) *a-ba*.  
 17 *aḫil* (*A*) *Nabû* (*AN PA*)-*šal-lim-šú-nu* (*ša*) *ali HI-GI-*  
       *AN-BE*  
 18 *Arḫu* (*ITU*) *Ulûlu* (*KI*) *ûmu* (*UD*) 20 (*KAN*) *lim-me*  
       *Šul-mu-bêl-lašme* (*HAL*)  
 19 (*amêl*) *ša-kîn Dûr-ili* (*KI*)

*Translation.*

- Obv. 1 Seal of Mušêzib-Marduk  
       2 the *šaknu* of the horses of the New Palace  
       3 legitimate owner of the person transferred.  
  
       4 Nâsir-Ninip a weaver of embroidered cloth

- 5 slave of Mušêzib-Marduk,  
 6 has made a bargain Rimâni-Adadi  
 7 the charioteer of the king and from  
 8 Mušêzib-Marduk for a mina and a half (of silver)  
 9 royal standard has taken. The price was complete  
 10 (and) given, this person was bought  
 11 (and) taken. There shall be no retreat or  
 12 law-suit. (Whoever in) future  
 13 shall set up a plea, shall make an exception,  
 14 either Mušêzib-Marduk,  
 15 or his brethren, or his sons,  
 16 who a law-suit against  
 17 Rîmâni-Adadi, his son,  
 18 and his grandsons shall prosecute  
 19 five minas of bright silver (...minas of)  
 Rev. 1 fine gold into the treasury of (the god...)  
 2 inhabiting the city (Nineveh?) (shall place)  
 3 In his plea (he shall plead and not receive)  
 4 The price (to its owners ten-fold)  
 5 he shall return. The *šibtu* (and *bennu* shall be for a  
 hundred days, the *sartu*)  
 6 for all time.  
  
 7 In the presence of Sin-rîmâni..... ;  
 8 „ „ Zamama..... ;  
 9 „ „ Adadi..... ;  
 10 „ „ Nabû-erba, the deputy (of the stall  
 master?) ;  
 11 „ „ Aḫûasu ;  
 12 „ „ Adadi-ḫassun,  
 13 son of Iṣmanni-Adadi  
 14 „ „ Šumma-tašêzib, servant  
 15 of Iṣtar ;  
 16 „ „ Nabû-nâdin-aḫê, the scribe,  
 17 son of Nabû-šallimšunu, of *III GI-AN-BE*.  
 18 In the month Ulûlu, 20th day, in the Eponymy of  
 Šulmu-bêl-lašme,  
 19 the *šaknu* of Dûrili.

The student will readily detect the clauses used in this deed,



from the abstract which follows, by reference to § 620. Any small deviations from the text published are due to the improved readings presented in § 654.

*Abstracts of nos. 172—206.*

654. No. 172. Nearly complete. Dark brown.

Mušêzib-Marduk, the *šaknu* of the horses of the New Palace, sells Nâšir-Ninip, a *šibirru šiprât*, to Rîmâni-Adadi the king's *mukîl apâte*, for one mina and a half, royal standard. Dated, the 20th of Ulûlu, B.C. 670. Eight witnesses.

*P, D, Ac, C, C¹, S₁, S₂ (F₁, F₆), B, F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93, and *Hist. Esarh.* p. 13.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 5603, 7839, 8472, 8503.

In line 4, Strassmaier gives the slave's name as Aḫu-šina, and reads *ki* for *ku*. In line 11, there is space on the tablet for one or two characters, perhaps representing the usual *tuaru*, before *dênu*. In line 19, we should probably read 'five' in place of 'four.' In reverse, line 2, probably *a-ši* is an error for *a-šib*, the *ši* is not certain.

The name of the seller only occurs here in our documents. The name, spelt *Mušêzib-AN-AMAR-UD*, was borne by a nephew of Bêl-ibni, who played a somewhat prominent part as a pretender to the throne of Babylon, in Sennacherib's reign, known also as Šuzubu, see *Z. A.* II. p. 66. He is named in letters K 1066, 4748; 48-7-20, 115; 67-4-2, 1; 82-5-22, 129. The same form occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 553, etc. Another form *Mušêzib-AN-ŠU* is also common in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 226. A scribe of this name, son of Šesu, was at Erech, in the seventh year of Sin-šar-iškun, *Z. A.* IX. p. 399.

The slave's name could be read Aḫu-âlik-maḫri. His title is discussed in § 146. The buyer Rîmâni-Adadi, and the witness Nabû-erba are discussed in § 467, whence the title of the latter is restored.

The first witness, Sin-rîmâni, if the name be correctly restored, bears the same name as the buyer in no. 506. A shortened form Sin-rimni occurs as the name of the lender, B.C. 683, in no. 47. The second witness bears a name beginning with Zamama-, which might be restored in various ways. The next name began with

Adadi. Aḥûa-erba, or Aḥûasu, was discussed in § 508. Adadi-ḫâssun was the name also of a witness on no. 266, in B.C. 670; and of a witness on no. 477. The name of his father, Išmeâni-Adadi, only occurs here. The name Šumma-tašêzib seems to be the same as intended in no. 675, where a *ḫêpu* bears the name Šumma-tazib. Here the scribe seems to have omitted *še*. So, in no. 640, the principal and son of ʾTebêtai, in Ep. O, may have had the same name, of which *Šumma...e-zib*, is left. Nabû-nâdin-aḥê is discussed in § 470. The name of his father, which I read Nabû-šallimšunu, was also borne by a witness and *šelappai*, Ep. D, in nos. 38, 39. The city name is uncertain, it is written *HI-gi-AN-BE*. If we read *DUG-GI-Bêl*, or Higi-Bêl, we are met by difficulties as to a meaning. The name occurs also II. R. 53, 30 a, and on K 13656. It may be some ideographic form. The Catalogue, p. 2040, places it in Mesopotamia. The Eponym is discussed in § 504.

**655.** No. 173. Nearly complete. Drab, but discoloured.

Three men, Kîbit-Ištar, Lâtegi-Nanâ, and Mannu-kî-Adadi sell a slave of theirs, Ḥabildu, to Ribâte for two minas and ten or more shekels. Dated, the 22nd of Šabâtu, Ep. G. Seven witnesses. Five shekels were paid for the seal.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C¹, D¹, S₁, S₂ (F₁, F₆), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

Extracts are given *S. A. V.* 4822, 5582, 7839, where the tablet is quoted as (Rawl.) 178.

There seems no reason to account for the high price, but the fact that the slave was owned by three men also suggests his great value.

In line 1, the last sign is doubtful. In line 2, the scribe has written *tû* for the usual *te*, which he may have intended; at the end of the name he has given another *a*, which I omitted. In line 12, the whole line is now clearly legible. In line 13, the scribe may have omitted *ma*, writing *imtema* for *immatema*. In line 16, it is possible that a sign, *lû* or *û* perhaps, precedes *mâr-marê*, and also a sign may occur before *aḥê*. In reverse, lines 6 and 7, there is room for more, but as the names seemed complete, I did not indicate this in my Edition.

The name of Kîbit-Ištar occurs as that of a witness and *riḥ bânê*, on no. 62. The name Lâtegi-Nanâ is discussed in § 480, Mannu-kî-Adadi in § 473. The slave's name Ḥabildu, or Ḥapildu

is that of a neighbour, on no. 469. It does not seem to be Assyrian. The buyer's name, Ribâte, spelt as here occurs as that of a buyer, B.C. 685, on no. 374; of a principal, B.C. 687, on no. 624; of a witness, Ep. R, on no. 642; of a seller, son of Šalimdu, Ep. F, on no. 361. In the last case it has a variant *SU-a-te*. In no. 374, we have a variant *SU-MEŠ-te*; and a form *SU-a-ti* occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, x. 28.

The name of the first witness, Šamaš-ilai, is discussed in § 560. The name ʾTûrî only occurs here: compare the Palmyrene ܡܘܪ, 'mountain,' and the name ʾTûri-baltu, of a witness, on no. 54; and Aa-ʾtûri, Adûni-ʾtûri, Si'-ʾtûri, the first a slave sold, B.C. 675, on no. 186; the second a slave sold, B.C. 688, on no. 240; the last a witness and *nappahu*, B.C. 712, on no. 5. The name of the third witness, Adadi-aḫu-iddin, only occurs here, in this form; but in the form *AN-IM-PAP-ÁŠ* was the name of a buyer, B.C. 669, on no. 310; of a slave, on no. 913; and occurs in K 540. The allied form *U-PAP-SE-na* was borne by a witness, Ep. D, on no. 622. His title is an unusual one, the last sign is hardly *tar*, otherwise *SAG-LI-TAR* is *pâḫidu*, or *paḫâdu ša piḫitti*, and we might compare the *amêlu piḫitti*, of Ištar, *H. A. B. L.* p. 13, and other passages, see *H. W. B.* p. 535 b. In no. 922, rev. 11, Ardi-Ištar is said to be an *aba ša pâni pi-ḫit-la-te*. Consequently I am inclined to think we have here an ideogram for *piḫittu*, in the sense of 'overseer.' Then I am inclined to think that the next two witnesses had the same office. The name of the next witness, Nabû-nâ'id, is discussed in § 491. The next witness bears the name of Nabû-ašarîd, if it is complete. This was the name of the seller and son of Itu'ai, B.C. 734 (?), on no. 415, where his brother is called Nabû-nâ'id. Hence it is not improbable that these two witnesses are brothers and sons of Itu'ai. If so, we have another reason for supposing that the date of no. 415 is Post Canon. The name was also borne by a witness and *aba*, B.C. 684, on no. 230; by a lender, B.C. 665, on no. 35; by a witness, son of Nâ'id-Ištar and servant of the Crown Prince, Ep. Q, on no. 446; and is a specimen name, App. 2, II. 15. In these cases the name is spelt *AN-PA-BAR*, in App. 2, II. 16, we have the variant *AN-PA-SAG-KAL*. The form *AN-AK-BAR* is the name of a witness, Ep. δ, on no. 242; the form *AN-AK-SAG-KAL* is the name of the writer of K 1268.

How the next name is to be read I do not know, Adadi-bêl-lîšir is possible. Then Adadi-ašarîd may be the name of the *aba*. The latter name, in the form *AN-IM-BAR*, occurs as a specimen name,

App. 3, II. 12. The name of the Eponym, Mušallim-Ašur, is discussed in § 572. His city Aliḫu is named in no. 953, next Našibina.

656. No. 174 has lost several small pieces, but the added fragment 81-2-4, 475 has rendered it almost complete. Red.

Marduk-šar-ušur and Šarru-lûdâri sell their slave Nabû-iâli to Rîmâni-Adadi for one mina of silver according to the mina of Carchemish. The date is lost. Traces of the names of eight witnesses are preserved.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

The name of Marduk-šar-ušur has been discussed in § 510; Šarru-lûdâri in § 496. The name Nabû-iâli was also borne by the father of the sellers in no. 252. The buyer Rîmâni-Adadi is discussed in § 467. The witness Šamaš-šar-ušur, has been discussed in § 467, Nabû-šêzib in § 481, Šumma-ilâni, Sakânu, Barrûkû, and Nabû-erba in § 467. It is impossible to restore the traces of the last two names.

In line 7, the scribe wrote *PA SU MEŠ* in place of *SU PA MEŠ*, and in reverse 7 he wrote *amêlu* in place of the *TUR* which I give. I believe both are scribal errors.

657. No. 175 has lost the lower portion, containing part of the formula, but clearly only two or three lines are missing. Drab.

Sâad sells his slave Ladukî to Aḫi-milki, for two minas of silver, Carchemish. Dated, the 17th of Araḫsamna, B.C. 676. Ten witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F'.*

In line 8, note *HAR-MEŠ* for *šuat*, see § 596. The scribe wrote *zar-zip-pu* for *zarip*. We can hardly suppose that *zip* has the value *rip*, and that he meant *zar-rip-pu*. I take *zip* to be a scribal error. In line 10, read *šâ* in place of *ša*. In line 12, the sign *ÁŠ* may be the beginning of *ina matêma*. If so, the phrase was out of its usual place. At the commencement of line 3 of reverse, I think the scribe wrote 'one,' then wrote 'ten' over it, but seeing it looked indistinct, wrote another 'ten' alongside it. Hence we should read the fine as 'ten minas of silver.' In line 4, the scribe only wrote *ANAZAG*, but it is probable he meant Ištar. In line 6, there is no *šu* after *dîni*.

The first sign in the name of the first witness is very like *ĀI*, but I believe he meant Kabti-ilâni. In line 8 of the reverse, there is no *a* in *ḫazânu*. In line 10, the name is now clearly Šadu', not Adu'.

The name of the seller Sâad only occurs here; perhaps compare *sa-a-du*, *H. W. B.* p. 488 a. The name of the slave Ladukî only occurs here. The name of the buyer, Aḥimilki, was also borne by the son of Iakînîlû, *Ašurb.* II. 84, 94, v. R. 2, 84, 94, where it is spelt *A-ḥi-mil-ki*, with a variant *PAP-mil-ki*, as here. The form *PAP-mil-ku* appears as the name of a king of Ashdod, III. R. 16, no. 1, v. 18.

Kabti-ilâni, as I read the name of the first witness, was also the name of a witness on no. 22, rev. 2, where there is the same doubt about the first sign. On no. 29, line 3, there is no doubt about the first sign. We may compare the name Kabti-ilâni-Marduk, frequent in later Babylonian texts, v. R. 67, 22 b, 35 b; v. R. 68, 34 a, 48 a; etc. How to read the next name is a puzzle. *Ša-la-maša-iḫbi*, or *Šala-maša-iḫbi*, seem to me less likely than *Šalama-ša-iḫbi*. It only occurs here. Mudubirai only occurs here, but compare Mudabirai, in no. 6, name of a lender; and of a witness, in no. 267. The name is clearly connected with Madbar, 'the desert,' and may mean 'the bedûin.' The name Šâdu', or Zadû', only occurs here. These four witnesses were natives of Sâad's city, *mârê ališu*. Perhaps his name is the Palmyrene *שַׁעְרִי*, of which the Greek transcription in the genitive is *σασδου*, see Lidzbarski, *N. E.* p. 380. Then Šâdu' might be the Palmyrene *שַׁעְרִי*, genitive *σασδει*, *N. E.* p. 358 a. Note the frequent compounds of *שלם* in the Palmyrene names, *N. E.* p. 376 f. The association of Mudabirai with Madbar and this group of names with Palmyra, Nabataea (Sinaitic also), is very convincing.

In rev. 12, the name Liḫipu is the same as that of a witness and *râb kišir*, in B.C. 663, on no. 309; in Ep. A, on no. 318; in Ep. Q, on no. 308; of a witness and *râb kišir ša šêpâ*, on no. 235; and of witnesses on nos. 498 and 633. That it is not to be read Liḫibu seems clear from the similar name Laḫipu, in § 572. The next witness bears the name Bubûtu, only found here. Whether it is connected with *bubûtu*, 'hunger,' 'want,' seems doubtful. The next name, Išidsunu, only occurs here. Nabû-aḥê-iddin was discussed in § 499. The name of the next witness, Bêl-ludâri, was also borne by the Eponym of B.C. 731, III. R. 1, IV. 39, where a variant gives the other *da* in place of our *dâ*. As Eponym he seems to have dated no. 658, where the mention of Tiglath Pileser III. (?) in line 2 makes the date B.C. 730 likely. But there he seems to be *šaknu* of Tille. An Eponym of the same name dates nos. 1 and 295, but, in view of the witnesses in these documents, I doubt the date B.C. 730 for them.

I think this Bêl-ludâri must be Post Canon: see further in the Chapter on Chronology.

The name of the Eponym, Banbâ, is discussed in § 579.

658. No. 176. Now that K 9804 has been joined to K 304 the tablet is nearly complete. About half of each line is lost at the lower left-hand corner. Drab.

Zakûru and Dulat-ili sell their slave Mannu-kî-Arbaili, son of Nâsir-Iau, to Baḥiânu for fifty minas of bronze. Dated, the 5th of some month in B.C. 700. Perhaps eight witnesses. One mina of bronze was paid for the nailmark.

*Pš, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>?), B.*

In line 3, there was perhaps a plural sign after *bêl*. In line 11, *i-za* is no longer on the tablet. The traces in line 13 are very uncertain.

Very little can be made of the traces of the witnesses' names. In line 16, only *râb alâni*, the title, is left. The end of the name in line 17 reminds one of Basusu, who was witness and *ḥazânu*, B.C. 668, on no. 472. The trace in line 1 of rev. is not easy to restore; names ending in *ku-ili* must be rare. The tablet does not seem to have had *kî-ili*. The name Bêl-êmurâni is discussed in § 540. In line 2, a name ending in *tušêzib* is possible; the reading Šamaš-šêzib is not likely, for the trace before *UD* does not seem to be the remains of *AN*. A name ending in *ta-ra* is not easy to find. The traces in line 4 clearly give a name ending in *mušêzib*, but it is quite uncertain how we should complete it. In line 5, the traces are quite useless. The traces in line 7 point to some unusual insertion in the date. We might perhaps suppose 'the year after' the Eponymy of Mitunu. But the traces do not seem to suit such a phrase. In the Eponym's name I have given the wrong *tu*; and in line 9, the wrong *amêlu*.

The name of the first seller seems to have been Zakûru. It only occurs here. The name of the second seller is somewhat puzzling. Dugul-ili might be supported by Dugul-Ištar, the name of a witness, in B.C. 676, on no. 37; or by Dugul-pâni-ili, the name of a witness, B.C. 698, on no. 328; of a witness, on no. 406: and named in K 1011. But the sign *KUR* seems certain. Dumat-ili has no meaning. Dunatan is no better. Both names seem obscure.

It is noteworthy that in the specification the slave is not said to be the seller's property but the son of Nâsir-Iau. In the place of the usual *ilki*, we have *iptaṭar*, 'he has freed.' It seems then that

Mannu-kî-Arbaili, who appears afterwards as Baḫiānu's devoted servant, was freed by him, perhaps redeemed from slavery for debt. All the usual formulae of penalty for repudiation of the bargain seem to be omitted.

For the occurrences of Baḫiānu, see § 532 ; for Mannu-kî-Arbaili, see § 413. The name of the slave's father could be read, Aḫiāu, but that would be difficult to explain. I regard it as a compound of Iau. On the name of the Eponym, Mitunu, see § 476. On Nabû-nâdin-aḫê see § 470. On the last line, see § 61.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 88 ; and *Hist. Sennach.* p. 12.

**659.** No. 177. The tablet has lost some of the lower portion, containing part of the formula. Red, and much discoloured.

Nêrgal-ibni, the *šanû* of some city, sells his slave Bullûtu to Kabar-ili, the *mutîr pûti ša šêpâ*, for a mina of silver. Dated, the 20th of some month in the Eponymy of (Nabû-šar?)-uṣur, the *râb šâkê*. Ten or more witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac,.....S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

The name of the seller, Nêrgal-ibni, occurs in this form as the name of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 42 ; again on no. 388. In the form *AN-U-GUR-KAK*, it was the name of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 9 ; in B.C. 717, on no. 391 ; as witness and son of Adadi-šum-uṣur, B.C. 707, on no. 350. In the form *U-GUR-KAK-ni*, it is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 695, on no. 31. All these forms could equally well be read Nêrgal-bâni, but a phonetic spelling of that form is unknown to me ; while in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6335, we have *AN-U-GUR-ib-ni*.

The name of the slave Bullûtu, in this form, only occurs here ; but *Bul-lu-tu* is the name of Ep. C, on no. 373 ; occurs in K 1245, and often in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 647. The name *Bu-ul-lu-tu* was borne by a writer of the astrological reports, K 742, 1334, 1375 ; 81-2-4, 133 ; 82-5-22, 83 ; 83-1-18, 183, 184, 185 ; compare K 2889. An abbreviated form *Bul-luṭ* occurs as a specimen, App. 1, x. 19, and in the later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1123. The form *Bu-luṭ-tu* was that of Ep. C, on no. 641. The writer of astrological reports appears as *Bu-lu-tu* in K 787 ; 83-1-18, 198. The abbreviated form *Bu-luṭ* is the name of a son of Aplîa, a *KAP-SAR*, no. 891, R 1 ; also of a *KAP-SAR* and Babylonian, no. 771, 3 ; probably the same person. The same name was borne by a *ša šêpâ*, on no. 771, 5.

The name of Kabar-ili has been discussed in § 579. The names of the first four witnesses cannot be restored. Sakilia, in rev. l. 11, is discussed in § 491; Ištar-mukînîa only occurs here; so also Nêrgal-šum-ušur. The name of the father in line 2 of the reverse edge is puzzling; Bêl-išbu-utarrîš may be intended, if we take *NER* as an ideogram for *tarâšu*. But the name may not be complete. The name Ušâni-ilu was borne by a witness and *rakbu*, B.C. 667, on no. 200; and is a specimen name, App. 3, III. 20. The name Aḥêreš is discussed in § 477. The name of the *rakbu nakanti* may be Abdîa; but the traces are not clear.

660. No. 178. Some of the lower part is lost, but the transaction is clear. Buff.

Ḫatai sells his slave Mušêtiḫ-aḥê to Dannai for twenty shekels of silver. Dated, the 5th of Ulûlu, Ep. H'. Seven witnesses.

*Pk, D, A<sub>1</sub>, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>.....).*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

A transliteration and translation are given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 153, and by Peiser, *K. B.* IV. p. 128 ff.

The text was given in III. R. 49, no. 5.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 142, A. 12 calls this a *Kauf-vertrâg, über den Verkauf von Slaven*; Oppert calls it *Vente d'Esclaves*; Peiser a *Slavenverkauf*.

In line 4, the scribe has omitted the vertical, determinative of persons, before the name Dannai. Dr Peiser makes the name of the Eponym to be Nabû-bêl-ušur. The tablet clearly has *ÁŠ, iddin*. The traces in line 11 shew the signs given to have been there, but it is impossible to restore the figures.

The seller's name only occurs here and on K 6409; compare the town Ḫatâ, § 486. The slave's name *LU-PAP-MEŠ* only occurs here. I follow Dr Peiser's reading of it; but compare Lû-aḥûa. The buyer Dannai is discussed in § 416; Šamaš-ilai in § 560; Zabdâ in § 491; Ḫarašarru in § 481.

The name of the second witness Ḫimarû occurs also as that of a witness, B.C. 695, on no. 569, and on no. 209. Mannu-aḥê only occurs here; it may be for Mannu-kî-aḥê, see § 481. Compare Mannu-aki-aḥê on K 11898; and Mannu-ka-aḥê, the name of a witness and *ḥazânu*, of Tûrsana, B.C. 682, on no. 363. Ardi-Ninip, the name of the witness and *naggaru*, in line 8, is also the name of the scribe, in line 11; and of a witness on no. 291.



The name of the Eponym, if intended for Nabû-bêl-iddin, only occurs here.

**661.** No. 179. The lower portion is gone, but the transaction on the whole is clear. Brown.

Ḥakkubu sells his slave Šamaš-erba to Atū-eḥu, the *šalšu*, for 30 shekels of silver. Dated, the 7th of Tebētu, B.C. 697. Four witnesses preserved. One mina of bronze for the nailmark.

*P*<sub>5</sub>, *D*, *A*<sub>1</sub>, *C*, *C'*, *D'*, *S*<sub>1</sub>, *S*<sub>2</sub>.....

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89, and *Hist. Senn.* p. 14; *S. A. V.* 4822.

The Guide (1885), p. 177, no. 53, calls it 'a sale of a slave for 30 shekels of silver, by Šamaš-erba, for his master Ḥakkubu.' Šamaš-erba is the slave sold.

The name of the seller only occurs here. It may be Aramaic for Jacob, compare the form Nabû-ḥaḳabi alongside Aḳabi-Ilu. The name of Šamaš-erba is borne by a slave sold again in B.C. 691, on no. 320; and on no. 265. Also it is the name of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 285; of a neighbour and witness in Ḳurûbi, *Ep. A.* on no. 623; of a witness, on no. 289; and often in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1009. The name of the buyer Atū-eḥu only occurs here, compare Atū, Ate', in § 583. For the second part of the name compare the Iḥi so frequent in early Babylonian names.

The scribe has written the *HU* of *šalšu* *HU-SI* with only one vertical throughout. In the text I have inadvertently omitted two lines after line 7. They read *kas-pu ga-mur ta-ad-din amêlu šû-a-ti za-riṣ laḳ-ki*. In the first line of reverse there seems to have been a second vertical after *dam*, which would make the signs *šal da kar*. Perhaps that will be more suggestive to some than the *dam kar* which I took to be a title.

The names of the witnesses are rare. Abagû, if correct, only occurs here. He is expressly said to be an Aramaic scribe. Abba-Agûni only occurs here. Abba is of course Aramaic, and we may conclude Agûni to be a Syrian god. The scribe of the tablet was probably Bêl-iddin. The name was borne by a witness and *aba*, B.C. 672, on no. 15; by a serf, with his people, on no. 661; by the *bêl paḥâti* of Zêrmera, on no. 853; and occurs in the letters K 621, 1039, 1376, 11172; 48-7-20, 116. In the last two places we meet the form *AN-EN-MU*. The closely related name *EN-SE-na* occurs in no. 891, as that of a *šelappai*, son of Bêl-aḥêšu, of the family of

Bit Ardi-Bau; also in the letters K 630, 689; Rm. 55. The name *AN-EN-SE-na* occurs in the letters K 477, 617, 4734; 81-7-27, 31. In the name of the last witness the last two characters are indistinct. The name Atta-imme (?) only occurs here. The ending *imme* is common enough; and for *Atta*, compare Atta-idri, in the Harran Census, and Atta'idri, the name of an *irrišu*, with his people, in Asihi, no. 742. But we might read Atta'ni or Atta-inni. With these I should compare Atinni, the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 688, on nos. 238, 239.

The Eponym Nabû-dûr-uşur is given III. R. v. 27 as of B.C. 697, *šaknu* of Diĥnunna. As such he also dates Bu. 89-4-26, 177, a prismoid of Sennacherib's. In *S. A. V.* 5745 we find the name borne by the *šakû* of the *nuḫatimmu* of the palace, B.C. 709; as witness on no. 1141. With this agrees the witness and *šakû*, B.C. 687, on no. 218; compare no. 857, I. 35. As no. 1141 is concerned with Dûr-Sargon, compare the witness from Maganûba, on no. 422. The letter K 622 connects him with Dûr-Sargon. The name was also borne by a neighbour and witness, B.C. 698, on no. 328; by a witness and *muribânu*, B.C. 692, on no. 324; by a witness, on no. 222; by a seller, on no. 436; by the father of Dui, on no. 446; by a *râb BI-LUL*, on no. 693; occurs in the letters K 1194, 7373, 8855; 79-7-8, 261; 81-2-4, 51, 59; 83-1-18, 812; and as a specimen name App. 1, I. 9.

On the payment for the nailmark, see § 61. Note also the reversal of the order of name and title in rev. line 8.

662. No. 180. Now that Sm. 199 has been joined to Sm. 447 and Sm. 553, the text is nearly complete. Drab to dark brown.

Balât-êreš sells his slave Akbar to Mušallim-Ištar for one hundred minas of bronze. The date is lost. Traces of ten witnesses.

$P_5, D, Ac, C, C', D', S_1, S_2 (F_1, F_6), F.$

The reverse has suffered most loss. In line 1, *ēsrâte* is not preserved. In line 2, *a* is lost and part of *na* and all after *MEŠ*. In line 3, *ma* is lost, in line 4, *ki*. In line 6, the traces point rather to *bél* than *AN-Bél*.

The seller's name occurs as that of the seller on no. 480; of a witness, Ep. S, on no. 311; of a witness and Kulumanai, on no. 525; and as a specimen name, App. 1, XI. 25. The slave's name is discussed in § 534, the buyer in § 481. His title is perhaps *râb alâni*.

The first witness seems to have had the name Nêrgal-bêl-mâti, which only occurs here. Bêl-Harrân-pi..... is very uncertain and I cannot venture on a restoration. The name Šamaš-aḥu-iddin was borne by a witness and *âšû*, B.C. 694, on no. 58; by a seller, on no. 532; by a witness, on no. 536; occurs, on no. 852, I. 9; in the Harran Census; and as a specimen, App. I, VI. 16. The allied form *AN-UD-SIS-SE-(na)* occurs in the letter K 4287; and *AN-UD-SIS-MU* in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7898.

663. No. 181 has lost considerable pieces, especially from the left hand of reverse. Red.

Ašur-nâšir sells his slave Aḥu-li'iti to Šamaš-abu-ušur for 50 minas of bronze. Dated the...3rd of...B.C. 670. At least six witnesses. One mina for seal.

*Pš, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F, B.*

The registration mark of the tablet is 83-1-18, 560.

In line 4, *û-tap-piš* seems to be certain. In line 7, the scribe omitted *mur* after *gam*. In line 15, the *û* before *ubta'ûni* is puzzling, unless it is meant for a phonetic prefix, to prevent *ub* being read *âr*. On the tablet the *u* before *ni* is doubtful. In line 12 of the reverse a blank was left by the scribe. The absence of the seal space is remarkable. The text is almost a duplicate of no. 199 below.

The seller Ašur-nâšir is discussed in § 482. The slave bears the same name as the slave sold, on no. 199; and in the form *PAP-li'-te* the name occurs as a specimen, App. I, XI. 2. The buyer's name Šamaš-abu-ušur is that of the buyer on no. 199; occurs on no. 852, and in the letters K 1078, 1376. In the form *AN-UD-AD-SIS* it occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7897.

The first witness was a *šangû* of Nêrgal. The second bore a name with the singular ending *-a-a-ma-u*, reminding us of Šahpimau in no. 307: usually taken to be Egyptian. The third witness seems to have been a slave of Šulmanu..... The end of the next name seems to have been *û-ni*. The next ended in *a*. A line was left blank after line 12, before the date. The Eponym's name is very indistinct, but I think certain; see § 503. Names like that of the scribe Tâb-šâr-Nabû, which occurs also as that of a witness and *aba* on nos. 238 and 240, in B.C. 688, are fairly common. Tâb-šâr-Arbaili is the name of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 23. Tâb-šâr-Ašur was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 718, III. R. I, V. 7; also dating no. 695. It was the name of a writer of an astrological report, 83-1-18, 117. Further it occurs dating no. 391, where the Eponym is *tukultu rabû*;

and possibly on no. 81-2-4, 349. A frequent correspondent of the king's, of this name, wrote K 554, 561, 567, 1061, 1189, 1195, 1205, 1209, 4304, 8375, 11666, 13111; and 79-7-8, 138. It was probably the name of a slave sold, B.C. 685, on no. 232. Ṭāb-šār-ilī was the name of a witness, on no. 601; and is a specimen name, App. 1, VIII. 30. Ṭāb-šār-Ištar was the name of a witness, B.C. 710, on no. 234; of a witness, on no. 288; of a neighbour, Ep. N, on no. 327. Further it was the name of a witness, B.C. 748(?), on no. 67; and of a seller, Ep. N, on no. 327. Ṭāb-šār-sin was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 662, III. R. 1, VI. 18, and is named on Rm. 69. Ṭāb-šār-šarri occurs on 82-5-22, 1763. The beginning of the name Ṭāb-šār... is preserved for a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 43; for an Eponym, perhaps B.C. 718, on no. 695; as a witness and *rāb kišir*, B.C. 670, on no. 266; and occurs on K 573, 5612; Rm. 959. The *šāru* referred to here may mean 'wind,' or perhaps 'breath,' or even 'scent.' But one is inclined to think that *IM* was also an ideogram for 'speech'; see § 58. The word *šarû*, 'speech,' which I deduced from the frequent *i-ŠA-ru-u-ni* in these documents, is not proved to exist. These words can all be read *igarrûni*, see § 599.

664. No. 182. Only the upper part of the obverse is left, but that is sufficient to make the nature of the transaction clear. Black.

Išbuṭu, son of Musalamu, the palace gardener, sells his slave Šamaš-ilai to Ninûai, the *šakû* of the king, for one (?) mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Date and witnesses are lost.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D, S<sub>1</sub>...*

In line 3, it is doubtful how we should read the title *amêlu ŠAM*; perhaps *šimu*. As *šimu* usually means 'price,' perhaps this denotes a 'bought' slave, in contrast to one born in his master's house.

The seller's name is a little uncertain in reading. The very similar name Išputu is discussed in § 490. In view of Išbu, see § 490, we should perhaps take *TU* as an ideogram. But I am not able to suggest a reading. The name only occurs here. Šamaš-ilai is discussed in § 560; Ninûai in § 508; Musalamu in § 579.

665. No. 183. A few lines are lost at the beginning of obverse and all the lower part of reverse: but the transaction is clear. Drab.

Mukînu-Ašur sells his slave Nabû-bêl-ušur to Rîmâni-Adadi, the chief *mukîl apâte*, for one mina of silver, Carchemish standard. The date and names of witnesses are lost.

*Ac, C, C', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), F, B.*

The name of the seller, spelt as here, occurs as that of a seller on no. 187. A more phonetic spelling *Mu-ki-nu-Ašur* is given as the name of the seller on no. 188, in B.C. 669; and of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 23. Compare also the female name *Mu-ki-na-at-AN-ISITTU*, name of a slave sold, B.C. 691, on no. 320. These forms suggest that we are to read *Mu-GI-NA* as Mukînu. It is the name of the writer of K 830 and occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 809. The name of the slave Nabû-bêl-ušur, spelt *AN-PA-EN-PAP*, as here, was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 746, *šaknu* of Arabḥa, III. R. 1, IV. 24; by the Eponym of B.C. 733, *šaknu* of Simê, III. R. 1, VI. 9; by the Eponym of B.C. 672, *šaknu* of Dûr-Sargon. It was also the name of the Eponym of B.C. 695, III. R. 1, III. 29, but see *S. A. V.* 858. As Eponym of B.C. 672-1, he dates nos. 14, 15, as well as K 7499; 80-7-19, 76; 83-1-18, 526. This was also the name of a *ḥazânu* of Nineveh and witness, on no. 261; *ḥazânu* and witness, on no. 263; of a *tukultu šanû*, on no. 675; of a seller, on no. 257; of a seller and servant of Adadi-rîmâni, Ep. S, on no. 311. His son is named on K 4461. This is a specimen name, App. 1, I. 1. A variant *AN-PA-U-PAP* occurs for the names of the Eponyms of B.C. 746 and 672, III. R. 1, IV. 24 and VI. 9. An Eponym of this name occurs as dating no. 64, but he is there described as *šaknu* of *kîsir* Esarhaddon. Whether this is to be identified with one of the dates above is doubtful. For Rîmâni-Adadi see § 467.

In line 11, the scribe omitted the *u* after the second *lu*.

666. No. 184. The upper right-hand corner and lower left-hand corner are lost, but only about four lines are entirely gone. Red.

The seller's name is lost. He sold his slave Aḥu-lî to Ti....., the *mukil apâte*, for half a mina of silver, royal standard. Dated, the 16th of Addaru, B.C. 667. Only six witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (?)*.

There never were more than four lines on the reverse. There is a space after line 3, before the date. I have omitted to note the seal space on the obverse after line 1. The possible penalty of 'releasing' the slave in case of dispute is discussed in § 612. The slave's name Aḥu-lî is discussed in § 523. I can suggest no restoration for the buyer's name.

In line 14, before the ditto sign, the traces of *amêlu* seem probable. The last sign of rev. line 1 may be *nî*. At the end of line 2, a name ending in *-aḥatâi* seems improbable. Perhaps there were two witnesses named in this line, Ḥatâ, and another whose name ended in *a*, but then we should expect ŠI before Ḥatai. On Marlarim, the name of the Eponym, see § 472.

667. No. 185. Almost the whole obverse is lost. The reverse is nearly perfect. Drab.

Šamâš-ilai, an official of Dûr-Sargon, sells a slave. The slave's name and that of the buyer are lost. Dated, the 16th of Addaru, B.C. 666. Thirteen witnesses.

*Pk, D ...., S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>6</sub>).*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

For Šamaš-ilai see § 560. The list of witnesses suggests that the buyer was Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467. For the name of the first witness, Uarbis, see § 515; for Šamaš-šar-ušur, Sakân, Nabû-erba, see § 467.

For Nabû-šêzib, see § 481; Abu-ûl-îdi, see § 494; Ištar-dûri, § 486; Sairu, § 560; Nabû-aplu-iddin, § 492.

Mannu-kî-Ḥarrân was the name of a witness and *rakbu GAB-MEŠ*, as here, in B.C. 670, on no. 421; in B.C. 663, on no. 470; a witness and *rakbu*, B.C. 670, on no. 420; a witness, in B.C. 668, on no. 190; a witness and *aba*, on no. 193; a witness on no. 433. Nabû-mušêzib is named also on K 975, as an *âsû*, and K 5478. Dâri-šarru is named in K 4 (B.C. 649), K 940, 1030, 1577, 13046; on no. 853; and occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, ix. 2. Si'dalâ only occurs here. The name is Aramaic, see Ḥarrân Census.

The name of the Eponym, Gabbaru, in the form *Ga-ab-ba-ru*, is given as the Eponym of B.C. 667, III. R. 1, VI. 14, with our form as variant. As such he dates nos. 27, 200, and 83-1-18, 847; *Ga-ab-bar* on no. 139; and *Gab-bar-ru* on no. 315, where he is *šaknu* of Dûr-Sin-aḥê-erba. Our form occurs also as the name of a neighbour, Ep. Q, on no. 81; of a seller, on no. 540; and in K 8741. The son of Gabbari named Ḥaiânu occurs in III. R. 7, II. 24 and III. R. 8, 83.

668. No. 186. Only the upper portion is preserved.

Ilu-êreš sells his slave Aa-ṭûri to Silim-Ašur for thirty shekels of silver. Dated, the 1st of Addaru, B.C. 674. At least ten witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, ...*

In the head-line, the date is wrongly given, it should be B.C. 674. There is a seal space after line 2. In line 2, the slave is called *mâri tadâni*, in line 7, *mâru šuatu*, but in line 3, *ardu šu ša Ilu-êreš*. I conclude that *mâru*, literally 'a son,' was used to denote a 'boy' slave. But it may be that Ilu-êreš really sold his son, being able to regard him as 'slave,' in virtue of his parental power.

Ilu-êreš was the name of a borrower, B.C. 692, on no. 69; of a witness and *atû* of the Palace, on no. 255. The name of the slave Aa-tûri is discussed in § 653; Silim-Ašur in § 488.

The name of the first witness, Sin-ilai was borne by a witness and *mušarkis*, Ep. Z, on no. 105; occurs in K 1065. Dr Bezold, *Cata*. p. 2189 a, reads *AN-BU-AN-a-a* in III. R. 50, 2, 15, as Sin-ilai. I prefer Šêru-ilai for this name. For Erba-Adadi see § 504; for Abdî, § 512.

The next name is uncertain. The last sign may be *UD* or *na*. Alahḫa-Šamaš or Alahḫanna are unusual. But in App. 3, III. 12 we have *Alahḫa-AN* as a specimen name. Hence Alahḫa-Šamaš here and Alahḫa-ilu there seem most likely. Comparing Akabbi-ilu, we may suppose a root *lahû*, whence also may be derived Lahê-ili in the Ḫarran Census. If so, the latter need not mean 'the jaws of God.' Compare, for the root, the still obscure Beer-laḫai-roi, Gen. xvi. 14. Hommel compares the S. Arabian Luḫai-'Atht and Luḫu'atu with Laḫai-roi. The Luḫûatu were an Aramaean tribe, II. R. 67, 5. That places were called 'jaws,' from some resemblance to the cheekbone of an animal, is obviously likely. There is a land (or mountain?), Luḫu, in Sugi, I. R. 12, 10; a land Luḫûti is named by Ašurnasirpal, I. R. 25, 82, 83. But the most convincing name is Luḫ-barbari in K 1668 b. We know that *barbaru* is a wild animal, say a 'jackal,' *H. W. B.* p. 182 a. What more likely than 'jackal's jaw' for a place name? Compare Samson's Leḫi. There is a place called perhaps Ḫalzi-luḫa, I. R. 19, 103. All these place names permit of a meaning 'jaw' as applied to a peak, or jagged cliff; but they leave the verb rather vague. There was a verb *Alâḫu* in Assyrian, *H. W. B.* p. 66 a. The element 𐎶𐎵 occurs in Sinaitic names, see *N. E.* p. 217 a, which may be Arabic.

The next name Adadi-nagi only occurs here. It seems to contain the rare element *nagi*. Natunu only occurs here. The Assyrians adopted the verb *natânu* alongside *nadânu*, and Natânu occurs fairly often as a proper name. Compare the king of the 'Sea-land,' 83-1-18, 121; Natannu in Rm. 215; Natân, in K 1095, 1210 and

a principal, B.C. 681, on no. 269. Later we find *Na-ta-an*, *S. A. V.* 6169. The name Natânu-Iama occurs in 82-7-14, 550; Natini was the name of an *irrišu*, with his people, in Asihî, no. 742. These seem foreign, if Semitic names. Raḥimê seems to be the genitive of Raḥimu, which occurs on no. 741. Compare Raḥimâ in the Ḥarran Census, and Raḥimu-šarru, the name of a witness, and *mukîl apâte dannu*, Ep. S, on no. 352. For Istar-nâ'id, see § 572; for Marduk-šum-ušur, see § 513; for the Eponym Nabû-aḥê-iddin, see § 499.

What the traces in the last line were meant for, I do not know. I believe they were intended to be erased, or something was written over the first words. At any rate *tukultu rabû* makes good sense.

669. No. 187 is just the lower portion of a tablet. Slate grey.

Mukînu-Ašur sells a slave to Rîmâni-Adadi, the chief *mukîl apâte*, for one (?) mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Date lost. At least five witnesses.

...A<sub>6</sub>, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), F.

This may well be a duplicate of no. 183. It is difficult to see why Dr Bezold doubted this being a contract. In the Catalogue, p. 232, he quotes lines 8-13.

The character at the end of line 1 is possibly Ašur, the end of the seller's name; in line 4 there are two *GARs* after *alu*. In line 11, in place of *a* read *an*. In line 12 insert *šu* after *mârê*. In line 3 of rev. the last three signs are better read *ina ûmê, ÁŠ UD-ME*.

The principals are the same as in no. 183. The slave's name is not preserved. The first witness was a *šalšu*, I expect the second was Ubarbisi, see § 515. It would be futile to guess the others.

670. No. 188. Only the upper right-hand portion is preserved, but there need be no doubt of the nature of the transaction. Dark brown.

Mukînu-Ašur sells his slave, whose name ended in Istar. Dated, the 21st of..., B.C. 669. At least four witnesses.

*Pk, D...*

Same seller as in no. 183. The slave's name is different. From the date and presence of at least two *mukîl apâte* among the witnesses, one may conjecture Rîmâni-Adadi to be the buyer. In line 2, for *šá* read *ša*. The title was perhaps *šalšu ša pâni êkalli*. The scribe wrote a sign like *uš* with the final vertical omitted. In reverse, lines 2 and 3 ended in *pa-te*, probably part of *mukîl apâte*. In rev. 6, the signs may be *hi-da-ba*, perhaps part of a city name, of which Šamaš-



kâšid-aibi was *šaknu*. There is a wide space between line 3 and the date.

The Eponym's name, Šamaš-kâšid-aibi, is discussed in § 507. Nâdin-aḥê, or Iddin-aḥê, is discussed in § 473.

**671.** No. 189. Very fragmentary and the surface much flaked away, so that there is no hope of finding the lost portions. Light red.

Line 7 shews that a single male slave was sold. Line 4 gives the price as so many shekels of silver. In line 3, what I have given as *il-ki* may be *alu Dûr*.....The date was the 4th of Kislîmu, B.C. 692.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>)...*

The Eponym's name is discussed in § 476.

**672.** No. 190. Only the upper half. Dark red.

Nîk-ilâni sells his slave Lušâkin to the *šakintu* of ẖabal Ninûa for one (?) mina of silver, standard named but now lost. Dated, the 22nd of Nisânu, B.C. 668. At least thirteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C.*

The name of the seller Nîk-ilâni was borne also by a witness, son of Nêrgal-ilai, Ep. Q, on no. 446; by a witness and *bêl kâtâ ša šarri*, on no. 80; by a witness, on nos. 265 and 355. The allied form Nîk-ili occurs in K 505, and as a specimen name, App. I, VIII. 31. The name of the slave, Lušâkin, is discussed in § 486.

In line 3 of rev. the witness Abi-dûri bears a name borne by the borrower on no. 106; it occurs on no. 544, and as a specimen, App. I, XI. 23. A name ending in *alâ* is curious, perhaps it ended in *dalâ*. Mannu-kî-ali is not likely. The name may have ended in Arbailu, Ḥarran, or Ninûa. It is a question whether Dûr-bêlia is complete. It only occurs here. Ramiti only occurs here and in Rm. 59. Compare Ramatîa, in I. R. 46, IV. 21. Nabû-upaḥḥir was also the name, of a seller, B.C. 691, on no. 286; and occurs as a specimen name, App. I, IV. 46. The name could be read also Nabû-nammir; see *AN-PA-nam-mir*, the name of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 273; of a witness, on no. 638; and a specimen name, App. I, IV. 47.

For the name of the Eponym, see § 472.

**673.** No. 191. An upper piece, perhaps half. Drab.

Ašur-nâ'id, son of Marda..., sells his slave. The buyer's name and the price are lost. Dated, the 18th of Tišrîtu, B.C. 698. At least four witnesses.

*Pš, D.*

Line 1 of rev. is very doubtful, line 2 names some 'boatmen.' Line 3 contains the end of the name Raḥime-ilu, which only occurs here. Compare § 668 for Raḥimû. The name of his city is very uncertain, Ḥatpina, Ḥatpiti, are the most likely. Nabû-šum-lîšir is discussed in § 465; the Eponym, Šulmu-šarri, in § 517.

674. No. 192. Now that K 399, 7357, 10448 and 13056 are joined we have an almost complete text. The joins, however, shew that there were more slaves than one. Notes on this text will be found in the section devoted to the sales of several slaves, after no. 258, of which it is a duplicate.

No. 193. The text was in a bad state when I copied it, but having been cleaned it is now certain that the sale referred to a single female slave. It will therefore be commented on after no. 221.

No. 194. About half the tablet, the upper portion, is preserved. Slate grey.

Sêsakâ, the *raḥ bîti*, sells his slave...rî to...ûari. Dated, the 1st of Tebêtu, B.C. 677.

*Pk, D, Ac.*

In line 2, the other *amêl* is preferable. The last sign may be *na*, in place of *nu*. The seller's name seems to be a compound of Sê, which is very likely the same as Si', the god so common in the Ḥarran Census. The second element *sakâ* is probably Semitic. The name only occurs here. The ending *rî* is rare in names. But Tur-ri-i is not unlikely, in view of *Tu-ri-i*, the name of the scribe of 81-2-4, 99, which also occurs on K 836, 1863. I am inclined to compare Turî, see § 653. The buyer's name ends in *uari*, compare Sanduari, Maribeuari, and see Ḥarran Census. The *amêlu* in line 2, and *ardušu* in line 3, shew that we are concerned with only one slave. Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 1881, says 'slaves.'

In the witnesses, Sin-aḥu-ušur only occurs here: as does Sin-šum-iddina. The name Sê-seki is very like the seller's, only occurring here. The next name is difficult. Salsali or Raksali only occurs here. In fact the whole tablet is concerned with a foreign people, probably Aramaic. The Eponym Abi-ramu was Eponym B.C. 677, III. R. 1, v. 4. He was *sukallu rabû* in the fourth year of Esarhaddon, as appears from III. R. 2, 50, no. xxiii., and the date on no. 72. He dates nos. 576 and 701. In the text I have given *me* for *mî*.

675. No. 195. The upper half. Light grey, to black.

Sin-nâ'id sells his slave Aḥûsi to Mušallim-Adadi. Dated, the 3rd of Simânu, B.C. 730(?).

*Pš, D, Ac.*

Sin-nâ'id is discussed in § 475. The slave name could be read Aḥu-Samsi, but in view of Aḥûsu, in § 508, which may be read Aḥû-erba, I think Aḥûsu is meant in both cases, for Aḥû-šu. Mušallim-Adadi was discussed in § 409. The Eponym's name is a puzzle, Liphur-ilu is quite admissible. Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 106, considers the Eponym identical with Napḥar-ilu, the Eponym of B.C. 730, III. R. 1, iv. 40, also a *šaknu* of Kīrrûri. Our form of the name is supported by Liphuru, name of a witness, of *alu* Kapar.... But I doubt any such early contracts from Nineveh. Perhaps this tablet came from Kallḥu.

676. No. 196. Almost complete below the seal space. Red.

Bêl-ibni and Ki..... sell Ištar-taribi, a *rêd imêrê*, to Šumma-ilâni for one mina and a half of silver, royal standard. At least five witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>....*

In line 4, after *šarri* the scribe seems to have written *ÁŠ*: perhaps for Aššur, but I think it was accidental. The name Ištar-taribi is discussed in § 493, Bêl-ibni in § 505. The other buyer's name began perhaps with *Ki-ri*, but I know of no parallel to that. The witness in line 4, of reverse, seems to bear the name Zêr-kitti-ukîn, which only occurs here. We may compare Zêr-kitti-lîšir, in K 1106, 2889. For Kannunai, see § 407. Some way below line 6 are traces of a line, which may have the signs *MEŠ* and *amêlu*.

677. No. 197. Upper portion. Drab.

Adadi-rabâ, the *tamkaru*, sells his slave Kamabani, a native of Tabal, to Girḥai a captain of fifty, for one mina and seven shekels of silver. Dated, the 22nd of Tebêtu, B.C. 645. Six witnesses preserved.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C'....*

In line 2, the second sign is clearly meant for *amêlu*. The *ŠI-MEŠ* is peculiar. Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 148 ff., gave this text in transliteration and translation. He renders the line *des Herrn des Mannes... der gegeben ist*. He has a note on *ŠI MEŠ*: *unklar, wie hier zu fassen. Ähnlich wie S. 126, iv. 6?* On page 126 he transliterates *ŠI-MEŠ*, of line 7, in K 400, my no. 83, by *pânî*, and has a note on that, *etwa als ipinnîma* (cf. *Babyl. Verträge*, 358, 18) *aufzulösen?* So, to the translation of our text, on p. 149, he appends a note, *Nach der Vermuthung in der Anmerkung; des Mannes, der früher gegeben ist*.

I may remark, after careful recollection, that the sign before *ŠI-MEŠ* was never finished. I believe the scribe began to write the sign *SAM*, S<sup>b</sup> 203, saw that he had omitted *amêl*, and left what he had written to stand for it without completing it properly. He then had no room for *SAM*, so started to write *Šimê*, and actually spelt it *ŠI-MEŠ*. The sign *SAM* is used in no. 182, line 3. There are traces of the sign *AN*, which forms part of *SAM*. In no. 83, the reading *pâni* 'before,' or 'former,' is admissible.

Our scribe was careless or inexperienced, for in line 2, of reverse, he should clearly have written *ŠI Ḥabâni ŠI Aba-a-ilu*, but he omitted the second *ŠI*.

The name Adadi-rabâ is discussed in § 475. The name Kama-bani only occurs here. As he was a foreigner, it is not clear that *bani* is a verb. If so, Kama should be a god in Tabal. The name Girḥai only occurs here. The name Ḥabani only occurs here; but compare Ḥabban in *V. R.* 61, vi. 19. Ḥabaḥuru is the name of a neighbour, *Ep. K.* on no. 329. Ḥabanamru was the king of Puda', *III. R.* 15, iv. 22. Ḥababa is the name of a witness, on no. 438. The next name is not clear. Abâti is possible, but *Aba-a-AN* is what seems to have been written. The name Pisiniši is discussed in § 506; Rîmâni-ilu, in § 473.

The Eponym Belšunu was assigned to B.C. 646, by G. Smith in his *Assurbanipal*, on account of the events recorded on *Cyl. B.* *III. R.* 34, 94 b. He also dates K 78 where he is *šaknu* of Ḥindana, and the letters 80-7-19, 262, 82-5-22, 533, *Bu.* 91-5-9, 5. The name also occurs in the letters K 1107, 1250, 1895, 7515, and in the form *AN-EN-šu-nu*, in K 986, 1929, 7355; *Rm.* 60. Perhaps he is referred to K 12991. The name occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 237.

678. No. 198. Rather more than half, upper portion. Chocolate.

Asû sells his slave Atarḥâmu to Tarḥundapî for thirty-two shekels of silver. Dated, the 30th day of Addaru, B.C. 697.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>).*

The name Asû occurs as that of a witness, B.C. 659, on no. 233. In our form *A-si-i* it is the name of a witness, *Ep. D.* on no. 622, and with a variant Assî occurs in the Ḥarran Census. Whether it really is the same as *Āsû*, 'physician,' is not clear. Atar-ḥâmu occurs in the form *A-tar-ḥa-am*, on K 1897. Tarḥundapî is the

name of a slave sold, B.C. 686, on no. 443; of the *šaknu* of Ḫalšu, no. 857, II. 39; a *šaknu*, no. 860, I. 19.

In line 6, I now see that the price was thirty-two shekels, not thirty-three as I gave. In line 12, insert *e* after *te*. In rev. line 2, the scribe did not write *alu* at the beginning of the line. In line 3, there is not room for *ana ešrate*, what the scribe wrote is hard to say. On the whole I believe he erased the beginning of *ešrate*, though he left *te* at end. He therefore probably intended to say, 'he shall return the full price *kaspu gamur* to its owners.' If this be correct, we have a new variant to *F*<sub>6</sub>.

The first name in the list of witnesses is difficult to restore from these traces. In line 6, *LUL* is probably part of the title. In line 7, we may perhaps restore Barzîa, compare the Barzîa, of Burammu, no. 899, III. 9; K 10119 and the brother of Cambyses, III. R. 39, 12, 13, 21. Nunua is a singular name, recalling the father of Joshua, Nun; and the Nunîa of no. 57, name of a witness, B.C. 644. Whether it has the same root as the next name Nânî, or whether both are *lall* names, I am not prepared to decide. Nânî is the name of a witness and *pirhînu* of Nabû, Ep. R, on no. 642; probably the same, Ep. R, on no. 642; of a neighbour on no. 425; a citizen of Kar-enabis, on 899, I. 29; occurs in 83-1-18, 155, and the Ḫarran Census. The form *Na-a-ni* meets us in Rm. 58; *Na-a-ni-i* on no. 877, *B. E.* I. Nanîa occurs as a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661. Ninî occurs on no. 877, *R.* 4; Ninê in K 9124; Ninêa on K 566. We may perhaps compare the goddess Nanâ, and the cities Ninâ, Ninûa. That Nunua is connected with *nûnu*, 'a fish,' is possible, but there is quite possibly a family relation between these names. Compare the Palmyrene names נני and נניא, in *N. E.* p. 323 a.

The name, in line 10, could be read Nabû-mukîn, taking *mu* as phonetic prefix to the ideogram *DU*. But I prefer Nabû-šum-ukîn, on account of the phonetic spelling from later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5879, where we have *AN-AK-MU-DU*, *AN-AK-MU-û-kin*, *AN-AK-šû-um-û-ki-in*. It is a specimen name, App. I. III. 37. The Eponym Šulmu-Šarri is discussed, § 517.

679. No. 199. Somewhat more than half the upper portion. Red.

Ašur-nâšir sells his slave Aḫu-li'ti to Šamaš-abu-ušur for fifty minas of bronze. The date and names of witnesses are lost. A charge for seal.

*P<sub>3</sub>, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>....*

This seems to be a duplicate of no. 181. In my copy I have misplaced the seal space. It should follow line 1, which seems to shew that the scribe ruled the space before he began to write. In line 4, the fifty is legible still, though the lower two wedges are faint. In line 10, the scribe wrote *AMEL-MEŠ* for *TUR-MEŠ*. For the persons involved, see § 663.

**680.** No. 200. Nearly complete. Red.

Šamaš-abûa sells his slave Aḥu-lâmur, a *šaḫû*, to Rîmâni-Adadi, the chief *mukîl apâte* of Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, for half a mina of silver. Dated, the...of Nisânu, B.C. 667. Eleven witnesses.

*Ph, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The seller Šamaš-abûa is discussed in § 484. Aḥu-lâmur is the name of a witness and *rakbu GAB*, B.C. 663, on no. 470; of a witness and *šangû*, on no. 255; of a witness and *râb alâni*, on no. 322; of a seller and *mukîl alpê ša êkalli*, on no. 358; of a witness, on no. 448; the father of Šulmu-šarri, Paršidu and Išdi-Ašur, on no. 714; of a *nâdin akli*, on no. 811; occurs on no. 545. The buyer Rîmâni-Adadi is discussed in § 467.

In line 8, the tablet has *ki*, not *ki*, at the end of the line. In line 7, of reverse, before *ša êkalli* was possibly a ditto sign: or a word of two short signs like *šalšu*. In line 10, the scribe omitted *amêl* before *râb urâte*.

Among the witnesses, Zerûtî is discussed in § 515; Šamaš-šallim in § 490; Nabû-erba, Nabû-šum-iddin, Šalmu-šar-iḫbi, in § 467; Ušâni-ilu, in § 659.

Ginai occurs only here, compare Ginnai, the name of a witness, on no. 493. Aḥû-amur was the name of a witness, on nos. 433 and 633. With the name Iada we may compare *Ia-da'* on K 661; *Ia-di'*, the name of a witness, of *alu BI-KA-MEŠ*, on no. 404; and in K 1881. The same element appears in Iada-ilu, the name of a witness and Itu'ai of Laḫipu, B.C. 710, on no. 416; and of the father of Bêl-šallim, on no. 880. In face of Iadanu, the name of a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 360, we might be tempted to read these Iadân. But the name Ilu-iada' shews us that *iada'* stands alone. This name was borne by a resident at Šamaš-nâsir, in the *paḫâtu* of Arabḫa, often mentioned in the letters in connection with Mê-Turnât, Dûr-Sargon, etc., in K 63 b., 570, 661, 667, 679, 906, 1013, 1047, 1176, 2908, 4779; Sm. 30; 81-2-4, 95. It was the

name of the *šaknu* of Dûrilu, on the Sargon Stone, B.C. 726, *P. A. S.* p. 7. Further, the name Ilu-iadinu, borne by a witness and *ràb kišir*, Ep. F, on no. 361; and by a witness and *ràb kišir ša apil šarri*, on no. 345, points to *iadi* being a verb. Finally the name *A-a'-da'* seems to be a variant of *Iada'* in Sm. 30. Evidently we have here a string of derivatives of the verb ידע, 'to know.' The forms *iadi'*, *iada'*, stamp the names as Aramaic, compare ידעבל, and perhaps ידי, rendered *ιαδδαιον* in the genitive, see *N. E.* p. 285 a. The Assyrian verb is *idû*. Hence we may perhaps regard *Adi*, *Idi*, as the Assyrian relatives of *Iada'*; see § 583. For *Gabbaru*, see § 667. *Gula-zêr-êreš* occurs only here.

681. No. 201. Nearly complete. I do not think there was another line on the tablet. Both the bottom corners are gone, but it is far more than half the upper portion. Buff.

Zunbu sells his son Nêrgal-eṭir to Aplîa, the *šalšu* of the Crown Prince, Ardi-Bêlit, for two minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 12th of Ulûlu, B.C. 694. One witness only is certain.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D' S<sub>1</sub>, B.*

In line 4, the tablet is now clean and we may read probably the other *amêlu*. In line 6, the other form of *TA* is on the tablet. In line 9, the second sign is *si*, not *lak*. On the reverse, after line 4, there is room for another line. Of line 7, the traces are worthless, except *ba* at end. There is a space before the date.

Professor Oppert, in his *Droit de Lignager*, p. 573, considers this document among others. He reads the seller's name as Sunba, his son as Nergal-nâsir; Apliya he takes to be *sœur troisième d'Ardi-Bêlit*. He takes the *šibtu bennu* clause as conferring liberty and repose for a hundred days. He adds *nous n'avons aucune indication sur la moralité des contractants*.

The seller's name Zunbu I take to be *zumbu*, 'fly.' It only occurs here. The name Nêrgal-eṭir only occurs here in our documents; but is named, usually as the writer of astrological reports, in K 526, 560, 701, 702, 722, 729, 739, 741, 749, 763, 783, 799, 842, 856, 901, 907, 926, 972, 1302, 1306, 1309, 1322, 1342, 1369, 1894, 4708, 7376, 8861; Sm. 1062; Rm. 54, 191, 194, 196, 197; 81-2-4, 103, 136; 81-7-27, 23, 95, 112; 82-3-23, 112; 82-5-22, 49, 57; 83-1-18, 171, 172, 173, 208, 221, 302; Bu. 91-5-9, 7. These clearly do not all refer to the same person. That in Rm. 54 is a *ràb ali* of Padânu. In K 7376 the name is associated with the

Itu'ai. In K 560 he names Daltai; in K 526, writes about horses; in K 749 he names Uddanu (?); in K 926 we learn that his brother was called Ibbûtu. In our case, he is consistently called the 'son' of Zunbu, throughout the text; he fetched a high price, and was sold to the Crown Prince. For Aplîa see § 518.

Ardi-Bêlit is discussed in § 534. Clearly this was the son of Sennacherib; and, Ašur-nâdin-šum, late king of Babylon, having died in captivity in Elam, Ardi-Bêlit was Crown Prince. Esarhaddon was either a younger son, or had been given the kingdom of Babylon. Nothing can be made of the names of the witnesses, from the traces left. The Eponym, Ilu-kî-ia has been discussed in § 520.

682. No. 202. Barely half the tablet is preserved, upper part. Drab.

Sašûtu, Bêl-šar-ušur and Aḫburu sell their slave. Dated, the 28th of Nisânu, B.C. 670. Seven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac,.....F.*

In line 4 it is probable that the line began with a numeral, followed by *amêlê*, then by *bêl amêli tadâni*. In line 5, the name of the slave may have ended in *ilâni*, but then *AN* was written over something else. In line 7, the end of *mu* and part of *kil* are preserved. Hence the buyer probably was a *mukîl apâte*. The list of witnesses and date suggest Rîmâni-Adadi as the buyer.

Sašûtu only occurs here; compare שציעת, *N. E.* p. 381 b. The second seller Bêl-šar-ušur bears a name discussed in § 508: the third name is discussed in § 534. Among the witnesses Zamama-erba bears a name afterwards that of a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 664, on no. 377; in B.C. 663 on no. 470; of a witness and *mukîl apâte ša apil šarri*, on no. 477; of witnesses, on nos. 471 and 611. The name was borne also by Ep. R on no. 642 and occurs App. 3, XII. 4. Nabû-ušêzib is discussed in § 479; Mannu-kî-Ašur, in § 409; Mannu-kî-šarri, in § 534; Dannai in § 416; Nabû-zêr-iddin in § 467; Nabû-šar-ušur in § 523: the Eponym, Šulmu-bêl-lašme in § 503.

683. No. 203. Rather more than half the lower portion. Brown.

Nabû-nâšir sells a slave to Rîmâni-Adadi, the chief *mukîl apâte* of Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, for a mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Date and witnesses are lost.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

G. Smith, *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112, refers to line 5 of reverse.



For the buyer Rîmâni-Adadi see § 467. Nabû-nâsir, written *AN-PA-PAP*, is the name of a witness B.C. 687, on no. 317; of a witness, B.C. 682, on no. 679; of witness, *ša giniša*.....B.C. 698, on no. 328; of the father of Sin-šar-ušur, on no. 446; of the father of Kudur, K 473; in K 724. The form *AN-PA-PAP-ir* meets us as the name of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 447; of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404; of an *aba* and father of Adadi-nâsir, on no. 362; on no. 680; in 83-1-18, 106; and as a specimen name App. 1, 1. 19. The form *AN-AK-PAP* is the name of the father of Ša-Nabû-šû, in Erech, B.C. 648, on K 433; in K 1181, and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5831. The form *AN-AK-PAP-ir* occurs in K 482, 4291; 83-1-18, 165; Bu. 91-5-9, 73. The form *AN-AK-SIS-ir* occurs in K 1895, 6118; 81-7-27, 48: *AN-AK-na-ši-ir*, on IV. R. 38, II. 34: *AN-AK-na-šir*, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5831.

**684.** No. 204. About one third of the tablet, upper part, is preserved. Bright red.

Sâsû sells a slave, also called Sâsû. Dated, in Šabâtu, B.C. 667. Six names of witnesses preserved.

*Pk, D.*.....

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 94.

Whether Nabûa, in line 4, is the name of the buyer I cannot decide. If so, the usual sequence is departed from. The word *manzazu* if followed by *pâni* would be a title. But the signs are far from certain. The scribe omitted to give the day of the month, in the date. The name Sâsû is discussed in § 486; Nabûa in § 486; the witness Mannu-kî-Arbaili, in § 413; Sûkai in § 484; Tebêtai, in § 521; Šarru-lûdâri, in § 496.

Šil-Sin only occurs here. Bêl-aḫu-iddin occurs as the name of a witness and *rakbu nakanti* B.C. 681, on no. 277; of a witness, B.C. 668, on no. 204; of a seller, on no. 355; of a Babylonian fisherman, assigned to Šumma-Adadi, the *šaknu*, on no. 771; of the son of Nabû-kâšir, grandson of Nabû-li', of the clan Egibi, dedicated to Bêl, on no. 889; of the father of Bêl-balât, on no. 880; and in K 1475. In these cases the name is written *EN-PAP-AŠ*. The form *AN-EN-SIS-MU* occurs in K 1135; 48-7-20, 116; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1123.

**685.** No. 205. An upper fragment. Drab.

A priest of Ašur, sells a slave whose name ends in ...im.

*Pk, D.*

No. 206. Now that Sm. 1249 is joined to K 451, which was done after most of the class had been printed off, we have most of the right half of the tablet; from which nearly all can be restored. Buff to brown.

Bêlit-ušâla sells his slave...êreš, to...Ašur. Dated in B.C. 648. About twenty witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F, F'.*

I was led to place this document here from its formula. In line 4, we seem to have the end of *ubala*, which might point to a mortgage. The characters at the end of line 5 suggest *šakintu*, but the suffix *šû* points to the buyer being a man. I take Ašur, in line 6, to be the end of his name; but if *šakintu* is right, this may be part of her title, Kabal Ašur.

Bêlit-ušâla only occurs here. Dr Bezold, in the Catalogue, omitted to note the date. The name of the Eponym, discussed in § 553, is badly written. Bêl may be followed by *gab*, but that is, of course, less likely. Among the witnesses, Ninip-erba only occurs here; Bêl-šar-ušur is discussed in § 508; Ašur-nâdin-aḥi is the name of a witness and *šangû*, on no. 209; of a witness, Ep. S, on no. 311; of a seller, son of Šiltiba-Ištar, Ep. E, on no. 711; Bêl-Ḥarran-balât only occurs here; Tebêtai is discussed in § 521; Ḥadî' only occurs here, but compare Ḥadîa, an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in Ilu-šâlê, on no. 742; Nargî is discussed in § 409.

## SALES OF A SINGLE FEMALE SLAVE.

686. In nos. 207-228 we have the sales of a single female slave. In nearly all respects they contain a text which follows the same general conception as the sales of a single male slave; except that, of course, some of the predicates are usually made feminine. A transliteration and translation of no. 207 will serve as a model for all the rest.

*Transliteration.*

- 1 *Kunuk Bêl-aḥêšû,*
- 2 *mâr Šamaš-abûa, (amêl) rakbu šépâ,*
- 3 *bêl amilti tadâni.*
- 4 *Arba-ilu-šar-rat, amtašu*
- 5 *šá Bêl-aḥêšû, up-piš-ma*
- 6 *Ki-šir-Ašur, (amêl) rāb ki-šir mutir pûti*
- 7 *šá apil šarri, ina lib-bi 1½ manê kaspi,*
- 8 *ištu pâni Bêl-aḥêšû il-ki.*
- 9 *(Amiltu) šû-a-tú up-pu-šat,*
- 10 *zar-pat, laḫ-ki-at; kas-pu*
- 11 *gam-mur ta-ad-din; tu-a-ru*
- 12 *dabâbu la-aš-šu.*
- 13 *Ana ma-te-me, lu-u Bêl-aḥêšû,*
- (13a) *lu-u mârêšû, mâr-mârêšû,*
- 14 *šá di-e-nu da-ba-bu*
- 15 *ištu Ki-šir-Ašur*
- B. E. 1 *mârêšû ub-ta-u-ni*
- 2 *kas-pu a-na ešrâte ana bêli-šu*
- 3 *ú-tar; di-ni-šu idabub-ma*
- R. 1 *la i-laḫ-ki*

Then follow the witnesses and date.

*Translation.*

- 1 The seal of Bêl-aḥêšû,
- 2 son of Šamaš-abûa, the *rakbu šépâ*,
- 3 legitimate owner of the woman transferred.

- 4 Arbailu-šarrat, the handmaid  
 5 of Bêl-aḥêšu,  
 6 Kišir-Ašur, the *rab kišir* and *mulir pûti*  
 7 of the Crown Prince, has made a bargain and, for a mina  
 and half of silver,  
 8 from Bêl-aḥêšu has taken (her).  
 9 This woman has been bargained for,  
 10 bought, taken ; the money  
 11 is complete, is given ; a return  
 12 (or) plea shall not be.  
 13 On any occasion, whether it be Bêl-aḥêšu  
 (13a) or his sons, (or) his grandsons,  
 14 who seek a decision or plea  
 15 from Kišir-Ašur,  
 B. E. 1 (or) his sons,  
 2 the money tenfold to its owner  
 3 shall return ; his plea he shall plead and  
 R 1 shall not receive.

A few comments will bring out the special force of the terms used. In line 3, the woman is called simply *ŠAL*, 'a female body'; this I read *amiltu*, after Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 122. It will be noted that *tadâni* retains its form, for a female slave, see no. 208, line 2 ; where the woman is the sister of the seller, and *ŠAL* is replaced by *aḥātušu*. In line 4, the maidservant is named. The names of these female slaves can be collected easily from the abstracts which follow. She is specified as *amtašu ša*, 'the maid servant' of her owner. This expression replaces the *ardušu ša* in the sales of a male slave. It is written *ŠAL-LAT-šu ša*. We may not read *šallatšu*, for the scribe would have written that *šallatsu*, as, in no. 208, he writes *aḥâtsu*. Nor can we read *amâtšû*, for the same reason. It must be read *amtušu*, or *amtišu* under the influence of the suffix *šu*, if we take the nominative. But as the word is the object of the verbs *uppiš* and *ilki*, I prefer to read *amtašu*. So, in no. 211, line 5, we read *amtašunu*, 'their handmaid.'

The woman sold, in no. 210, is called *A-ŠAL*, *mârtu*, 'the daughter' of the seller. In that text her specification has been lost from line 3 ; in line 11, she is called *amtu*. This raises, but does not decide, the question whether *mârtu* may not have been used simply in the sense of 'girl.'

In no. 213, the usual *šá* is replaced by *ša*; in no. 214, it is omitted, and the name of the seller is not given in this clause; in no. 217, the *šu* is omitted and *šá* used alone. In our text, line 5, *uppiš* is unusual, *upiš* generally occurs, but in nos. 208, 209, *tupiš* is used, the buyers being ladies. In our case, line 7, the price paid is large, a mina and a half of silver. The standard is not named. The same price in nos. 208, 217, is Carchemish standard. In no. 213, the same price is said to be *kaspu kīnu*.

*Abstracts of nos. 207-228.*

687. No. 207. Complete. Brown.

Bêl-aḥêšu, son of Šamaš-abûa, a *rakbu sêpâ*, sells his maid Arbail-šarrat to Kišir-Ašur, the *râb kišir mutîr pûti* of the Crown Prince, for a mina and half of silver. Dated, the 3rd of Šabâtu, Ep. B. Eighteen witnesses.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 97.

The old *Guide*, p. 175, no. 45, says it is 'the sale of Arbail-šarrat by Bêl-aḥêšu to Kišir-Ašur for 1½ mana of silver. Ep. Sin-šar-ušur, B.C. 643.'

The text is published, III. R. 46, no. 1; and *C. I. S.* p. 25 f; with transliteration and translation.

A transliteration and translation of it are given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 201 f; and by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 150 f. Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148. A 1, calls it a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Sklaven*. Dr Peiser calls it *Sklavenverkauf*. Professor Oppert calls it a *Vente d'Esclaves*.

The text in III. R., in line 2 gives *AN-ŠU* for *AN-UD*; so *C. I. S.* In line 10, III. R. gives *šu šab* for *zar*. In line 11, III. R. and *C. I. S.* give *a* for *ad*. After line 13, III. R. and *C. I. S.* give a whole line correctly, which I have omitted in error. It is (13 a) in the transliteration and translation above. In reverse, line 5, III. R. and *C. I. S.* give *bit* for *ma*; in rev. 8, both have *nu* for *PAP*; and in line 10, *ki* for *ku*. So far as I can see, both Oppert, in *Doc. Jur.*, and Peiser, in *K. B.* iv, followed III. R.

In *Doc. Jur.*, Oppert reads the slave's name as Arbail-asirat; for (amêl) *râb kišir* he gives *turgal-kišir*; for *GUR-ZAK* he reads *alu kab-bi-lu*; for *ša apil šarri* has *sa a-nis*; in rev. 2, he reads the witness's name as Atazuri; in line 5, for Armai, has *ub-bit-a*; in line 13, reads the name *Rim-Asar (bit sat) ri*; in line 15, has

*Bel-kas-sar-ušur*. Dr Peiser corrected these errors; corrected the text in rev. 8, reading the name Šulmu-aḥî; also in line 10, reading *Ku-sa-ai*; in line 13, read *Išid-i-kur-ri*; but in line 14 gave *Zer-ukîn*.

Undoubtedly both these scholars gave the general sense correctly, but to clear the ground I must point out some places where I differ from them. In line 2, I read *rakbu šêpâ*. Oppert has *rukub niri*, a tempting reading; Peiser has *rakkâb šîpâ*. The official *rakbu*, so far as I know, is never written *rak-ka-bu*, see *H. W. B.* p. 619 b. He was a messenger, doubtless, originally 'a rider,' whether in a chariot or on horseback. The epithet *šêpâ* changes continually, in other connections, with *KI-TA*, and so might be taken to mean an inferior sort of *rakbu*. But here I believe it to be a title, for (*amêl*) *ša šêpâ*, very likely 'foot-soldiers.' Each battalion, of spearmen and archers, seems to have had one or two chariots attached to it, occupied probably by the officers of the regiment, as the officers of an infantry regiment, with us, are mounted. But there was also a division of charioteers, who seem to have taken a higher rank. Thus the simple *rakbu* invariably takes precedence, in lists of witnesses, of the *rakbu šêpâ*. I do not believe, however, that *rakbu šêpâ* means a foot messenger, but an infantry (charioteer) officer. Oppert rendered his *rukub niri* by *auriga* and by *conducteur des chars*; Peiser left his *rakkâb šîpâ* untranslated. I suppose *rakkâb* was taken to be a construct, and a rider (?) of feet (?) seemed unintelligible.

In line 6, Peiser rendered *râb kišir mutîr pûti* by *der Sackelmeister des Thirstehers*. I think that as *râb kišir* was the higher title, the official was *râb kišir* of the body of *mutîr pûti* of the Crown Prince, a sort of Colonel of the bodyguard.

On line 1 of the bottom edge, Peiser has the note, *hier fehlt die Phrase, dass der Kläger eine bestimmte Summe Geldes zu deponiren hat*. It is true that such a phrase is very common, but the penalty for litigation is there right enough, in lines 18 and 19.

Peiser's renderings leave little to be desired and he seems to have divined many secrets. In rev. line 3, *aba* is rendered *Secretär*; Oppert had *magister*. In line 3, Peiser realised that Oppert's *sanu* was to be read *šaknu*, *GAR* = *šakânu* and its derivatives, and *nu* being the phonetic suffix; he rendered excellently *Statthalter*. In line 6, Peiser clings to *aššat êkalli* for the rendering of *ŠAL êkalli*; the meaning *Palastfrau* is better than Oppert's *magister feminarum regiae*, or *préposé à la garde des femmes du Palais*. The 'lady of the Palace' is the title of a distinct personage, whether the Queen

Mother, or more probably the Queen Consort of the king. In line 13, I prefer to read Išdi-êkurri.

The Aramaic inscription is quite clearly, as III. R. and *C. I. S.* give, דנת ארבֿלסר. Peiser reads the name Arbil-sarre, *C. I. S.* gave Arbail-asir(at). The word for 'deed of sale' then is *dannitu* in Assyrian, *dannat* in Aramaic, if this is not merely a transcription of the Assyrian.

The seller's name Bêl-aḥêšu occurs as that of a witness and official of the *râb*....., B.C. 688, on no. 240; and of the father of Bêl-iddina, on no. 891. The name of his father, Šamaš-abûa, is discussed in § 484. Arbail-šarrat is also the name of the wife of Mannu-kî-Ninip, pledged on no. 85; see § 490. The buyer Kišir-Ašur is discussed in § 405. Among the witnesses Ata-sûri is discussed in § 554; Sukkai in § 484.

Šamaš-rê'ua only occurs here. Ammai is the name of a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 30; of a commander of a troop, on no. 947. Compare the city Ammâ, and Ammaia, the name of a serf, with his people, on no. 661. The name, of course, is Aramaic, compare Amma-ba'li in III. R. 6, R. 36, with its variants, Ammeba'la, I. R. 20, 12; I. R. 22, 118, 119; Amme-ba'li, I. R. 20, 12; Ammi-pa'li, III. R. 6, R. 37, 47, names given by Ašurnâširpal to a king of Bît Zamâni. Ammu-ladîn, the king of Ẹidri, III. R. 35, no. 6, 14, 20; with the variant Ammu-ladî, v. R. 8, 15, is another example. That the termination *ladî* is Arabic is not clear. Compare Nabû-ladî in the Ḥarran Census. I take *ladî* to be for *la-di'*, for *la-di-in*. Whether Amme'ta' is another *Ammu* compound is not clear. The name was borne by the father of Aa-kamaru, clearly Aramaean, in K 562.

Nabû-aplu-iddin is discussed, in § 492; Ẹurdi-Adadi, in § 496. Šulmu-aḥi, as Peiser reads the name, in line 8, may well be Šulmu-ušur; it only occurs here. The related Šulmu-aḥê is discussed in § 470, Šalmu-aḥê in § 575. The name Kusai was that of the witness, Ep. A, on no. 2; of a neighbour on no. 429; and occurs in the Ḥarran Census. Bêl-šar-ušur is discussed in § 508. Ašur-šum-ukîn was the name of a buyer and *râb kišir ša šarri*, on no. 252; of the father of Zitai, on no. 711, and also of a witness and *mutîr pûti* Ep. E, on no. 711. A more phonetic spelling is *Ašur-MU-DU-in*, name of a slave sold, on no. 296; still more phonetic *Ašur-MU-ki-in* on K 943, Sm. 1031. Išdi-ekurri only occurs here. Šum-ukîn is named also on K 13467, Sm. 545; and in the form *MU-GI-NA*, for

which see Mukînu, in § 665. It occurs on K 830 and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 809. Bêl-Ḥarran-šar-ušur is named in K 916. With a prefixed *AN*, it is the name of a witness, B.C. 671, on no. 266; of a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 694, on no. 427; see also no. 870. With *alu* inserted before Ḥarran the same name occurs on no. 507, as the name of a *râb bitî* and witness. Tabalai is dealt with, in § 474; Ḥambaku only occurs here. Mannu-kî-Arbaili is discussed in § 413; the Eponym Sin-šar-ušur in § 476. Kišir-Nabû is the name of a *mašmašu*, on no. 851; and occurs in 80-7-19, 34.

688. No. 208. Nearly complete. Drab.

Mannu-kî-Arbaili sells Bilikutú, his sister, to Šarpi, the *šakintu*, for half a mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 27th day of Tebêtu, B.C. 668. At least eleven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F, B.*

In line 6, *bi* and the vertical after it are not on the tablet. Hence the price is one half mina, not one and a half mina as stated in § 686. In line 13, the wrong *ša* is given. In reverse, line 15, the last character is Ašur not *AN*. In line 2, of reverse edge, I have omitted *alu*. On the left-hand edge, instead of *a* read *TUR-UŠ*.

The text was published by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 132 f, in transliteration and translation. The date is quoted, III. R. 2, no. xxiv; in G. Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 13 f, *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112, *Ep. Can.* p. 94, Budge, *H. E.* p. 13; *S. A. V.* 4822, 5180; Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 371 and note 2.

The edition by Dr Peiser exhibits few differences from mine, which fact will give the reader more confidence, as when I made my copy, in 1894, I had not seen *K. B.* iv. In line 2, he restores *anî*; *ni* is sufficient. In line 5, the *ŠAL* before Šarpi is clear, and though no *amiltu* precedes *šakintu*, it is certainly the title, not part of the name. In line 6, I was for long certain of my reading, which was correctly given by Dr Peiser. In line 7, Dr Peiser seems to restore the last two characters. They are actually on the tablet. In line 2 of the lower edge, Kalhi is actually on the tablet; Dr Peiser seems to regard it as a restoration. In reverse line 6, the name begins with Summa, and therefore Iddin is wrong. In line 13, the last character is certainly *li*, not *su*. In line 14, Dr Peiser reads the name as Su-u, I regard this as ideographic, for Erba-Adadi. In line 16, Dr Peiser reads the name as Nabû-bîla-ai, I read it Nabûa.



On the left-hand edge, Dr Peiser reads *LAL-iš* as *tarši*; surely it ought to be read *tariš*, a construct(?) of *taršu*.

The sale of a sister by her brother raises many questions. Probably the eldest son of a family had, as its head, on his father's death, the same paternal rights as the father. The girl may have been his father's daughter by a slave mother and so not free. But she was sold to a lady of such high rank that service with the Princess(?) may have been considered a satisfactory settlement for life. In such a service small trace of slavery may have appeared. Nothing whatever can be built upon this single instance, save the fact that a man technically had the right to sell his sister, in some cases. In later Babylonian times a brother gave his sister in marriage; Peiser, *B. V.* 92 and p. 128.

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 267, gives a translation of this text: he regards it as the sale of *seiner eigenen Frau von Seite eines zärtlichen Gatten*. In his article *Le droit de Lignager*, p. 573, Professor Oppert gives another translation of this document. He does not think a brother could sell his sister. He thinks that *NIN* must mean *maitresse*; but renders, throughout his translation, by *épouse*. I do not know which Assyrian word he took to correspond to *NIN*, but it must have ended in *t*, as the scribe writes *NIN-su*, in line 3. In line 5, Dr Oppert gives without question, *la marchande* for *šakintu*. In line 12, he has gone a step beyond his old rendering of *izakupâni*; it is taken as *demanderait à la femme Zarpi*, not *demanderait à moi*. He considers the *šibtu bennu* clause to mean that a holiday of a hundred days per year was to be allowed the slave. He still renders *aba* by *le chef juge*. *Ina tarsi* he renders *en présence de*, which I think nearly right; and he gives a note on Dr Peiser's rendering and very pertinently asks, why is *ina tarši* so rarely appended to dates, if it only means 'during the reign of'? On p. 574, he has a long remark on the sale of a wife. He supposes that at Nineveh and Kalah, in Assyria, it was not a shameful deed to sell a wife; but adds that in Babylon, among the thousands of contracts, we know of not one such case. He compares the usages at Rome and in Judaea, and is sarcastic at the expense of poor Mannu-kî-Arbaili. It does not seem quite fair. It was no worse than putting a sister into a convent, and very likely was an exceedingly good way of providing for the girl.

For Mannu-kî-Arbaili, see § 413. The name Bilikutu only occurs here. Šarpî only occurs here, the variant in line 13 gives a rare

value *ṣar* for the sign usually read *zer*. Among the list of witnesses, the first seven names cannot be restored from the traces left. Nabû-dûr-ḳali only occurs, in the form Nabû-dûr-ḳala, as a specimen name, App. I, II. 38. The name Erba-Adadi is discussed in § 504; Kišir Ašur in § 405; Nabûa in § 486; the Eponym Marlarim, in § 472.

689. No. 209. Now that Rm. 159 has been joined to K 1439, the text is nearly complete. Drab.

Aḥûasu, acting for the *ḥazânu*, sells Abi-liḥîa, his maid, to the *šakintu* of Aššur, for half a mina and five shekels of silver. Dated, the fifth of Aaru..... At least ten witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D, S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

What actually was at the beginning of line 2 is hard to guess. From line 6, we see that Aḥûasu was over the house of the *ḥazânu*. The end of the *ḥazânu*'s name suggests Ninip, or *ašarîd*, but there is nothing to decide. On Aḥûasu, or Aḥûa-erba, see § 508. The name of the slave is peculiar, in *liḥîa* we may have the root *laḥu* dealt with in § 668. In line 15, the third character is probably meant for *bêl*; the fact that Aḥûasu is acting for his master makes the mention of *bêl* very appropriate here. In line 16, it would be better probably to restore *TA ŠAL šakintu*, or something similar. In line 4, of reverse, *pi* may be a badly made *pu*, and *di* may be *na*. In line 14, Professor Jensen suggested *na* for *ka*, and it is probably so. In line 18, it is not clear whether any name stood before *amêlu*. The first two characters are not on the tablet. I think Nargî, in line 17, was the *aba*. In line 4 of the obverse the whole line is on the tablet.

Professor Zimmern, *G. G. A.* p. 248, suggests that the odd sign in line 15, may be meant for *mâr šipri*. This is ingenious, and then *A-SIK* was written. But I fancy the scribe began to write *mâršu*, as usual in this place, but recalled the fact that Aḥûasu's master might take it into his head to repudiate his agent's transaction, so tried to turn the first strokes into *bêl*, and left both horizontals legible.

The date, in line 6, of reverse, is in an unusual place. How to complete the name of the first witness is not clear. Šamaš-daru, see § 493; and Šamaš-daninâni the name of the Eponym of B.C. 644, *bêl paḥâti* of Babylon, K 1697, III. R. 26, 123, who dates nos. 4 and 57; are the only names I can recall that begin like this. If

the latter be correct, and the space suggests that it is, then it is very likely that here also he is an Eponym. If so, the scribe was in error to put *ŠI* at the beginning of the line. The name *Šâr-Nêrgal* also occurs as that of a buyer and *rakbu*, on no. 509. *Nabû-dumki-ilâni* is a rather hazardous reading for the next name. The signs *ŠI-PIR* denote *damâku* and its derivatives. But *Nabû-dâmiḫ-ilâni* seems to me meaningless: see § 480. For *Ašur-nâdin-aḫi*, see § 685. *Manâni* only occurs here, but is frequent in compounds like *Našḫu-manâni*, *Si'-manâni*, *Šêr-manâni*, in the *Ḥarran Census*. It may be abbreviated from one of these, and perhaps is Aramaic, compare מנני, מני, *N. E.* p. 313 a, and the Hebrew *Manaen*. For *Mannu-kî-Ninûa*, see § 474.

The name, in line 13, is difficult. *Ḥân-aḫûsi* is doubtful, *Ḥân-aḫû-lišir* seems better, but why then should *aḫû* be lengthened by *u*? The name only occurs here, but compounds of *Ḥân* or *Ḥâni* are common in the *Ḥarran Census*. The next name *Adadi-nâtan*, as well as *Manâni*, suggest that here we have three Aramaic names. *Adadi-nâtan* is also found in 83-1-18, 75. For *Ḥimarî*, see § 660. The ending *nasi'*, in line 16, does not lend itself to restoration, but compare the *Palmyrene* נסי, Greek *Nεσα*, *N. E.* p. 323. For *Nargî* see § 409.

690. No. 210. Nearly complete. Red.

*Rîmâni-ilu*, a priest, sells *Nanâ-da(?)*, daughter of *Sûkai*, his maid, to *Bêl-ilâni-šitir* (of?) *Bêl-killâni*, for half(?) a mina of silver. Dated, the 20th of *Âbu*, Ep. W. Thirteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 100, where K 359 is given for K 7682.

The text is badly damaged and in places hard to read. The slave's name may end in *li*, but *Nanâ-a-li* is not likely. *Nanâ-adalli* is possible; compare the names *Aḫi-dalli*, *Aḫi-dalali*, *Adadi-dalli*. *Nanâ-ada'* is possible also. In line 7, *Bêl-ilâni* may be all the name. It is not likely that it ended in *ši*. The sign *ŠI* seems to be followed by a division mark. But this may with the rest be taken as the remains of *TER*. What *ši-ter* could mean here, either as the end of a name, or as a word by itself, I do not know. One expects here the title of an official, unless there were two buyers. But there is no *amêlu* to indicate a title. In line 3, of reverse, the traces of the buyer's name are so uncertain that it is hard to say whether *Bêl* or

*AN-EN* was written. But there seems to have been only one buyer's name there. Hence it seems likely that the signs, in line 7, are meant for a title. If so, the (*amêl*) was omitted, as is sometimes done.

In line 10, I now think we should read *ki* not *ki* as the first sign. In line 13, the traces of *šu* are too large for that sign, it was certainly *šú*. In line 1, of reverse, the scribe put a superfluous vertical before *a*. He seems to have meant to write *Rîm-ana-ili*, with the vertical, and then wrote *a-ni* partly over *TIŠ*, without effacing it. In line 6, in place of *a-ši-bi* read *a-šib-bi*. Here again *šib* was written on *ši*, without quite effacing the first character. In line 17, after the Eponym's name, one wedge appears; the scribe began to write a title, but either erased it, or it has been destroyed since. In the first line of the left-hand edge, *ma* is uncertain, perhaps *ba* may be meant. There is room for six or seven characters in the bracket. I now think there were two separate names in this line. In the last line, *kab* may be written in place of *ki*. But a city name ending in *ku-kab-na* is not known to me, while *Diķukina* occurs in K 548; *Diķukina*, as a country, in K 122; *Di-ku-kin* on no. 352.

For *Rîmâni-ilu*, see § 473; for *Suķai*, § 482. That *Bêl-ilâni* is a complete name is proved by its occurrence as a specimen name, App. 3, iv. 110. *Bêl-killâni* only occurs here. For *Šulmu-šarri*, see § 517. *Bêl-Ħarrân-aĦu-ušur* is the name of a witness, B.C. 668, on no. 472, and occurs in K 613, v. R. 54, 40 a. *Banî* is a very common name. In this spelling it occurs as the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 698, on no. 328, B.C. 683; on no. 447; B.C. 671, on no. 60; of a witness, *šanû ša rāb âsû*, B.C. 663, on no. 470; of a witness, B.C. 651, on no. 387; B.C. 664, on no. 398; of a witness, Ep. a, on no. 22; of a witness and *šakû* of the Crown Prince, on no. 261; of a witness and *nuĦatimmu*, on no. 439; of a witness, on no. 605; witness and *ardu*, B.C. 698, on no. 475. On no. 661, *Banî* is a serf, 'with his people'; on no. 851, a *bârû*; on no. 811, a gardener; on no. 880, the father of *AĦêia*. He is named in K 512, 11437; Sm. 346; 83-1-18, 544. In the form *KAK-i* the name is borne by a witness and *šanû ša rāb âsû*, B.C. 664, on no. 377.

The next name could be read *Dugul*, which is an element occurring in several names, as *Dugul-Ištar*, see § 658; but *Ukîn-zêr* is better probably. The name spelt like this was that of the king of *Bêt Amukkani*, king of *Šapî*, B.C. 729, II. R. 67, 26, in the time of *Tiglath Pileser III.*, see Rost's *Tiglath Pileser*, and *K. B.* II. p. 14

The same person may be alluded to in K 1095, 7540; 81-2-4, 313, where he is son of Nabû-êreš; 82-5-22, 131. But I think these refer to a later date. It is a specimen name, App. 1, xi. 26. Šašî is named on no. 854, as a *râb batki*. The next name *DUG-GA-ŠI* can hardly be correct, if complete. It only occurs here, and can hardly be restored from anything I know.

For Mannu-kî-Adadi, see § 473. All the above seven witnesses were from Hîrana. This city is placed by Ašurnâsirpal, I. R. 25, 97, in Adani (Bît-Adini?), as Aramaean. In II. R. 67, 5, Tiglath Pileser III., names the *amêlu* Hîrânu. The next short name may be Abdâ, see § 512; this would be Aramaic also. On the lower edge, line 1, may be Bilai, the name of a witness, on no. 355. A people called Bilai are named by Tiglath Pileser III., in III. R. 9, 47. In the next line, I can make nothing of *Āi*..... It seems to have been followed by a single horizontal.

On the left-hand edge, the first name Hāgabba (?) may be a badly written Hā-am-ba, or Hāmmai, compare Peiser, *A. S.* xi. 19. We may compare Hāmbî, a witness and chief goldsmith, on no. 244. What followed is uncertain. In the next line Abdi-Bêl is complete. In the form *Ab-di-BE*, it is the name of witness and *râb sagullâte*, on no. 386. What the sign *a* means after it I do not know: perhaps the beginning of *aba*, for the next line had evidently *šâbit dannite*. All the last six, or seven, witnesses seem to have been from Diķuķina. What the *a* here means is not clear, unless perhaps the scribe wrote Diķuķinai. The *ahê* at the end is also difficult, unless it is the end of a name.

The date is put in an unusual place, before the list of witnesses. For the Eponym's name, see § 492.

691. No. 211. Now that K 1564 is joined to K 424, the text is nearly complete. Red.

Ašur-mât-utaķķin and Gabbu-âmur, sons of Gidda..... sell their maid, Ištar-rîmêni, to Kakkullanu, *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince, for half a mina of silver. Dated, the 29th of Tišrîtu.....Eleven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), F, B.*

In line 8, I have given the wrong *amêlu*. In line 5, of reverse, read *TA* for *šâ*. At the end of line 7, read *ru* for *ra*. Why the scribe wrote a vertical, before *bêl* in this line, is not easy to see. He has omitted *êšrâte*. Did he merely mean that the price was to be returned? or is the vertical intended for some idea of entirety?

As the sign *LAL* denotes the verb *tarâṣu* and its derivatives, we might read the first seller's name as Ašur-mât-tariṣ, or Ašur-mât-utariṣ. The name spelt like this was borne by an Eponym, who dates nos. 23, 307, 361, 621. He was a *bêl paḥâti*, see no. 361. I call him Ep. F. The same name is that of a witness on no. 46. But the name can be read Ašur-mât-utaḫḫin, and *Ašur-mât-LAL-in* is the form taken by the name of a neighbour, Ep. A', on no. 414; of a seller, son of Itu'ai, B.C. 745 (?), on no. 415. No name like this occurs with the phonetic suffix *iṣ* after *LAL*. Hence my reading above.

The name of the second buyer can be read Kal-âmur, where *kal* would mean, 'all.' But Gabbu-âmur would mean the same, so I read both alike, see § 482. The former *KAK-ŠI-LAL*, which also I read Gabbu-âmur, occurs as the name of a witness and *maḥḥu*, on no. 500. How we should read the father's name is hard to say. *BU-DA* is an ideogram for *arâku*, 'to be long.' Arrakûte, would suit the traces well enough. The root seems to occur in the names Arakai, a witness on no. 500; Arika' in 83-1-18, 8, which may, however, be Elamitic; and in Arkat-ilâni-damiḫtu, a name in v. R. 46, 63 a. Of course, it may be phonetically read Buda....., or Gidda....., but for these I know no parallels. The slave's name Ištar-rîmêni only occurs here. Kakkullânu was well known, see § 510.

Among the witnesses, for Kišir-Ašur, see § 405; the next three names have disappeared. In rev. line 16, the name *AN-DI-šunu* is to be read Ilu-daianšunu, 'God is their judge.' For *DI* as ideogram for *dînu* and *daianu*, see Glossary under *dânu*. For Ašur-šar-ušur, see § 505; for Zizî, see § 476; for Nabû-šar-ušur, see § 523; for Nabû-utariṣ, see § 573. Ašur-killâni, spelt like this, is the name of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 663, on no. 309; Ep. A, on no. 325; witness and *râb kišir*, Ep. A, on nos. 318 and 623; Ep. A', on no. 414. In the form *Ašur-kil-la-ni*, it is the name of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 688, on no. 400; witness and *rakbu ša râb kišir*, Ep. Q, on no. 308; holder of property, B.C. 656, on no. 702. Also we have *Ašur-kil-la-a-ni* as the name of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, Ep. F, on no. 361; *Ašur-kil-an-ni* as the name of a buyer and *šaḫû šarri*, on no. 425; *Ašur-ki-la-a-ni*, as that of a witness and *râb kišir*, Ep. Q, on no. 349; and *Ašur-ki-la-ni* on no. 993, in B.C. 661. These forms exclude the reading *Ašur-ḥab-la-an-ni* which Delitzsch gives *H. W. B.* p. 267 a.

In the date, the tablet clearly has 29th, not 26th, as I gave.

I cannot restore the name of the Eponym. The scribe of the tablet probably was the witness whose name begins with Iḫbi.

692. No. 212. Now that Sm. 1678 is joined to 81-2-4, 163 is almost complete. Black.

Nabû-zêr-iddin sells his maid, Šamê-tabani (?) to Šumma-ilâni. Dated, the 24th of.....B.C. 687. Perhaps ten witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F, B.*

The sign *zêr* in the buyer's name seemed to have no horizontal, in line 1, for a long time. Then it became clear. In line 4, it is not clear to me yet. In line 13, and in rev. 1, the horizontal at the beginning of the line is not wanted, but the scribe seems to have intended it. The second phrase, in rev. 1, is needlessly repeated. At the end of *dênu* the scribe wrote *PAP* for *nu*. In lines 14 and 15, read *TA* in place of *lu* and *û*. In line 2, of reverse, there was no *u* in *ubta'ni*. In line 16, of obverse, we may restore *mâr aḫêšu*.

For the seller's name Nabû-zêr-iddin, see § 467. The slave's name is odd. Šamê-tabâni 'thou hast built the heavens,' does not seem unlikely. For the buyer's name Šumma-ilâni, see § 467. Among the witnesses, Zamama-aḫu-uṣur only occurs here; Ardi-Ištar is discussed in § 474; Ḥaninai only occurs here, but compare Ḥaninaia, a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 30. With Dagana-milki compare Dagan-milki, the seller on no. 234. Dagan compounds are few. Dagan-bêl-nâṣir appears to have been the name of the Eponym of B.C. 880, see I. R. 23, 1; II. R. 68, no. 2, 31; III. R. 1, 1. 31. Mannu-kîm-šâbê only occurs here. It is probably only a graphical variety of Mannu-kî-šâbê, see § 503. The name of the *mut-taggišu*, in line 15, ends in *na-an*, or *-na-ilu*, which is not easy to complete. So, what could end like the traces in line 16, or 17, I am unable to say. In line 17, the traces could be part of *še-li*. On the left-hand edge, *ûmê* is uncertain, *MEŠ* may have been erased. On Sennacherib as an Eponym, see § 504.

693. No. 213. Now that 83-1-18, 380, has been joined to Sm. 701, the text is nearly complete. Red.

Dâri-abûa sells his maid Nanâ-ibašši to Tabni-Ištar for one and a half minas of silver, normal weight, *kînu*. Dated, the 5th of Aaru, B.C. 681. Six witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), R.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91.

Apparently in Aaru, B.C. 681, the Eponym was not yet appointed,

the date is therefore given as in the 'Eponymy after that of Nabû-šar-ušur, *šaknu* of Marḫasa', B.C. 682. This fact is eloquent as to the troubles at the commencement of Esarhaddon's reign.

Professor Oppert, *Z. A.* XIII. p. 268, refers to this tablet as recording the sale of a son. In his article *Le droit de lignager*, p. 579, he translates the document in full, and thinks it admits the withdrawal from the agreement on payment of a fine of two minas.

Dâri-abûa only occurs here. In line 9, I believe that my restorations are wrong and that we should restore [*lu-u(m) Da-ri-AD-[u-a lu-u mârêšu*], then line 10 might be [*lu-u mâr-mârêšu lu-u [etc]*]. The slave's name only occurs here. The buyer's name only occurs here. Among the witnesses, for Barruḫ, see § 467; for Kimama, § 558. For Riḥâte compare the witness on no. 228; and the name Riḥêtu, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7575. For Nabû-šar-ušur as Eponym, see § 523.

694. No. 214. A mere fragment. Drab.

Iâmâni sells his maid, ...ma-li, to Ninûai, the king's *šakû*, for thirty-four shekels of silver. Dated, the 14th of Aaru, Ep. P. At least seven witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

In line 7, the scribe wrote *KA*, three times, instead of twice, as usual. In line 9, he omitted *pa*. In line 10, he wrote *mârê* where I give wrongly *mâr-mârê*. In line 1, of reverse, I now see that he never wrote *AŠUR*, only *i-ša-kan*, of the last sign there are clear traces. Hence he did not name the god, to whose *burku* the fine was payable.

The seller's name was discussed in § 482. The slave's name cannot be restored. For Ninûai, see § 508. The Eponym's name also occurs as dating no. 628. I regard it as the same as Paḫa-ana-Arbaili, the name of the seller on no. 327, in Ep. N. How to complete the first witness's name, I do not know. For Nabû-nâ'id, see § 491. The next name ended in *-liḫsur*, the next in *-nanu*, the next in *idri*, the next was probably Adadi-iddin. This was the name of a serf, 'with his people,' in no. 661; and occurs in 83-1-18, 209. The form *AN-IM-SE-ni* occurs in K 113. The other traces do not lend themselves to restoration.

In line 10, the title may be *mukil AP-MEŠ*.

695. No. 215 now that Bu. 89-4-26, 2 has been joined to 80-7-19, 353 is nearly complete. Black.



Si'-zabâdi sells his maid, Abi-ḥa'ili, to Late', a lady, for nine shekels of silver. Dated, the 7th of Šabâtu, B.C. 682. Probably five witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

In line 9, read *ḫi* for *ki*: in line 11, perhaps *u* is better than *ina*, before *matêma*. In rev. line 5, read *me* in place of *MEŠ*. In line 10, the title is not *šá-tú*, but clearly *LAGAR*, i.e. *nâgîru*.

The seller's name only occurs here. It is Aramaic, see the *Si'* and *zabadi* compounds in the Ḥarran Census. Abi-ḥa'li only occurs here. The buyer's name only occurs here. Among the witnesses; for Ḥandî, see § 513. Šabânu, spelt thus, is the name of a witness and *râb kišîr*, B.C. 684, on no. 230; of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404; of a *sukallu*, in Barḥalzi, on no. 675. The name could be read Nûrânu, but on no. 922 we have the form Šabbânu. Whether we should read Zâbânu, and connect with Zabînu, see § 465, is not clear to me. Manzusu only occurs here, and is not certain. Is it for Manzut-šu? The name Zibdî only occurs here, but may be a form of Zabdû, see § 491. The traces in lines 10, 11, do not lend themselves to restoration easily. For the Eponym, see § 523.

696. No. 216. A fragment only. Slate grey to brown.

Sin-bêl-ušur sells his maid, for one mina of silver, to a priest of Bêl, apparently. Traces of the names of three witnesses are preserved. Half a mina of bronze was paid for sealing the contract.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The tablet is badly preserved. In line 3, the scribe wrote *UD*, for *lib*. In line 5, the last two characters of *šuatû* are very doubtful, they look more like the remains of *ú*. It seems unlikely that the scribe wrote *šú-ú* for *šuatû*. In line 6, the *šu* after *DI-TAR* is not on the tablet. In line 7, the scribe wrote *GIR*, not *PAL*, as I give. Then *KAB* is clear. The *ḤAR* is so on the tablet, whether it was meant for *tu*, I cannot see. What he really intended to be read in this line I do not see. In line 1, of the bottom edge, he seems to have written *ina maḥîra šá Ninûa*. In line 7, of reverse, *alu* is uncertain. Perhaps the traces are the end of *dan*, *rib*. Then it would probably be part of the title, probably *šâriṣ (SU) taḥšê*, 'leather dyer,' or 'leather worker.'

With regard to the names: the seller Sin-bêl-ušur bears the name of a witness and *râb kišîr*, in B.C. 682, on no. 276; of a witness, now

*râb kišir ša mâtî*, B.C. 670, on no. 625; of a witness on no. 219. The first witness Adadi-šum-ušur, spelt thus, is the name of a witness, who is *râb*.....on no. 448; *aba* on no. 193; witness in Ep. P, on no. 628; father of witness on no. 350. This name is borne by a voluminous writer, also named in letters, see K 167, 183, 492, 527, 568, 583, 595, 601, 612, 618, 641, 643, 666, 730, 991, 1026, 1038, 1087, 1197, 1428, 1963, 11922, 13000, 13065; Rm. 76: 80-7-19, 22; 81-2-4, 53, 58, 69; 82-5-22, 160, 171; 83-1-18, 33, 34, 38, 81; Bu. 89-4-26, 17; Bu. 91-5-9, 15, 41, 156: compare also K 5550 and no. 709: possibly 89-7-19, 20. The form *U-MU-PAP*, is the name of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 383; of a writer of K 5470. The form *AN-IM-MU-SIS* occurs on Sm. 2116, and 82-5-22, 103. A partly phonetic form is *AN-IM-MU-u-šur*, in K 601, 1040, 1118, 2223; Sm. 1368, 82-5-22, 168. Ḥanâsu only occurs here: compare the Egyptian Aramaic הנס.

697. No. 217. Only a fragment of the obverse. Drab.

Si'-aali sells his maid...dibê-ša-libbi, to Šalmu-aḥê, for a mina and a half of silver, Carchemish standard.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

The seller's name, Si'-aali, only occurs here, but is allied to the many *Si'* and *aali* compounds of the Ḥarran Census. The slave's name Ḥudê-ša-libbi as I first read seemed very appropriate, but I overlooked *bi* after *di*. I do not see what word would end in *dibê*. Šalmu-aḥê is treated in § 575.

698. No. 218. Only a fragment. Drab.

That it was a slave sale I conclude from the general formula, and the plea instanced in line 7, *amilta apaṭṭar*, seems to imply a female slave. Dated, the 15th of Du'ûzu, B.C. 687. Eight witnesses.

*Ac, C, S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, R.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90, *Hist. Senn.* p. 18.

In line 6, the scribe wrote *ba* in place of *ub*. In the date, the day is the 15th, not 16th as I gave. In line 3 of reverse, before *šakintu* should be *šá*, not *ša*. In line 8, the first sign may be *un* in place of *miš*. In line 1, of reverse, insert a bracket after *râb*, there certainly was more. The first character of all on the tablet may be the traces of *TA*. In line 5, I think now that *amêlu annu* was all. There is no reason to restore *te*.

The names of the seller, the slave, and the buyer are not preserved.

On Sennacherib as Eponym, see § 504. Among the witnesses

Mannu-kîm-Adadi is only a variant of Mannu-kî-Adadi, see § 473. Ruradidi only occurs here. For Galulu see § 544; for Zizîa, § 476; for Nabû-dûr-uşur, § 661; Milki-Iştar, § 513.

Muḫalil-mittu was the name of a witness and (*amêl*) *LUL Aššurai*, Ep. H, on no. 50; of a witness and *atû* of the palace, on no. 255; a witness, Ep. S, on no. 311; also a principal, Ep. T, on no. 618. If we are to read the name, in line 8, as Unki-Iştar, it would have no parallel. But in place of Iştar, we could suppose a badly written *ià*, then Unkià would be like *Un-ki-e*, the name of a witness, B.C. 681, on no. 269.

699. No. 219. Only a fragment. Drab.

It was certainly a slave sale, as in lines 3 and 4 we have *amtu (zar)pat lakiat*. There are indications of perhaps nine witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F, B.*

The formula is rather clipt in places and so hard to restore. Thus in line 4, *şuatu* may have been written at the beginning, but then how could *at* be accounted for? The shortest spelling of *zarpat* would occupy too much room with *şuatu*. The words, in line 1 of the edge, might go into the first line of reverse. Then lines 2 and 3 of reverse, probably had the *şibtî bennu* clause. The traces are quite unreliable.

No names of principals are preserved. The name of the first witness ended in *-re'û-iddin*. For Sin-bêl-usur, see § 696. The next name seems to have ended in *-ga-a-nu*. Perhaps the next was Abdî or Zabdî. Whether the last was Anu-şarru does not seem clear. That is hardly long enough. In line 7, the scribe has omitted *PA* from the title.

700. No. 220. A fragment only. Drab.

Ninip...sells his maid, Eri..., to a lady, for thirty-four shekels of silver.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

The names of the principals are too defective to be restored. There are no names of witnesses.

No. 221. A fragment only. Drab.

Someone sells a maid, Şilli... to Dadai, for one (?) mina of silver. Dated, probably in Ep. W. Traces of five or six witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The maid is stated to be the daughter of the seller. In line 1,

after a break, *amtušu* can be read, if not more. In line 2, it seems as if the seller's name ended in a plural. In line 7, *zarpu* is wrong gender, *lakki* had more, perhaps *u*, hardly *at*. In line 5, of reverse, the title looks as much like *TUK-A* as (*amêl*)*za*..., but that does not help much. A great portion of the rest is hardly legible.

As to the names, Dadai, see § 572; Şabdanu, see § 540.

The name Šadûni only occurs here. With Şalai-ilu, compare Şalâ-ilu, in Sm. 30. We have also Şaliai, in no. 872, as a *ša šêpâ*; Şallâ occurs on K 87; and Şallai in K 112; Bu. 91-5-9, 157; and on no. 880, as the son of Mannu-iâri. For Šarru-nâ'id, probably Eponym, see § 492.

701. No. 193. A fragment. Red.

Bêl-Harrân-dûri, the *mukîl apâte*, and Aḥu-lî, his son, sell a girl. Traces of seven witnesses. Dated, perhaps in Ep. Y.

The present state of the tablet allows of many corrections. In line 1, I have given the wrong *amêlu*. In line 4, of the reverse, read *rakbu* in place of *aba*. For line 5, read *KAK-a-a* (*amêl*) *a-ba*; then what I gave as line 5 becomes line 6, reading *dûri* at end in place of *SU*. Then line 6 becomes line 7.

It is probable that the girl sold was daughter of Bêl-Harrân-dûri, and that the eldest son assisted. Unfortunately it is impossible to make out her name. Bêl-Harrân-dûri is the name of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 9; of a witness and (*amêl*) *LUL*, B.C. 681, on no. 279; of a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 383; of a witness and *raksu*, in the same year, on no. 404; and occurs as a specimen name, App. 3, XII, 28. For Aḥulî, see § 523.

Among the witnesses, in reverse, line 2, the title may well be *râb kişir apil šarri*. Atâ-idri also occurs in the Harran Census. Mannu-kî-Harran occurs as the name of a witness and *rakbu GAB-MEŠ*, B.C. 670, on no. 421; B.C. 666, on no. 185; B.C. 663, on no. 470; as witness and *rakbu*, B.C. 670, on no. 420; here in Ep. Y; as witness without title, B.C. 668, on no. 190; and also on no. 433. For Baniai, see § 573. The next name we must read Ištar-nâşir-dûri; it only occurs here. Sî-ḫatar only occurs here. It is very like the Harran names. Of the next name only the end, *-aḥê-iddîna*, is preserved. I conjecture the next name to have been Sailu, see § 560; Adadi-šum-uşur, § 696; Nabû-sakip, as Eponym, § 492.

702. No. 222. Only a fragment. Dark brown.

Bêl-utarriş sells his maid Uḫubûtu, to Šumma-ilâni,

for a mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 25th of Tebêtu, B.C. 682. Traces of four witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D'.*

In line 7, the tablet has *ki*, not *ki*. In rev. line 2, read *ku* not *ki*. In line 5, before *arhu* I have omitted (*amél*) *aba*. In line 7, for *ka* read *ha*, as Dr Bezold gave in the Catalogue. In line 5, after the number 25, there is a slant *KAN*.

The seller, Bêl-utariš, or Bêl-utaqqin, as the name may be read, only occurs here. For Uqubutu, see § 502; for Šumma-ilâni, § 467; for Takilati, see § 409, for Nabû-dûr-ušur, see § 661; for the Eponym, Nabû-šar-ušur, see § 523.

In line 3, the name may be read Nabû-rihtu-ilâni, for *KAD* = *rihtu*, see no. 307, lines 9, and lower edge, line 4, in the name of the seller.

No. 223. A fragment only. Drab.

Abu-salam sold his maid to the lady Addati. No date or attestation preserved.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

In line 7, the signs after the bracket are actually on the edge of the tablet. In line 11, the signs *lu-u* at the beginning are doubtful. They should perhaps be *û*.

Abu-salam only occurs here. Addati is restored from no. 58, see § 465.

No. 224. A fragment only. Chocolate brown.

Someone sold his maid .....asu, for thirty shekels of silver. Indications of four witnesses.

*Ps, D, Ac, C, C', D'.*

The only name preserved is Sin-ašarîd, father of a witness, see § 467. The other traces do not lend themselves to restoration.

No. 225. A fragment. Black.

Ilu..... sells a maid. Dated, in Simânu, in the Eponymy of an Assyrian king. Five witnesses.

*Pk, D, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

Dudûa only occurs here, but compare Dudû, a witness and *pirhînu*, Ep. R, on no. 642. For Ardi-Ištar, see § 474. The next name is clearly Muḫuru; it only occurs here. The other names do not lend themselves well to restoration: but it is almost certain now that the last name is Nabû-šum-iddin, see § 467.

No. 226. Fragment only. Dark brown.

So far as it goes this is a duplicate of no. 212: a fact which I did not recognise when I autographed that text. The fact that in that

case the joins were made after the arrangement of the classes was complete, probably caused me to overlook the likeness. This text adds nothing to that, except that here Nabû-zêr-iddin is certain.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

No. 227. A fragment only. Light red.

Nabû-dûr-kušur, the *šakû*, sells his maid, Bêlit-dûr-uşur, to Silim-Aşur, for half a mina of silver. Date and witnesses lost.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

In line 3, I have omitted *PAP* at the end of the slave's name. In line 8, read *tú* for *tu*.

The seller, Nabû-dûr-kušur, only occurs here. The slave's name occurs also as a specimen name, App. 6, i. 6. Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 2065, read Ištar-dûr-uşur. For Silim-Aşur, see § 488.

No. 228. A fragment only. Drab, with greenish tinge.

*S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>2</sub>).*

My only reason for classing this here is to be found in line 1 of the reverse. There Kuruku is said to be *bêl kâtâte* of the woman. Hence I conclude that a woman was sold. But this is hardly enough to fix the character of the transaction. The name of Kuruku only occurs here. Iştanbu only occurs here. For Akru, see § 572; for Barruk, see § 467; for Riḥâte, see § 693. The name Nabû-kippik, if that is the way to read it, only occurs here.

No. 791. Mere fragment.

Clearly a sale of a female slave, whose name Elat....., appears in line 3.

No. 796. Mere fragment.

Clearly a sale of a female slave, whose name began with *Ra*..... Her owner's name appears in line 2. The price seems to have been forty or fifty minas of bronze (?). There are traces of four witnesses. For Iâda, see § 680.

## SALES OF SEVERAL SLAVES.

703. The formula of the document is the same as usual for slave sales. A few changes in the predicates occur to mark the plural. These plural forms are dealt with in § 595. Of great interest is the way in which a slave's family are tied to him. The sanctity of family ties seems to have been deeply respected in Assyria, and it shews how humanely the slave was treated, that his feelings on this point were so carefully guarded. On the general distribution of the family revealed by these documents, see § 642.

On the terms applied to denote the slaves as 'people,' 'souls,' 'persons,' etc., see §§ 633, 646. In the preamble they are usually called *nîšê*, 'people.' Women are called *ŠAL-MEŠ*, *amêlâte*, in nos. 233, 245, 256.

In the specification, they are generally called *ardâni* of the seller, but this term is omitted in nos. 230, 246, etc. They are often called *ZI-MEŠ*, *napšâte*, 'souls,' in this place, see nos. 231, 232, 234, etc., with or without *ardâni* following. Sometimes *nîšê*, 'people,' is repeated here, after *napšâte*, as in no. 253. This is of value, because it throws light on the frequently occurring *adi nîšêšu*, 'with his people.' If a set of slaves are properly called 'the people' of their owner, the phrase 'with his people' may certainly include the man's 'slaves,' if it is not confined to them. I believe it included the man's own family, but I have not found it used to denote 'soldiers.' The general term applied to them seems to be *šâbê*, see Delitzsch, *H. W. B.* p. 557 b; although this is used of slaves, apparently, in nos. 90, 608, 696 (?). Women here are called *ŠAL-LAT-MEŠ*, perhaps read *amâte*, 'maid-servants': but merely *napšâte ardâni* in no. 257.

The presence of *amêlu* before *ardu* has already been noted. It may be a mere accident, or due to a scribe's excessive politeness to those in a subordinate position, or a parallel to 'the gentleman's gentleman' of our servants' hall.

In the clause *D'*, they are generally styled *nîšê*; but *amêlê* in no. 246.

Women here are *amêlâte*, in nos. 233, 256, 257.

The prices are difficult to deal with. For the presence of

children may have been looked upon as an encumbrance in some cases, as they had to be fed and clothed for some time before they could be of service. In other cases, they may have added to the price, as, provided they were cared for, and escaped the risks of mortality, which must have been great in Assyria, they must ultimately become a source of profit. Hence it is rarely the case that the sale of several slaves, unless all were adults, gives any aid in fixing prices.

*Abstracts of nos. 229-307.*

704. No. 229. Complete. Brown.

Ardi-Ištar sells Usi', his two wives Me'sa and Badîa, Sigaba, Bêl-Harran-taklak, and his two daughters, in all seven souls, servants of Ardi-Ištar, to Si'-ma'di, for three minas of silver. Dated, in Tišrîtu, B.C. 680.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, S<sub>1</sub>.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92.

The text was published III. R. 46, no. 6; in transliteration and translation by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 182 ff; and by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 124 f. In *C. I. S.* p. 17, the text was given again, with transliteration and translation by Oppert.

A translation by Professor Sayce appeared in *Records of the Past*, I. p. 141.

Some extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 6558, 8979.

The Phœnician docket was discussed by Ledrain, *R. A. I.* p. 162 f. The old *Guide*, p. 175, no. 43, describes it. Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A. 5, calls this a *Kauf-vertrag, über den Verkauf von Slaven*.

As to the text these editions left little to be desired. In line 1, I withdraw my reading of *AN* before Ištar. In line 9, *C. I. S.* omits *a* in the name *Si-ma-a-di*, III. R. gave some scratches. In rev. line 9, III. R. and *C. I. S.* gave the sign *TIS* after *ŠI*, but I could not find it on the tablet.

In *Records of the Past*, p. 141, tablet IV, are several readings which would not now be retained. Ebed-Istar is now read Ardi-Ištar. Hoshea for Usi' is good. Bêl-Kharran-cunucci is curious, for *cunuccu* we now read *taklak*. But the general sense was well seized, though some details were wrong. Thus *tadâni* was taken as 'the giving up of' the slaves, whose names follow. There is no *ša* to answer to 'of.' Again in the phrase *ardâni šá*, the *šá* is taken to



be 'whom.' But it was wonderful for the time. Professor Oppert's renderings come under the general remarks on deeds of sale in Chapter VI. Some special suggestions may be noted. Si'-dûri is read *Kharan-dur*. I suppose because *SI* = *ḫarnu*, 'a horn.' Dr Peiser's work was a great advance. He had clearly collated his text. He made some interesting notes. Thus the *utsu* which follows *mârâte* he regarded as *ôt*, due to non-Assyrian influence. In the Harran Census *ut* often occurs, but not only after females. It seems to be an ideogram for *batûlu*, or *batûllu*, being read as *batusu*. Hence *UD* is the ideogram, and *su* the phonetic complement. Dr Peiser was clearly right about the non-Assyrian speech. It seems to be old Aramaic. Probably the slaves were Aramaeans.

In case the student wishes to compare my readings and renderings with the above cited works, or requires to see the whole arrangement of a case before him, I add a transliteration and translation of the body of the document.

*Transliteration.**Translation.*

1 <i>Kunuk Ardi-Ištar,</i>	Seal of Ardi-Ištar
2 <i>bêl nîšê tadâni.</i>	legitimate owner of the people transferred.
3 <i>Usî', II aššâtîšu,</i>	Usî', his two wives,
4 <i>Me'sâ, Badia,</i>	Me'sâ, Badia,
5 <i>Sigaba, Bêl-Harrân-taklak,</i>	Sigaba, Bêl-Harrân-taklak,
6 <i>II mârâte batûsu,</i>	two daughters, girls,
7 <i>napḫar VII napšâte ardâni,</i>	total, seven souls, slaves
8 <i>šâ Ardi-Ištar,</i>	of Ardi-Ištar ;
9 <i>upîšma Simâdi</i>	Simâdi has made a bargain, and
10 <i>ina libbi III manê kaspi</i>	for three minas of silver,
11 <i>ilki. Kaspu</i>	has taken. The price
12 <i>gamur tadîn.</i>	is complete, is given.
13 <i>Tuaru dênû</i>	A return, suit, (or)
14 <i>dabâbu laššu.</i>	plea, shall not be.

The Aramaic docket is very plain ; as far as it goes. The first line reads רנת הושע. This means 'the sale of Usî',' and renders it certain that we cannot read Samsî'. This line is written on the end of the tablet, and extends the full length of it. There is nothing lost.

The second does not begin with **ם** as *C. I. S.* has it. There are certainly two letters before **ג**. Besides, **סג** would not represent *Sg* in Assyrian. Then comes clearly **אנש וי ארדא** VII **אנש**, that is, 'seven people to Ardâ.' Clearly Ardâ is the usual form which an abbreviation of Ardi-Ištar would take; compare Tabnia for Sin-tabni-ušur.

For Ardi-Ištar, see § 474. The slave name, Usi', is represented in Aramaic by **חושע**, which is literally the same as Hoshea; of which the Greek rendering is **Ωσηε**. The name is said to be Hebrew, in *N. E.* p. 259 a. The name only occurs here; but compare Usia, name of a slave sold, on no. 316. The women's names Me'sâ and Badia only occur here. For the former compare the Hebrew **מעשיהו**, a masculine name. For Badia, compare **ברא**, see *N. E.* p. 233 b. For Sigaba compare **שגבי**, Aramaic name, from Canaanite root, in *N. E.* 372 a, b. Bêl-Harrân-taklak, evidently the second son of a Hebrew father, born under Assyrian influence, is very clearly of Assyrian form. The Bêl-Harrân speaks for a settlement in Syria. The name is borne by a seller on no. 246. The buyer's name, Si'-ma'di, occurs as that of a *râb alâni ša mâr šarri*, B.C. 680, on no. 231; and with the same title probably, B.C. 683, on no. 278. The name recalls several others in the Harran Census.

As to the witnesses, Bêl-nûri bears a name the same as that of the father of Bêlili-milki, on no. 237; a specimen name, App. 3, i. 13. Amiate' only occurs here, but is very like Amme'ta', see § 687. Sangî only occurs here. Šuisai only occurs here. Si'-dûri is also the name of the buyer and *aba* of the Queen Mother, on no. 428; and occurs on no. 746, 'with his people.' It is of the Harran Census type. For the Eponym, Danânu, see § 480.

705. No. 230. Complete. Drab to dark brown.

Nabû-erba sells Kandalânu, his three sons, his wife, and two daughters, his brother and his two sons, to Ulûlai, for six minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 8th of Aaru, B.C. 684. Fifteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

Extracts from the text were given, *S. A. V.* 4383, 4944, 5075, 7599, 7839, 8833.

The old *Guide* described it, p. 179, no. 65.

Dr Peiser published a transliteration and translation, *K. B.* iv. p. 120 f.

In line 6, I wrongly gave *ak* for *pa*, in the name of Nabû. In line 7, Dr Peiser read six minas, and probably he was right; though

I fancied I could see a third row of wedges below. In line 11, the wrong *ša* is given. On the reverse, I have transposed the names of the witnesses in lines 3 and 5. In line 8, at the end, read *A-S/K*; not *A-HU* as *S. A. V.* gave. In line 9, *S. A. V.* was probably right in giving *BAR* not *PA*. The name is best read Ninip-nâ'id. The name before may be Kusisî; *KU* is perhaps to be read in place of *ŠÚ*. At the end of line 12, read *te*, not *tú*. In line 13, for *BAR* we might read *AN*. In line 19, *S. A. V.* gives a slant form of *KAN*. I prefer the horizontal form here.

Dr Peiser corrected some of these errors of *S. A. V.*, but he has one or two of his own. He omits all line 9 of reverse. In line 10, he gives *ni* for *sa*, which *S. A. V.* has correctly. In line 18, he has *ba* for *la* in the name of the country Kullânia. In line 20, he omits to notice *KI* after (*mât*) *Aššur*. He points out in a note that the name of the witness, in rev. line 4, may be read either Šabânu, or Nûrânu. On line 12, he acutely remarks, that the use of *egirte*, instead of the usual *kunukku*, or *duppu*, or *dannitu*, is made by a scribe who bears a foreign name Tatî. But he did not add that on no. 60, rev. 7, we have *egirtu*, from the pen of a scribe, who is called Bani, which is not a foreign name. The Aramaic docket uses the form אנת on no. 24, though it generally gives דנת. But where did Dr Peiser find the tablet called *kunuku* (?)

For Nabû-erba, see § 467; Ulûlai, see § 505; Nûrânu, see § 513; Mannu-kî-Ištar-li', see § 492; Kannûnai, see § 407; Nabû-nâ'id in § 491; Nêrgal-ašarîd, § 488; Nabû-ašarîd, § 655; Manzarnê, § 548; Sin-aḥê-erba, § 504.

The slave's name, Kandalânu, is that of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 51; of a seller, on no. 500, in the form of Kadalânu. For the king of Babylon of this name, for 22 years after Šamaš-šum-ukîn, see *K. B.* iv. p. 170; Schrader in *Z. K.* i. p. 222.. The name of the first witness, Nabû-li'âni, is also borne by a witness and *šalšu*, B.C. 684, on nos. 19 and 20; by a witness, B.C. 660, on no. 12. The second witness, in rev. 3, was called Šulmu-bêl-lâmur, which was also the name of an (*amêl*) *GAR*, devised, Ep. S, on no. 619; of the *bêl paḥâti* of the Crown Prince, on K 108; of the Eponym of B.C. 841, III. R. 1, II. 24; and is named on no. 708, and 80-7-19, 50. Šarru-ibni was also the name of a seller and *rakbu*, in Dannai, B.C. 663, on no. 470; of a witness on nos. 7 and 296; of an officer in charge of a troop, on no. 947; and in D. T. 317. The two wedges of *MAN* in this name being somewhat widely separated, Dr Peiser took the first

as an ideogram for Rammân, the second for *bêl*, and accordingly read Rammân-bêl-êpuš. I do not think there is any real reason for that. Aplu-šêzibâni only occurs here. Who was the god called Aplu? Šusisî would be unique, but Kusišî is a witness also in B.C. 686, on no. 612. Nabû-nâ'id is better read Ninip-nâ'id. This name was that of a witness and *ša šêpâ*, B.C. 688, on no. 400; of a witness and *râb daiali*, of Kalah, B.C. 686, on no. 612. Risai was a buyer and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 700, on no. 294; and a neighbour, in ẖurûbi, Ep. A, on no. 623. Tâtû was the name of a witness, B.C. 669, on no. 310; and *Ta-at-ti-i* occurs as the name of a serf, *adi nišêšu*, on no. 747. Compare Tâtâi, of Gingibir, I. R. 30, III. 50; also Titû, a seller, on no. 613; and in the Ḥarran Census. We may compare the *lall* names of Asia Minor. The name Nêrgal-ilu, if intended, only occurs here. Ḥumamate only occurs here. Ašur-abu-ušur also occurs as a witness on no. 332.

Note that of the eighteen persons named here, at least five occur on the fragment no. 612.

706. No. 231. Complete. Dark red.

Ardi-Ištar sells Ḥamnûnu, his wife and mother; Addâ and Ilu-taribi, his brothers; his two sisters; in all seven souls, slaves of Ardi-Ištar, to Si'-ma'di, the *râb alâni* of the Crown Prince, for two minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 16th of Addaru, B.C. 680. Five witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

In line 4, the scribe seems to have written *BAR* instead of the vertical before the second name. He omitted *bi* at the end of the name. It is, however, possible that he intended to write Ilu-târi. Si'-ma'di, in line 7, is not quite certain. The *ma* is effaced. But compare no. 229. In line 9, the scribe omitted *alu* before Carchemish. In line 13, I have given the wrong *ša*. In rev. 6, for *lak* better read *la*. In the date, the day may be 15th.

For Ardi-Ištar, see § 474; Si'-ma'di, § 704; Nabû-nâ'id, § 491; Nabû-aḥê-êreš, § 526.

The slave's name Ḥamnûnu only occurs here, but Ḥamnûnu is the name of a witness and *mukîl apâte*, on no. 268; and occurs in K 4786. Addâ was the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 710, on no. 234; compare Ad(?)daia, witness, B.C. 645, on no. 68; and Addu, App. 1, XI. 38. Ilu-târi only occurs here. Adadi-takâ only occurs here; for *takâ*, see the Ḥarran Census. Šulmu-Bêl was the

name of a borrower, B.C. 712, on no. 5; of a seller, B.C. 693, on no. 243; of a *ša šēpā*, no. 857; a slave sold, *irrišu*, on no. 471; of a witness and Ninivite, on no. 500; occurs as a specimen name, App. 1, VIII. 17; and in K 676, 1079, 80-7-19, 105. Whether to read Usanâni or Adadi-sanâni, I do not know. For the former compare Usunâ, name of a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 359. Si'hutni only occurs here, but see the Harran Census for similar names.

707. No. 232. Complete. Nearly black.

Šarrâni sells Imšai, the servant of ..., Šâr-Ašur, and the woman Urkit-ilai, in all a parcel of three souls, to the lady Aḥu-dâli, *šakintu* of Kābal-ali, for four minas of silver. Dated, the 18th of Addaru, B.C. 685. Nine witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), B.*

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 7887, where in rev. line 10, *šab* is given for *sib*, which I read *rē'û*. In line 5, the three slaves are said to be *bît naḫḫar III. naḫšâti*. There is no need to take *bît* here as 'a house'; for in line 2, the seller is called *bêl nîšê* only; and in line 10, we have the slaves again described as *nîšê šuate*. In this one case, we might think of *bîtu* as meaning 'a household.' In reverse, line 1, read *šá* for *ša*.

Professor Oppert gave a translation of this deed in *Le droit de lignager*, p. 571. He renders *šakintu* by *une femme marchande*; *Kābal ali* he takes to mean *la ville du centre de la ville*, rather than a proper place name. The names of the slaves he gives as Imsaibaii, Im-ankhi, and Likkit-Mali; on the *šibtu bennu* clause he remarks, *la clause finale et spéciale aux femmes se trouve au sujet d'un enfant aussi*.

Šarrâni, spelt thus, is a specimen name App. 1, x. 39. The other form, *LUGAL-a-ni* occurs in K 13038; 82-5-22, 131; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 8077. The slave name, Imšai, could perhaps be read Adadi-ša-nâ'id; it occurs, as here, as the name of the lender, on nos. 24, 25; of a witness, on no. 342; of a buyer, on no. 476. Whether we are to read *ardušu* after his name, or whether the name of some other master followed, is not clear. In the latter case, Šarrâni may have been an agent. I think that *IM-AN-HI* is complete. For this name, Šâr-Ašur, see § 553. The female name, Urkit-ilai, only occurs here. Compounds of Urkittu are rather favorite names with Assyrian ladies, thus Urkittu-išmeâni, a buyer, B.C. 667, on no. 315; Urkittu-abu-ušur, on

no. 894; Urkittu-dûri, a slave sold, on no. 779; Urkittu-le'at, wife of Aa-ênû, devised, Ep. S, on no. 619; Urkittu-rîmat, a slave, devised, Ep. S, on no. 619; are all female names. The buyer Aḥu-dâli, here *šakintu* of *Kabal ali*, bears the same name as Aḥu-dalli, a (f) *šâb êkalli*, a buyer, B.C. 686, on no. 317; and of a *šakintu* of Nineveh, B.C. 683, on no. 447, probably. Hence I conclude that *Kabal ali* is a part of Nineveh.

Among the witnesses, the first Aḥu-kînu, as I venture to read it, only occurs here in this form, but *PAP-ki-nu* occurs on no. 813. For Nabûa, see § 486. The next name, Šarru-ittîa, could be read Mankîa; it only occurs here. Šama' is also the name of the writer to the king, in K 564, 5627. It also occurs in later Babylonian texts, see *S. A. V.* 7952, in the form *Ša-am-ma'*. Šarru-rê'ûa only occurs here. The name, Istar-bâbi-erba, also occurs as that of a witness, on no. 46; and of a lender, on no. 13. Here, as in many other cases, Istar seems to be written like *XIV*, not *XV*. Whether *AZAG-KÂ* is an ideogram of Bâu, or whether Istar-bâbi is really meant, is a puzzle to me. At present I can find nothing to decide it; see § 544. Ninib-kibsi-ušur was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 840, III. R. I, II. 25. Ezipata is the name also of a witness, on no. 523. For Ikîša-aplu, see § 501; for the Eponym, Bêl-êmurâni, see § 540.

708. No. 233. Part of the right-hand upper corner is gone. Dark brown.

Two sellers, whose names are defective, sons of Haza-(ilu), sell two women, Hambûsu, their handmaid, and her daughter, to Lûḫu, the *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince; for one mina eight shekels of silver. Dated, in Aaru, B.C. 659. Six witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 95. G. Smith quoted from it, *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112. Lenormant refers to it, *Essai*, p. 84, 137. Extracts were given, *S. A. V.* 4905, 7228, 7836, 8024, 8979. The old *Guide* described it, p. 176 f., no. 51. Bezold, *Lit.* calls it a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Slaven*.

The complete text was published, III. R. 46, no. 5; repeated *C. I. S.* p. 20 f.

A transliteration, with translation, was given by Professor Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 195 ff.; and again in *C. I. S. l.c.* Dr Peiser transliterated and translated it, *K. B.* IV. p. 138 f.

In line 6, III. R. and *C. I. S.* omit *sa*, after *mârat*. Peiser gives it. In line 12, III. R. and *C. I. S.* give something like *ba* or *NITA* after *pat*; *S. A. V.* gave *ab*, Peiser gave the sign for the breath, as at the end of the *lakki*. In my opinion the sign was *at*, a phonetic complement to *PAT*. In line 15, of reverse, *S. A. V.* read *Ṣi*, for *Ia*.

The renderings of *Doc. Jur.* and *C. I. S.* do not call for special notice, as they chiefly come under Chapter VI. Others were due to the defective state of the text in III. R. Dr Peiser corrected all that I should consider errors, but I am at a loss to see what made him read the end of line 6 as *ina eli bîti*. The rendering *für das Haus*.....is not impossible, but so far as I know without parallel. I take the remains to be for the sign *UBUR*, *S<sup>b</sup> 247*, read *tulû*, 'breast.' Ḥambûsu had a child, 'at her breast.'

The sellers' names are not to be restored. The father's name might be restored as Ḥazânu, which occurs in K 697. But Ḥaza-ilu is more probable, for it is the name of a witness, on no. 572; of a *kasîku* of Gambûlu, *Sarg. Ann.* 254; of a king of Damascus, IV. R. 5, VI. 2; I. R. 46, III. 19; V. R. 8, I, 46; III. R. 34, VII. 80; and occurs in K 899.

The slave's name Ḥambûsu, only occurs here. For Lûku, see § 409; Iamannû, § 482; for Âsû, § 678. The next name was read Malik-yum by Oppert, Malik-Šamaš by Peiser; but I fail to see why Maliktu will not do. It only occurs here, but compare Malkûtu, the name of a witness, on no. 265. Why should not Maliktu be the Nabataean מליכת, Greek *μαλιχاثος*? Ammaškiri only occurs here. Ašur-šum-ušur only occurs here. For the Eponym, Silim-Ašur, see § 488. In the head-line, correct Ep. Y to B.C. 659.

The Aramaic docket is not perfect, and the copy in *C. I. S.* is not well done. Dr Peiser has done much better. The first line reads דנת אמתא חבשת וי לקח. The ד of the first word is not clear, but analogy renders it certain. I did not see the ו, which Dr Peiser gives next. It is unusual and not needed. The name ends, as Dr Peiser says, in either ת or א, but I do not think it easy to say which it was. We may compare the Phoenician masculine name חבש. Then וי is not absolutely certain, but so likely that we can hardly be wrong in keeping it. The next name לקח is, of course, Lûku. The line reads therefore, 'the sale of Ḥabbaseth to Lûku.' Why the Aramaic used *t* at the end of the name, except to make a feminine, I do not know. It is hardly likely that שת was intended to replace

*su*. There was nothing after Lûku. What Berger's copy, in *C. I. S.*, gives, is only a scratch.

The second line, as I read it, was apparently *𐎠𐎵 𐎶 𐎠𐎵*. The *𐎠*, introducing the price, seems quite certain. Then *𐎠𐎵* seems doubtful. Would the construct be used here? For the figure 5, the sign used *seems* to have been that in *C. I. S.* 17, not unlike *𐎵*. But after these figures was another mark, which I do not think was a scratch. It does not look like *𐎶* and we should not expect *𐎶𐎵* after the figures. In fact my whole reading is doubtful. Dr Peiser, however, supports the 8, and I think the *𐎠* is certain. Berger's copy might suggest my *𐎠*.

I regard the third line as even less certain. But it hardly agrees with either *C. I. S.* or Dr Peiser's copy. I do think that at the end *𐎠𐎵* are certain. Then I get *𐎠*, and I thought Haza'il would be certain. But Dr Peiser's copy shakes my confidence. So I can give no reading worth reproducing, as I am not an expert in reading Aramaic dockets. If Dr Peiser's *𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵*, Iaminta, stands finally, it must be a variant to Iamannû. We may doubt that. The name he gives for the other witness, *𐎠𐎵* for Âsû, would be possible, but is not at all like what I copied. The whole docket has been much effaced, and I think it would puzzle even an expert to read it.

709. No. 234. Almost complete. Red.

Dagan-milki sells Imannû, (f) U...ni, and Milkiûri, in all three souls, to Šumma-ilâni, the *mukîl apâte* of Kišir-šarri, for three minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 20th of Âbu, B.C. 710. Eight witnesses.

*Ph, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 86.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4841, 5060, 5071, 8667, 8979.

The old *Guide*, p. 172, no. 24, describes it.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A 8, calls it a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Sklaven*.

The text was published, *III. R.* 49, no. 1.

A translation was given by Professor Oppert, *Rec. Past*, VII. p. 114; again a transliteration and translation, *Doc. Jur.* p. 164 ff. Dr Peiser gave both transliteration and translation, *K. B.* IV. p. 112 f.

The text of *III. R.* in line 6, gave *BAR* for *PA*, which misled Dr Oppert. On the tablet the lower horizontal is present, though very faint. In line 7 we meet with a real difficulty. On the tablet the name reads *KA-SAR-IN*. The *IN* is so nearly certain that we



have to take it as possible. A proper name Kişirin, or Kasarin, would be without parallel. On the other hand, several places shew that the scribe either did not finish his signs well, or was only able to impress some strokes very lightly. Hence I gave the name as *KA-SAR-LUGAL*, i.e. Kişir-şarri, which is a proper name, borne by a witness on no. 600. Now our documents, see § 124, shew that the *mukil apâte* was an official of a person, usually of the King, or of the Crown Prince. No one but high officials had such an officer. Hence we may consider Kişir-şarri a high official. But if so, why is not his office given? We might perhaps consider *KA-SAR* as all the name, he would then be king in B.C. 710. This is impossible. Now the *kişir šarri* is often named, compare the *kişir ešši* of Sennacherib. Now Professor Oppert read the phrase *ana kasar šarri*, and as *KA-SAR* is an ideogram for *kişru*, we might read *ana kişir šarri*, and regard it as part of the title. III. R. gave *LUGAL*, Dr Peiser read *IV*. The tablet seems to support Dr Peiser, but leaves a very obscure term in the text.

In line 16, *S. A. V.* rightly gives *u*, after the first *lu*, which I have omitted; but omits *u* after the first *lu*, in line 17, which I give rightly. In line 18, *S. A. V.* gives the first two signs of the name as *Išdu*. In line 2, of reverse, at end read *SE-an* for *ŠA-an*. The scribe ruled a line down the tablet to guide him in writing the names of the witnesses. In line 13, the horizontal before *arhu* is doubtful, but seems possibly intended. In the date, the *KAN* should be slightly slanted down. On the obverse, there seem to be traces of two slant wedges, in line 3, in the woman's name, after *Ú*, and the sign at the end may have been *tum*, rather than *ni*. There was room there for a name like *U-pi-i-tum*. I know of no parallel for the name.

For Dagan-milki, see § 692; for Milkiûri, see § 513; for Šumma-ilâni, see § 467; for Addâ, see § 706; for Bêl-êmurâni, see § 540; for Tâb-šâr-Ištar, see § 663; for Tabnî, § 572; for the Eponym, Mannu-kî-Ištar-li', see § 492.

Imannû is the name of a witness on no. 598; compare Imannâ, on the Sargon stone, *P. A. S.* p. 12. The form Immanu occurs as the name of a slave sold, on no. 275; the form Immani as that of a witness, on no. 85. For a very similar name Iamânû, see § 482, and the Harran Census. Ahi-ramu is found, in the form *A-ḫi-ra-mu*, as the name of a son of Iaḫiri, of *mât Šalli*, named by Ašurnâširpal, I. R. 20, 22; and as the name of a witness and *mukil apâte*, B.C. 667,

on no. 27. In the form *PAP-ra-mu* it is the name of a *ràb kišir*, on no. 675; of a witness, on no. 290. The form *PAP-ra-me-e* is the name of the writer of K 1899. The name Paḫaḫa with the same title, *ràb alāni*, also a witness, B.C. 688, occurs on no. 238; the same name occurs in K 657, and is used to denote Pekah, king of Israel, by Tiglath Pileser III, in III. R. 10, no. 2, 17. Nadbi-Iau only occurs here: compare the Hebrew Nadab. Bindikiri only occurs here.

710. No. 235. May have lost something of the beginning of obverse; at the end of reverse, perhaps two lines and the lower edge are gone. Brown.

Nabû-šum-lîšir sells Mardî, the gardener, his wife and daughter, in all three souls, slaves of Nabû-šum-lîšir, to Kakkullānu, the *ràb kišir*, for one mina of silver. The date is lost. Ten witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D, S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

G. Smith quoted from it, *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112; compare Revillout, *Rev. d'Égyptologie*, 1885, p. 184, no. 1.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 5133, 7442, 7443, 8792, 8979.

The whole of line 1 is restored, there is hardly a trace legible. In line 2, *bêl* is not on the tablet now. In line 9, of obverse, before *apil šarri*, I have given the wrong *šá*; *S. A. V.* gives it correctly. In rev., line 1, the last sign is better read *ni*. In line 4, the name of the city is spelt *Ni-na-a*.

For Nabû-šum-lîšir, see § 465; for Mardî, see § 486; for Kakkullānu, see § 510; for Kišir-Ašur, see § 405; for Mardû, § 486; for Liḫipu, see § 657; for Apil-šarri-ilai, see § 500; for Balâšî, see § 521; for Hubasate, see § 472; for Akru, see § 572.

Ilu-nâ'id only occurs here. The name, in rev. line 16, is too uncertain to restore. The last name, on the left-hand edge, is too damaged to be restored.

No. 236. Almost complete. Red.

Kiḫimanu sells his two slaves, .....šarru-ušur, and his mother, to Šummu-ilāni, for a mina of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 2nd of Du'ûzu, Ep..... Six witnesses.

*Pš, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

Extracts are given *S. A. V.* 5169, 6710, 7885.

Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 108, considers that line 10 of reverse contains the name of an Eponym, Nabû-bullit. It seems to me more likely

that the Eponym's name was written at the end of line 9, and that Nabû-bullit was the name of the *aba*, and scribe of the tablet; *šâbil* (*duppi*).

In line 1, the initial *NIN* is an error of mine, for *šu*. In line 14, Professor Zimmern, *G. G. A.* p. 248, proposes to restore *NIN-LIL*, rather than *NIN-GAL*. Whether, in line 5 of rev., the scribe meant to write Šamaš-mušêzib, or Šamaš-šêzib, is hard to say. He wrote *mu* and then *zib*.

The seller's name Kiķimanu only occurs here. Perhaps it was meant to be *Ki-kin-na-ni*. For the buyer, Šumma-ilâni, see § 467; for Zâzi, see § 476; for Sin-nâ'id, see § 475.

Šamaš-šêzib was the name of a witness, B.C. 700, on no. 176; of a witness, B.C. 688, on no. 240; of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 175. On the other hand Šamaš-mušêzib does not occur. Nabû-rêš-iši was the name of a witness, and *atû*, Ep. T, on no. 618; occurs on K 636, as the name of the father of Ardu-mušêši; as a specimen name, App. 1, III. 48. In the form *AN-AK-SAG-i-ši*, it occurs in K 1187; in the form *AN-PA-SAG-GA-TU*, as a specimen, App. 1, III. 47. Marduk-šum-iddin, spelt as here, may be the name of a buyer, son of Arbailai, on no. 458. In the form *AN-AMAR-UD-MU-ÁŠ*, it is the name of a witness, B.C. 698, on nos. 473 and 474; occurs on no. 892; and in K 89; 83-1-18, 73. In the form *AN-AMAR-UD-MU-MU* it occurs as the name of a king of Babylon (?) with Šamši-Adad, and Marduk-rîmâni, *M. V. A. G.* 1898, p. 14 f. It occurs also as the name of a *bêl paḥâti*, in K 13090; as the husband of Bišâ, B.C. 565, on 81-7-27, 201; compare IV. R. 38, III. 21. A form *AN-AMAR-UD-MU-SE-na* occurs in K 912; a form *AN-RID-MU-SE-na*, in Sm. 1030; and a form *AN-RID-MU-MU* as the name of a king of Babylon, *circa* B.C. 850, in II. R. 65, no. 1; III. 18, 22. It is not clear that the last name ended with *TI-LA*. It might be Nabû-balâtsu, compare *S. A. V.* 5717; or even Nabû-balâtsu-iḳbi, see § 506. If it did end so, we could read it Nabû-ballit, as in K 1010, or the specimen name App. 1, III. 16. But it is little use speculating with such uncertainty.

711. No. 237. Almost complete. Drab to brown.

Si'natan sells the slaves, Dinanu, his wife Gabîa, in all two souls, slaves of his, to Rîmâni-Adadi, the *mukîl apâte*, for one mina of silver. Dated, the 10th of Šabâtu, B.C. 665. Fourteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The first name Si-natan, I take to be one of the compounds of Si', it only occurs here. For Dinânu, see § 501; for Gabîa, compare the masculine Gabbî, etc., in § 538; for Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467; for Kişir-Aşur, see § 405; for Ninûai, see § 508; for Nabû-şêzibâni, see § 482; for the Eponym, Mannu-kî-şarri, see § 534.

In line 5, the scribe wrote *e* for *ma*; hardly intentionally. In line 7, there is no *ad*, in *ta-ad-din*. In line 13, after Rîmâni-Adadi, we have the beginning of *û*. On the reverse, in line 8, the name really is Kişir-Aşur, followed by the title *amêl hazânu*. The name in line 9, begins with a more complex sign than *EN*; *AN-EN* with the ligature is most likely. In line 12, after *DI* for *A-a* read *ni-ŠI-LAL*; that is on the whole, Ilu-di-ni-êmur. At the end *SE* is doubtful. In the next line *ka* is very doubtful. In line 14, for *lu* read *li* certain.

The name Bêl-aplu-iddina was borne by a seller and *rabû* of Tarbişi, B.C. 671, on nos. 258, 530, 609; and was a witness on no. 291. In these places it is written *EN-A-ĀŠ*. We have the form *AN-EN-A-SE-na* on no. 258; the form *EN-A-SE-na* lower in line 12. The same form as in line 5 is the name of a *bârû* of Nabû-aplu-iddina's, named by Aşurnâşirpal, I. R. 23, 20. Sin-abu-uşur is the name of a witness and *abâ*, on no. 353. Adadi-şar-uşur is also the name of a seller, son of Aşur-şallim, B.C. 670, on no. 266. In the form *AN-IM-MAN-PAP*, it is a specimen name, App. 3, II. 4. It also occurs in the form *AN-U-MAN-PAP*, as the name of a neighbour, on no. 610. Bêl-ili-milki only occurs here. Bêl-taklak is also the name of a witness of Nuḥuttai, B.C. 710, on no. 416; and of a slave on no. 913. Riḥime-şarru only occurs here. Ilu-dîni-êmur only occurs here. He was probably son of the witness in line 5. Adadi-şallim is the name of a witness, B.C. 645, on no. 333; of a witness on no. 578; occurs on no. 674. He was son of Aḳâ, if that is the correct reading. The name Aḳa does not occur elsewhere. Muttallu was the name of a son of Tarḫulara, prince of Gurgum, named in Sargon's Annals, see Winckler's *Sargon*, *passim*. Also it was the name of a prince of Kummuh, ally of Argistis of Urartu, also in Sargon's Annals: see Winckler's *Sargon*. It is possible these were the same person. Sachau, *Z. A.* VII. p. 99 compares the Cilician name Μοταλῆς.

Aḫu-ilai, or perhaps better Aḫi-ilai, is the name of a witness and *ša šêpâ*, B.C. 679, on no. 364; of a seller, B.C. 698, on no. 371; of a *bêl paḫâti* of Nineveh, on no. 853; of an *irrišu*, with his people, on

no. 742; and in the form *SIS-AN-a-a*, of a witness, on no. 384. The name *Dui* seems to be the genitive of *Dû*. For on no. 377, we have *Du-a*, brother of Mannu-kî-šâbê, B.C. 664; on no. 326, *Du-u-a*, a witness, of Aššur, in Ep. 1. The form *Du-i*, as here, is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 668, on no. 472; of a seller, on no. 419; of a son of Nabû-dûr-ušur, Ep. Q, on no. 446; is named, B.C. 711, on no. 676; and occurs in K 1946, 1948; Rm. II. 130.

712. No. 238, now that 82-3-23, 134 has been joined to 83-1-18, 336, is complete, except the beginnings of the first six lines, and a few broken places. Dark brown.

Bêl-Harran-ittîa sells sixteen of his slaves in three family groups, .....salla, four souls; .....mu, six souls; .....five(?) souls; to Šumma-ilâni, the *mukîl apâte*, for ... minas, Carchemish standard. Dated, Nisânu, B.C. 688. Twelve witnesses.

*P<sub>5</sub>, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The numbers do not add up correctly. It is difficult to say which is wrong. The 'four' in line 3 is the most likely. It may really be six. In line 5, the five may be only four. In line 6, after *Bêl*, nothing is visible but the traces of the lower parts of the signs. In line 7, I have written *bur* for *piš*. I am not sure which the scribe really wrote, but *piš* is correct, of course. In line 9, read *šâ* for *ša*. In line 11, at the end, *ad-din* is a restoration. In line 12, at end, only traces of *ki* are visible, *u* must be regarded as restoration. In line 13, no trace of *laššu* is now left. In line 1, of reverse, *UD* is omitted after *AZAG*. In line 2, the traces before *ana bêlêšu* favour *ana ešrâte*; *kaspu* seems to have been at the end of line 1. In line 3, nothing is now visible of *ina la*. In line 8, the title is clearly *aba*, not *âsû*. In line 9, however, the scribe wrote *A-ZU*. See *G. G. A.* 1898, p. 248. In line 15, the *amêlu* and *MU* are not on the tablet. In line 16, only part of *bi* is now visible.

The seller's name, Bêl-Harran-ittîa, also occurs as that of a witness, *mâr šipri* of the *bêlit bitî* in Ep. H, on no. 50; it is also a specimen name, App. 3, XII. 29. The names of the slaves are not to be restored. For Šumma-ilâni, see § 467; for Ahi-nûri, § 518; for Atinni, see § 661; for Abda', see § 512; for Paḥaḳa, see § 709; for Zâzî, see § 476; on the Eponym, Iddin-aḥê, see § 473; for Tâb-šâr-Nabû, see § 663.

Sama' occurs also as the first witness on nos. 239, 240, with the same title as here: *murabânu* of the Crown Prince. Hence, in

no. 240, we may conclude that Nêrgal-šum..... was the name of the Crown Prince, B.C. 688. Sama' is also a witness and *murabânu*, B.C. 694, on no. 427. With this name we may compare Same', the *nasîku* of Hindâna, in Sargon's *Annals*, 269: also the name of a witness, B.C. 683, on no. 51; and B.C. 680, on no. 359. It is doubtful whether we have here the same name as Sa'mu, a witness on no. 259. We may compare Samaku, the father of Šamaš-ukîn-aḫi, slain by Atar-kâmu, on no. 321; and Samaka, a witness, on no. 598. Compare also Šama', in § 707.

Nabû-ḫusâni is the name of a witness, B.C. 693, on no. 491; named in K 1585. Also it is the name of a witness and *mukîl apâte*, B.C. 688, on no. 239; and a specimen name, App. 1, I. 34. Ḥalûa only occurs here, but may be restored on no. 239, line 18. As Ḥal is an ideogram for *barû*, perhaps we should read this name Bârûa: but a number of compounds of a verb *ḥâlu* occur. Thus Ḥâli-ilu is the name of a *mandidu* on K 931. Ḥalê-abu occurs on no. 792. Ḥâlimusu occurs on no. 877. Hallu is the name of an ancient Babylonian monarch. Halla-alla' is the name of the father of Lakê, on K 680. Hallabâ, the name of a witness and *išparu*, on no. 386, may be different in root. But Hallia, on no. 288, compare Halli..., a witness and *tamkaru*, on no. 312; Halli-arraka, a witness and *aba*, on no. 469, surely belong to the same group. Ḥulî, the name of a slave, B.C. 668, on no. 184; also an *irrišu* in K 582; and Ḥullî, of Bît Burutaš, father of Ambaris; named by Tiglath Pileser III. as succeeding Uassurme on the throne of Tabal, II. R. 67, 65; and later by Sargon, *Ann.* 171, see Winckler's *Sargon, passim*; compare K 13854; are also suggestive of the same root. The group Ḥilâni-Ašur, in K 571; Ḥilîa, name of a witness, on no. 265; and Ḥili-Ištar, on no. 902; are further examples. We may compare the Neopunic חיל, in *N. E.* p. 273 b: for a meaning see חילא, *N. E.* p. 273 a.

The next name seems to be Šuṣâ, which only occurs here and in the parallel passage of no. 239 probably. Šaibûa only occurs here. The *ib* is very clear. Bêl-nâšir, spelt as here, is the name of a witness, on no. 481; occurs in no. 909; is the name of a *bêl paḫâti*, on no. 1104; occurs in K 12, 651; and as a specimen name App. 3, I. 18. The form *AN-EN-PAP-ir* is the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 576; and occurs in K 566. The form *AN-EN-SIS-ir* is borne by a writer of Astrological reports, K 808, 1599; 81-2-4, 81, 485; 82-5-22, 69, 1778; 83-1-18, 195. The form

*U-PAP-ir* is the name of a witness, B.C. 673, on no. 118; *AN-EN-na-šir* occurs in K 1393, an uncle of *Ṭāb-šilli-Marduk*; as writer of the astrological reports K 12017; 83-1-18, 896. A reference to no. 239, rev. 6, makes it likely that we should restore the title in rev. 14, as *KU-KA-SAR*, or *RAB-KU-KA-SAR*.

Bêl-li' is the name of a witness and *irrišu*, B.C. 700, on no. 294; of a witness, B.C. 660, on no. 12; of a witness, on no. 355; and occurs in K 186. The form *AN-EN-ZU* occurs as the name of an *amêlu zazakku*, in K 1519. The form *AN-EN-DA* is the name of a writer of astrological reports, a *mašmašu*, and *mâr Egibi*, on K 188, 734, 761, 960, 1399, also in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1162. Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 1990 b, reads this Bêl-itti. The form *EN-DA* is found in K 1134; *AN-EN-DI-K*, on K 10489; 83-1-18, 775.

713. No. 239. The upper part is lost. Drab.

There is a remarkable similarity between this and the last. Here the price is given as eighteen minas, Carchemish standard, which might well be the price of the sixteen slaves in no. 238. The list of witnesses, so far as preserved, is the same, the date seems similar, Nisânu in both cases, note the omission of the day in both cases.

There are a few faults in my copy. In line 6, the *ru* at end is not on the tablet. In line 9, the last *mârêšu* is not preserved, so also in line 11. In line 13, the scribe seems to have meant 'twenty minas of silver'; though one wedge is doubtful. In line 14, in place of *e* read *ni*. In line 15, after *KA-KA*, read *ma*. On this tablet the sixth witness is an *aba*, on no. 238, he is an *âsû*. On the reverse, the scribe ruled a line down the beginning of lines 8—11.

As the names of the principals are not recorded here, it may well be that this is a duplicate of no. 238, but it may not be so.

No. 240. Only the left half, or so, of the tablet is preserved. Black.

Here also there is a close likeness to no. 238, or no. 239. The same witnesses occur, to some extent. The date is Nisânu, apparently in the same year, but the day of the month was given. If it were possible to adjust the names of the slaves, so as to suit the remains in no. 238, we might regard them as duplicates. But the name *Ilu-natan* seems to be complete, at any rate it is not likely to have ended in *ni-la*. The name *Ilu-natanu* occurs in the Harran Census. The name *Adûni-tûri* is discussed in § 554. The name of neither seller nor buyer is preserved, but the former began with Bêl and the next character might well be Harran. The buyer was a

*mukil apâte*. On this text I have given *SU* in the title by error. The price here seems to be different from that in the former two texts. So far as preserved the text has the same formula as the others. For Zâzî, see § 476; for Šamaš-šêzib, see § 710; for Bêl-aḥêšu, see § 687. The name Mannu-kî...could be restored in many ways. In line 13, of reverse, the first sign may be *dan* or *e*. The second is probably *ha*. The last witness is the same as on no. 238. It is quite conceivable that all three tablets had the same names, but in different orders. It is not clear therefore how they are related: perhaps they refer to different sales executed the same month.

714. No. 241. Now that 82-5-22, 30 and Bu. 89-4-26, 123, have been joined to K 1513, the tablet is all but complete. Drab.

Nâ'id-ilu, the *šanû*, sells seventeen souls in all, his slaves, including Šilli-Bêl, and Ašur-bêl-ušur, with their families, to Bulṭaia, for eight and a half minas of silver, royal standard. Dated, the 15th of some month, year not given. Perhaps thirteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

Here the figures are puzzling. Line 3 probably began with a slave's name which must have been short, followed by *aššatušu II mârêšu mârṭušu*, which would give five. Then came clearly *mâr-mârêšu mârṭi II amâte*; if there were two grandsons and two maids, that would make the nine in line 5 correct. The grandsons were therefore sons of the daughter named in line 4. Then Šilli-Bêl, his wife and son, account for three more, Ašur-bêl-ušur for another three, but the scribe gives seventeen. If we take more than nine in the first two lines, we shall contradict line 5. Yet two are lacking. All I can suggest is that in line 4 there were four grandsons, and that the two maidservants were not counted in the nine, but were counted in the seventeen.

In line 4, of reverse, a careful reconsideration of the traces has convinced me that we ought to read *Hal-pa-a-a*; and in line 6, *ITU...a-a*. In the title *AP-MEŠ* is quite certain. In line 7, instead of *nasîku*, the scribe may have written *EN-GUR-KU*. At the end of line 10, for *šá* read *amêlu*. The city name appears to be *Ku-da-ru*. The trace of the Eponym's name is probably the end of *bêl*.

For Nâ'id-ilu, see § 504; for Šillu-Bêl see § 493; for Ašur-bêl-ušur, see § 526; for Arbailai, see § 479.

Bulṭaia only occurs here, but Bulṭâ is very common. It was the



name of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 43; of a slave sold, B.C. 686, on no. 453; of a seller and *âšû*, B.C. 680, on no. 359; of the grantee, *râb SE-KI-SI*, B.C. 655, on no. 647; of a neighbour, Ep. A', on no. 414; of an *irrišu*, with his people, in Nûni, on no. 742. Compare the later Babylonian texts, in *P. A. S.*, *passim*. Also we may note Bultîa, in K 1366.

Among the witnesses the first trace gives only *Ga*. The next name may well have begun with Taribi.... On the whole I think we might read line 3, as Nabû-mukin-mâti. An exact parallel is wanting. Nabû-mukin-zêr would do also, and that is a specimen name, App. 1, II. 49. The name Haldi-ilai is that of a witness and *ikkaru*, B.C. 680, on no. 360. The better reading Hâlpai only occurs here, but compare הלפא, and הלפו, in *N. E.* p. 274 a. The title is still uncertain; perhaps only a ditto sign. Nabû-aḥu-iddin is discussed in § 534, he seems to be followed by a ditto sign. Whether the next witness was called Tebêtai, or Ulûlai, or some other month name is not easy to decide. Haldi-aḥu-uṣur only occurs here.

The restoration of line 9 is suggested by the rare initial *Ḳu* and the space. We have *Ḳû* as the name of a witness, son of Šamaš-iḳbi, B.C. 676, on no. 40; *Ḳu-u-a*, name of a witness, on no. 46; and in K 1008, 1078; *Ḳu-u-a-a*, name of the seller, B.C. 682, on no. 363; *Ḳu-u-ia*, name of a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 43. With these names compare the Cilician names *Koai*, *Koḡ*, *Koa*, *Kováς*, *Z. A.* VII. p. 101. But there are, of course, other names beginning in *Ḳu*, of which I had not thought. The restoration is therefore quite unreliable. The name beginning with Išdi admits of many completions. The same applies to the remaining traces.

**715.** No. 242. Nearly complete. Drab.

Two owners, Kirimzu and another, sell their two slaves, Nabû-nâ'id and Akbarâ his wife, to the *šakintu* of *Ḳabal ali*, for one mina of silver, royal standard. Dated, the 6th of Tebêtu, B.C. 692(?). Five witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>2</sub>), F, B.*

The date seems to be in the Eponymy of Zâzî, though the traces at the end favour an ending in *e*, or *ia*. Owing to the polyphony of the second sign, it is uncertain how we should read the seller's name. It only occurs here. For Nabû-nâ'id, see § 491; for Nabû-ašarîd, see § 655. In this name, rev. 11, I have wrongly given *AK* for *PA*.

The female name Akbarâ only occurs here, but compare the masculine Akbar, § 534. The name Êni-ili is interesting in view of

the controversy over the name of the old Babylonian monarch, Ine-Sin. It was the name of a witness, B.C. 679, on no. 462; of a witness, on no. 168; of a king of Hamath, II. R. 67, 58; III. R. 9, 51; and is a specimen name, App. 3, III. 5. Ša-Ištar-dûbu only occurs here. Aḥu-nadbi only occurs here, compare Nadbi-Iau, § 709. Šamaš-iddina is the long form of Šamaš-iddin. It occurs in K 4673 and in later Babylonian texts, see *S. A. V.* 7912. The form *AD-UD-ÁŠ* is the name of a witness, on no. 52; of a serf, with his people, on no. 661; of a *bêl maḥâru* on no. 680. The form *AD-UD-MU* occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7912; as does the form *AN-UD-MU-nu*.

In line 10, read *ḫi* for *ki*. In line 8, the scribe omitted *ni*.

716. No. 243. Several small pieces are lost; but the tablet is nearly complete. Brown to black.

Šulmu-Bêl sells Pappû, perhaps a camel-ward, a woman Talpu, and another, for three minas of silver, royal standard. Dated, ..... B.C. 693 or B.C. 688. Eight witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

In line 5, in place of *mu*, read *pu*. In place of *UD*, we perhaps have a division mark. The scribe wrote *ḫi* in line 11, not *ki*. In place of reverse, line 1, it would be better to say that *la-aš-šu man-nu* were on the lower edge. Then, also on that edge, are faint traces of *šá ina ur*, followed by the beginning of *kiš*. Then on the first line of reverse, appear traces of *ḫu-pa-a-ni*.

For Šulmu-Bêl, see § 706; for Šulmu-šarri, see § 517; for Lâtubašâni-Ištar, and Lâtubašâni-ilu, see § 480; for the Eponym, Iddin-aḥê, see § 473.

The name Pappû, owing to the polyphony of the first sign, might be read in various ways. Spelt as here, it was the name of a witness and neighbour, Ep. K, on no. 329. In the form *Pap-pu-u*, it is the name of a witness, B.C. 694, on no. 281; of a witness, on no. 538; of a borrower, B.C. 712, on no. 5; of an *irrišu*, 'with his people, in Lukummai,' on no. 742, and occurs in 83-1-18, 75. It was the name of a *bêl narkabti*, on no. 857, III. 41; occurs on no. 893; was the name of an *âsû* on no. 912; of the master of Šakiru on no. 913; occurs on no. 987; was the name of an *aba* of the Palace, on no. 1077; and a specimen name App. 1, XI. 15. Related names may be Pappai, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6954; and Pappatum; the name of the author of the work *A-BIR-BA-A-RI-A*

and of *AN-MUN-šupū-ušur*, Sm. 669, 5, see Haupt's *Nimrod-Epos*, p. 91. The name seems very like the *lall* names of Asia Minor, Papa, Pappa; compare the Punic פפי, in *N. E.* p. 353 b. If this was a name of endearment, like our 'baby,' or 'pet,' perhaps we should read the name in no. 171, line 3, as Pappû-ušur. It seems evident that, after his title, the name of the next slave followed. I think we should complete the title, in line 4, as *UŠ IMÉR A-AB-BA*. The woman's name, Talpu, only occurs here. I cannot restore the buyer's name, from the traces, in line 8.

Erba-Ištar occurs as the name of a witness and (*amêl*) *kâšir*, B.C. 698, on no. 328. Ardi-aḥêšu was the name of a witness, B.C. 707, on no. 350; of a neighbour, on no. 429; of a *šalšu*, on no. 860; and occurs in K 1461. In the form *ARAD-SIS-MEŠ-šu* it occurs in K 499. The next name is a little difficult to be sure of. Since *KA* is the ideogram for 'mouth,' we might read Ilu-pâ-ušur. The same would apply to the name of a principal, B.C. 648, on no. 696. But the form *AN-KA-A-PAP* suggests the reading Ilupia-ušur, in K 8390. A specimen name, App. 3, II. 30 reads *AN-KA-ia-PAP*, or again Ilupîa-ušur is possible. But *AN-ŠI-ia-PAP*, the name of a *rêû*, in K 1011, suggests Ilupânia-ušur. On the other hand *AN-KA-BAR*, the name of a witness, B.C. 686, on no. 374; of a neighbour, B.C. 687, on no. 624; looks like Iluka-ašarîd, 'thy god is a prince.' The name *AN-KA-IA-A*, name of a witness, on no. 288, may be read Iluka-Iâ, 'thy god is Ia.' Hence our name may after all be Iluka-nâšir, 'thy god is a saviour.'

Some doubt may be felt concerning the reading of the next name. Kitai would be phonetic, but only occurs here. On the other hand, *KI-TA* so often interchanges with *šépâ*, that we may think of Šêpâi, which might be abbreviated from one of the common name Šêpâ-Adadi, Šêpâ-Ašur, etc.

717. No. 244. Only portions are left. Drab.

Babilai sells four of his slaves, Taribi-Ištar, his brother, his wife, and her daughter, to the lady Barsippaîtu, for three minas of silver, 'according to the mina of the merchant.' Dated, in Araḥsamna, Ep. Ašur.... At least eighteen witnesses.

$P_5, D, Ac, C, C', D', S_1, S_2 (F_1, F_6, F_9), F.$

In line 14, the *kašpu* after *MA-NA* is an error of mine. It is hard to say whether the sign *GU* or *KU* was written at the end of this line. The traces look like *KA* with an inserted *šu*. Hence I

can only appeal to the parallels, in § 614, for the assumption that it is to be read *ikkal*. The *SIG-RU-DU* is quite clear. In line 15, there is no *am* before *mar*. Professor Jensen suggests to me that we should read *ammar* (*karpat*) *agânu šaṭru išatti*, and render, 'he shall drink the whole contents of an inscribed bowl.' I had thought of reading *KUR-RU* as *šaṭru*, but did not see a meaning for that. I now too think the 'inscribed bowl' intended was one inscribed with a curse, or magical text; like the many inscribed bowls known to contain exorcisms and the like. This would no doubt be an 'ordeal.' At the end of line 16 was clearly the name of a god, who is said to be *âšib ali*. It must have been a short name, and perhaps the phrase was general *ilišu âšib ali*, 'of his god inhabiting the city,' i.e. the city where the delinquent lives. But *alu* may denote Nineveh. The verb *irrakaša* shews the existence of *rakâšu*, alongside *rakâsu*. On the whole section, see § 614. In line 19, insert *ma* after *KA-KA*. In reverse, line 7, read *šá* for *ša*. At the end of line 12, *ki* is very doubtful. At the end of line 16, *GAL* is not on the tablet.

For Babilai, see § 498; for Taribi-Ištar, see § 476; for Ninûai, see § 508; for Ĥambî, see § 690; for Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467; for Ilu-nâsir, see § 486; for Nabû-šallim, and Sagibî, see § 465.

Barsippaîtu only occurs here. The name of the witness in rev. line 4, cannot be restored. There were six witnesses, all *šaḳê*. The name of Ardi-Sin also occurs in K 485, where he writes to a *nâgir êkalli*. Ašur-aḫi-iddin was probably not the Prince, afterwards King, Esarhaddon. The name was also borne by a witness and *râb kišir*, B.C. 695, on no. 616. The next name may be Aḫu-ukîn-ka, or Aḫu-mukînka, Aḫu being the name of a god (?). But we might also read it Ķurduka. The name was borne by a witness, B.C. 672, on no. 53; and by a neighbour, in Kipšuna, B.C. 680, on no. 359. The name of his master may have been Sin-ittîa, but that has no other occurrence in our documents. The next name may be read Ukîn-aḫi, or Kîn-aḫi, or Kêniš-ušur, but only occurs here. Ĥaldi-eṭir only occurs here. Ilu-ibni, in the form *AN-KAK*, which might also be read Ilu-bâni, occurs as the name of a witness, brother of the *hazânu*, Ep. 4, on no. 326; and as a specimen name, App. 3, II. 22. Who the Eponym was I am unable to say.

718. No. 245. Only portions are preserved. Red.

Minahîmu sells three women Iaḳar-aḫê, her daughter, and Abîa-aḫîa, to the lady Abu-raḫî, sister of the *šakintu*,

for two minas of silver, Carchemish standard. The date is not preserved. At least five witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

A Latin version of the text by Mr T. G. Pinches, and the Aramaic docket, are published, *C. I. S.* p. 39. The Aramaic docket merely gives למנחם, from Menahem.

For Minaḥimu, see § 502; for Abi-raḥî, or Adraḥî, see § 484; for Silim-ilu, see § 477; for Didî, see § 470; for Milkî, see § 513.

The female name Iaḥar-aḥê only occurs here. Compare the female name Iakira, name of a slave sold, Ep. A, on no. 435. Abîa-aḥîa only occurs here; but it is also a man's name, borne by a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 404. For the class of name compare Abi-umme, in § 554. How to complete the witness's name in rev. line 10, I do not know. Names beginning with *Zu* are rare. But as *ZU* is an ideogram for *îdû*, etc., the name may have begun differently. The next name was probably that of the Eponym, and in the last line was *šakin mâṭ*..., the title of the Eponym.

719. No. 246. This is said in the Catalogue, p. 1882, to be the 'lower half.' This can hardly be correct. It is probable that not more than two lines could have preceded what is preserved of obverse. Red.

Three or four owners, a *šalšû*, a *ràb kišir*, perhaps called Atalu-šumîa, and a son of Bêl-Ḥarran-taklak, among them, sell thirteen slaves, Aḥi-nûri, his sister and daughter, in all three souls; Mannu-kî-Ninûa, his wife, and two sons, in all five souls; Nabû-eṭir, his wife, Nabû-mušallim and Nûrai; to Šumma-ilâni, for three and a half minas of silver. The date is lost. At least eleven witnesses, ten of them servants of the Crown Prince.

*Pk, D, Ac, C', C, D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>6</sub>, F<sub>1</sub>).*

In line 4, all the sellers are collectively described as *bêl*, the *MEŠ* is a mistake of mine. The figures do not agree with the summations. In line 6, a man, his wife, and two sons are counted five. If this were correct, three souls, five souls, with four others are counted thirteen. I think there is a double error in line 6. In place of 'two' read 'four,' i.e. *ŠA*, then, alter the 'five' to 'six,' and all will be correct. In the first line of reverse, the sign *kiš* is oddly made. It is formed of *RIM*, with inserted *ḥal* followed by *eš*. In line 2, read the other *amêlu*. In line 3, the first *amêlu* is doubtful.

It is very noteworthy that the person named here as seller is not one of those named in the preamble, so far as it is preserved, but a certain Šilli-Ašur, a *bêl paḥâti*, and the first persons named as likely to interfere on his behalf, are the *amêlê kâtâtešu*, 'his agents.' Hence the persons named in the preamble obviously acted as his agents, and he was the real seller. In line 4, the scribe has written a short vertical, after the first *me*. In line 5, before *ni*, read *ú* for *u*; and in line 7, read *šá* for *ša*. In line 8, read the other *amêlu*, and for the doubtful *arku*, read *UŠ-SE*, apparently, for which I know no meaning. In the next line read the other *amêlu*, but here the doubtful *arku* seems meant for *imêru*, hence probably both are intended for *imêr*. Here the *II* which follows seems intended for a ditto sign. There is a common title *šanû ša rāb urâte*. Perhaps in line 8, we have some ideogram for *urâte*, and both men bore the same title. In line 16, before *mu* are the traces of *DI*; the name, therefore, was Šulmu-aḥê. In line 17, there may be traces of *amêlê* after the 'ten.'

Atalu-šumîa is a curious name, 'Eclipse is my name' is hardly likely, but that is the best I can make of the traces. For Bêl-Ḥarrân-taklak, see § 704; for Aḥi-nûri, see § 518; for Mannu-kî-Ninûa, see § 474; for Nabû-eṭir, see § 573; for Šumma-ilâni, see § 467; for Nabûa, see § 486; for Nabû-šar-aḥêšu, see § 475; for Šulmu-aḥê, see § 470.

Nabû-mušallim only occurs here, unless we are so to read *AN-PA-GI*, a specimen name, App. 1, III. 25; but compare Nabû-ušallim, in § 465. Nûrai only occurs here. Šilli-Ašur, or Šil-Ašur, was the name of a buyer, B.C. 692, on no. 324; of a slave sold, B.C. 670, on no. 266; and occurs on no. 860. The form *IŠ-MI-Ašur* occurs as the name of a buyer, *aba Mušurai*, B.C. 692, variant of this form in our text, on no. 324; also as the name of a seller, on no. 314. Ilâ only occurs here, in our texts; but was the name of a ruler of Lakî, named by Ašurnâširpal, 1. R. 24, 43, 45. The name should be Aramaic. The name Kâ only occurs here, but compare Kûa, § 714. Ḥanṭušu only occurs here, but compare Ḥandu, in § 513. Rîmâni-Ašur only occurs here, and as the name of a serf with his people, on no. 752. For Abi-iḫâmu compare Abi-ḫâmu, on no. 845. Sin-zaḳappi only occurs here, but compare the specimen name, Sin-zaḳip, App. 3, IV. 20. How to read the next name is a puzzle. Ḥubâni, for Aḥu-bâni; Ḥuda, like Ḥudai, the name of a son of Mušurai, and seller, Ep. G, on no. 250; and

of a seller, on no. 249; are perhaps possible. What Ḫudadi means in rev. 16, is not clear. It may be a proper name; perhaps read Bagdadi, compare Bagdada, an officer in command of a troop, no. 947, 9. Also we may instance the name Bagdatti, spelt both *ḪU-da-at-ti* and *Ba-ag-da-at-ti*, in Sargon's Annals, king of Umildiš, stirred up by Rusa of Armenia, against Azâ of Mannai, whom he with Mitatti of Zirkirtu contrived to murder; but was conquered by Sargon and flayed in vengeance, B.C. 716; see Winckler's *Sargon, passim*. There was a town called Ḫudaddi, or Bagdaddi, see Tiglath Pileser III., B. 6.

720. No. 247. All but a few lines are preserved, perhaps two are lost at the top of obverse, and a few pieces from other parts. Nearly black.

Several sellers dispose of Sin-âlik-pâni, his wife and daughter; Lu....., his wife and daughter; Uša..... and wife; in all 'ten' souls; to Rîmâni-Adadi, for ..... minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 21st of Nisânu, year lost. Fourteen witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, B, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

G. Smith, *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112, refers to line 16.

In line 2, after *mâratsu* may be *UD-su*, i.e. *batûsu*, 'a maid,' see § 704. If so, there is no trace of the name of the second *pater familias*. In line 4, after *GAR*, the sign seems to be made so on the tablet. It appears to be the sign *ŠAKKAD*, Br. 8863, for which a meaning *kubšu* is given. Perhaps he was a 'turban maker,' see *H. W. B.* p. 316 a. But the total does not agree with the items. Either other slaves were named in lines 1 and 2, or else perhaps there was a numeral before *amêlê ša kubšêšu*. In line 13, after *mâr-mâré* the scribe wrote *šû*, not *šu*. In line 12, *nu-te* is restored, in line 13, from after *mârmârêšû* to end of line: in line 14, *nu*; in line 15, *MEŠ-šu*; in line 16, *GI*; in line 17, *a-na*. In line 1 of reverse, for *GUR* read *ú* and restore *târa*. In line 3, there may have been more after *SI*. In line 14, after *râb*, *urât* is restored. The Eponym's name probably came, in line 16, and that of the scribe, in line 17.

The name of the first slave seems complete. If so, we have a phonetic spelling of the divine name Sin. Sin-âlik-pâni only occurs here. *U-ša* is an unusual beginning for a name. I can think of no parallel. For Rîmâni-Adadi, Šamaš-šar-ušur and Nabû-erba, see § 467; for Nêrgal-šar-ušur, Uarbis, and Zârûtî, see § 515; for Nabû-

šēzib, see § 471; for Sukkai, see § 484; and for Šamaš-šallim, see § 490.

Ištar-šum-ēreš is a very frequently occurring name in the letters. In the form *XV-MU-KAM-eš* it is the name of a witness, B.C. 660, on no. 445, and occurs in the letters, or reports, K 115, 527, 572, 696, 697, 728, 731, 733, 765, 773, 788, 981, 1032, 1039, 1049, 1540; D. T. 148; Rm. 73, 195, 212; Rm. II. 6; 80-7-19, 57; 81-7-27, 19; 83-1-18, 9, 10, 19, 224, 287; and on no. 851 is the name of a *mašmašu*. The form *AN-XV-MU-KAM-eš* is the name of a witness and *rāb aba*, B.C. 660, on no. 444; of a witness and *rāb (aba)*, on no. 448; in K 2861, rev. 42, is the name of a *rāb dupšarrē* of Ašurbânipal, son of Nabû-zêr-lîšir, the *rāb GI-U*; also occurring in the letters K 13906, and 83-1-18, 88. The form *XV-MU-PIN-eš* occurs in K 12, 671; the form *AN-XV-MU-PIN-eš* in K 1335. The form *XV-MU-KAM* occurs in K 522, 966, 983, 5470; Rm. 200; 81-7-27, 29; 82-5-22, 55; 83-1-18, 250; Bu. 91-5-9, 14. The form *XV-MU-KAN* occurs in K 1051; *AN-Iš-tar-MU-KAM* in K 3877; *AN-Ištar-MU-KAM-eš* in K 5990; *NANNU-MU-KAM-eš* in K 2670, B.C. 684, and in K 3504. Fragments of this name are preserved; .....*tar-MU-KAM-eš*, in K 2330, an *aba*, son of Nabû-zukup-kêniš; *XV-MU*..... in K 124, 1082, 2909, 13000, an *irrišu*; 83-1-18, 120; 83-1-18, 271. The name beginning *NANNU* in K 1321; the names ending in *KAM-eš*, in K 13121; and in *PIN-eš*, in K 1428; and that ending in *-eš*, in K 12555, probably belong here. On the reading of the name, see *B. A. S.* I. p. 215, where Professor Delitzsch concludes that Ištar-šum-ēreš is usually son of Nabû-zukup-kêniš. But at least one of the above is son of Nabû-zêr-lîšir.

The name in rev. 10 is not easily restored, the ending *gi-me* is unusual. The next name is I think best read Bêl-lâmur. This name written *EN-la-mur* occurs as the name of a lender, B.C. 686, on no. 9; of a witness and *aba*, Ep. H, on no. 50; of a witness and *aba*, on no. 262, also in K 679 and as a specimen name, App. I, v. 16. Šarru-ukîn-aḫi, Šarru-mukîn-aḫi, Šarru-kêniš-ušur are possible readings of the next name, which in this form only occurs here. *MAN-DU-PAP* occurs in K 1133. Adadi-aḫê-iddin only occurs here, but compare Adadi-aḫi-iddin, in § 655.

**721.** No. 248. The first three or four lines and the last three probably are lost. Brown.

Gabû sells Šamaš-imme, his wife, his son, and four daughters, in all seven souls, to Mušallim-Ištar for one



hundred and eighty minas of bronze. Dated, the 3rd of Simânu, B.C. 714. At least four witnesses. Four minas of bronze charged for nailmark.

*A<sub>c</sub>, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F, B.*

Šamaš-imme only occurs here. Gabrí was also the name of a witness and *rāb kišir*, on no. 268. Compare Gabri-ilu in the Harran Census. For Mušallim Ištar, see § 481; for *Išbu-lišir*, see § 490. How *AN-MA* was really read in proper names is still a puzzle; Nalbaš-šâmi is only a conjecture. The sign *ki* in this name is doubtful. The sign now looks more like *iš*. Hence the name is very uncertain. We might perhaps read Ilu-marim-lišir, but that form seems unlikely at this period. Sagil-bi'di appears at first sight to be for Êsaggil-bi'di, as Sagillai is common in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6486, 7730. But the element *bi'di* suggests an Aramaic name, compare the names in Harran Census. Hence we may compare שגל, a Palmyrene name, *N. E.* p. 372 a. For Silim-Adadi, see § 577. After line 12, I have omitted the name of a witness, which seems to be Ašur-nâdin-aplu, written *ÁŠ-ŠUR-ÁŠ-TUR-UŠ*. The name seems further to have ended in *šu*, so that we may read Ašur-nâdin-aplušu.

The Eponym's name seems to have been Ašur-bâni. The Eponym of this name is given II. R. 68, no. 1, R 11; and III. R. 1, v. 11 as Eponym B.C. 714-13. He was *šaknu* of Kalḫu. He dates nos. 248, 765, 677, 809, 926: was still *bél paḫati* of Kalḫu in B.C. 712, on no. 676. A great many letters, K 556, 1059, 7339, 7548, 13016, 14138, 14139; Sm. 1031, were written by an official called Ašur-bâni, who is also named in K 7506. The name *Ašur-KAK* which could also be read Ašur-êpuš, was the name of a witness, Ep. ψ, on no. 351.

722. No. 249. A lower portion, below the seals onwards. Nearly black.

Ḫudai sells Marduk-ḫutnu, Adî his brother, in all two souls, slaves of his, to Ninûai, the *šakû* of the king, for one mina thirty shekels of silver, Carchemish standard. The date is lost. Five or six witnesses.

*A<sub>c</sub>, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The slave's name, in line 1, was really written *AN-ASARU-MULU-ḪI-ḫu-ut-nu*, or Marduk-ḫutnu. For the ideogram, see Br. no. 925. The name only occurs here. For Adî, see § 583, and note that the same name is borne by a witness, in rev. 12. In

line 11, *nîšē* would be a better restoration. In reverse, line 2, the *lû mārêšu* should be in line 3, and in line 3, there is no *lu-u* before *mār-mārêšu* which completes the line. There was no *mār ahêšu*. In line 9, read *šû* for *šu*.

There is a faint Aramaic inscription on the side, which is not noted in the Catalogue. It is written in two lines, of which the first reads ...*מנבשני*... and the second only has *יד*..... As the name of neither party appears in this docket, it is difficult to say to what the words refer, *מן* can hardly be the preposition, as it seems to be followed by *ב*. But *שני* may be the title *šanû*. Of the other traces I can make nothing.

For *Ḥudai*, see § 719; for *Ninûtai*, see § 508; for *Bêl-danan*, see § 494; the other traces of names I am unable to complete.

No. 250. Upper fragment. Brown.

*Ḥudai*, son of *Muṣûrai*, sells *Allaḥazzi*, his mother *Aḥâli-tâbat*, in all two souls, slaves of his, to *Ninûtai*, the *šaḫû šarri*, for ..... minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 18th of *Kislîmu*, Ep. G. At least five witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C....*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4362, 4822.

The text was published III. R. 46, no. 7, and repeated *C. I. S.* p. 18 f.

A transliteration and translation were given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 213 f.

In line 3, both III. R. and *C. I. S.* give *šu* after *Aḥâti*. I did not see it on the tablet. At the end of line 5, both seem to give *mât*, in place of *šarru*. The traces in line 7 are really those of *kaspu gammur tadin*. In reverse, line 1, both III. R. and *C. I. S.* give *PAT* for *Ištar*. In both *Doc. Jur.* and *C. I. S.* Oppert read *Âbu* in place of *Kislîmu*, for the month. Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A 6, calls this a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Sklaven*.

Although the principals are the same this is clearly not a duplicate of the last. The Aramaic docket evidently read *גאת אללחו* (7). Of this name the Assyrian only keeps the end -*azzi*. In view of the names in the *Ḥarran Census*, I am disposed to read the name *Alla-hâzi*, but whether the Assyrian scribe wrote *Al-la-ḥa-az-zi*, or simply *AN-ḥa-az-zi*, I cannot say. There does not seem to be room for the first. The name only occurs here.

For Hudai, see § 719; for Mušallim-Ištar, see § 481; for Ninūai, see § 508; for Ištar-taribi, see § 493; for the Eponym, Mušallim-Ašur, see § 572.

Mušūrai only occurs here, but compare *Mu-zu-ra-a-a*, the name of a slave sold, on no. 275; and *Mu-šu-ri*, the name of a king of Moab, III. R. 16, v. 14. I am not convinced that it necessarily means, 'Egyptian.' Compare also the Punic, מַצְרִי. Aḥātišu-tābat or Aḥāti-tābat, only occurs here. Compare the masculine name, Aḥu-tāb, name of a witness, B.C. 717, on no. 391; of a neighbour, B.C. 716, on no. 382; occurring also in 83-1-18, 74. Marduk-zêr-ibni, spelt as here, is the name of a witness, B.C. 667, on no. 27; of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 660, on no. 444; also on no. 445. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-ZER-KAK* is the name of a witness, probably *aba*, B.C. 660, on no. 362; occurs in K 5138, and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 155. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-zêr-ib-ni* occurs in K 646, 961, 4796, and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 590.

723. No. 251. Middle portion. Drab.

Nabû-aḥi-iddin sells Akbaru and Mannu-kî-aḥê, his slaves, to Dannai, for half a mina of silver. The date is lost. Five witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

In the head-line read 81 for 83. In line 1, the last character seems to have been *tu*. In line 7, the last two characters are not preserved completely. In line 11, the first *mâr* is just recognisable, then all is broken away to end of *ta*. The square brackets should be inserted exactly above those in line 12. In line 2, of reverse, the tablet seems to have been blank before *kîšir*, which seems to be part of the title of line 1. In line 4, the first character was *KAK*, the second *iâ*, written like the numeral 'five.' Hence the name probably was Bânîa. Now that the silica has been removed, the script is marvellously clear-cut and square.

For Akbaru, see § 534. Akbarûtu would be unique. For Mannu-kî-aḥê, see § 471. For Nabû-aḥi-iddin, see § 534; for Dannai, see § 474.

Aḥi-iḫâmu occurs also as a witness in K 4285; Aḥi-iaḫâmu in no. 755. Bânîa is the name of a writer of an astrological report, B.C. 649, in K 303; occurs *P. A. S.* p. 4; in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1009; also in the form *KAK-A*. For Bânîai, see § 573; for Bânî, see § 690.

724. No. 252. Has lost the preamble. The reverse is terribly

mutilated, and the material is so gritty that it is perishing rapidly. Dark red.

The sons of Nabû-iâli barter Ninûtai, Nêrgal-nâšir and Zabînu, their three slaves, with Ašur-šum-ukîn, the *râb kišir* of the king, for one fine horse. The date is effaced. There were probably at least eight witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

This is interesting as a case of barter, or exchange. Three male slaves were worth one fine horse. It is very noteworthy that in this case also the phrase *kaspu gamur tadin* is used. Hence *kaspu* is 'price,' as well as 'silver' and 'money.'

For Ninûtai, see § 508; for Zabînu, see § 465; for Nabû-iâli, see § 656; for Zazî, see § 476.

Nêrgal-nâšir spelt as here, was the name of a neighbour, on no. 338; and occurs in K 5380. The form *AN-U-GUR-PAP-ir* was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 747, *šaknu* of Našibîna, III. R. I, IV. 23; occurs, on no. 16, as the name of the father of Šarru-nâ'id; and in K 1142; and Bu. 91-5-9, 73. The form *AN-ŠI-DU-PAP-ir* is the name of a witness, *šaknu šarri*, of Kurban, Ep. H, on no. 50. The form *AN-U-GUR-SIS-ir* occurs in K 830, 882, 1055, 1228, 1901; Sm. 37.

In line 4, *šarru* really belongs to the end of line 3. At the end of line 5, on the edge, are traces of what looks like *lak-ki-u*.

**725.** No. 252. Has lost the preamble, and the beginnings of the first six lines; also the lower edge and the left half of reverse. Drab.

Išdi-Nusku sells twenty slaves, whose names have disappeared, to Nabû-šum-iškun, the *mukîl apâte* of Sennacherib, for ten minas of silver, Carchemish standard. The date is lost. There were probably at least fifteen witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>.*

The traces in line 1 are puzzling. Perhaps the first sign is the end of *šarru* and part of a name. Lušakin is a name by itself, see § 486; but there is no determinative. The *aḫu* may well be a *ŠAL*. Note the presence of slaves in lines 2 and 4. In line 3, *bi* is the end of a name. In line 10, *gammur tadin* is restored. In reverse, line 9, *me* at end is a restoration and both here and in the next line there is room for more.

Išdi-Nusku only occurs here, and is uncertain. For Sennacherib,

see § 504; for Nabû-aḫi-iddina, see § 534; for Nabûa, see § 486; for Zizî, see § 474.

Nabû-šum-iškun, as here, is the name of a witness, on nos. 101, 501, 595, 602, 677 possibly. The name occurs often in letters and reports, K 19, 785, 791, 803, 14150; 82-5-22, 59; 83-1-18, 90; 200; Bu. 89-4-26, 19. It was the name of a king of Karduniaš, who fought with Adadi-nirâri, *circa* B.C. 895, II. R. 65, no. 1, III. 1, and is a specimen name App. 1, IV. 12. The form *AN-PA-MU-ŠA* occurs as the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 670, on no. 625; father of Mušêzib-Nabû, no. 869, IV. 7; occurs on no. 925; and in 83-1-18, 25. The name *AN-ḪI-dûr-ušur* should be Ašur-dûr-ušur, see § 491, but the *dûr* is not certain. It may be *li*. Then we should have Ilu-ḫili-ušur, which only occurs here. What the term *lâ maḥrû(te?)*, in line 10, can mean, I do not know.

726. No. 254. Has lost the preamble and part of the conclusion. Dark brown to black.

Abdi sells Bêlit-ummi, his maid-servant, two sons of hers, in all three souls, to Ninûai, the *šaḫû* of the king, for half a mina, according to the mina of the merchant. The date is lost. Names of four witnesses are preserved.

*A<sub>c</sub>, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

In line 1, the small stroke after *ummi* may be part of the next sign. In line 4, *iš* is evidently meant for *TA*, but lacks the third vertical. In edge line 1, *NU-TI* is curious. The scribe meant *lâki*: so he puts *TI* as an ideogram for *lakû* and *NU* = *lâ* as a phonetic prefix. It is less likely to be for *lâ lâki*, i.e. 'were not delivered.' In line 2, of obverse, we should expect *mârêša* for 'her sons.' The scribe has put *mârêšu*. Did he mean *mârê* to signify 'boys' solely? Then Abdî sold his maidservant and two of his boys.

Bêlit-ummi only occurs here. For Abdî, see § 512; for Ninûai, see § 508.

Abdi-simur only occurs here. We might conclude that Simur, or Siḫar, was a god. Was שחר, 'the morning red,' deified? At any rate compare עבר שחר, a Punic name, *N. E.* p. 335 b. Šamaš-kilâni is also the name of a writer of astrological forecasts, K 303, in B.C. 649; and occurs in K 12994. How to read the last name, perhaps ending in *likkazi*, is not clear to me.

727. No. 255. The greater part of the upper portion. Slate to black.

Bêl-abu-ušur sells Barâḫu and his family, Ṭâbûni and

his family, Sitirkânu and his family; all in their entirety to Marduk....., an officer of Sennacherib, for a talent of (bronze). Dated, the 14th of Addaru II, in the Eponymy of a *šaknu* of the city Kula(nia). Sixteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D'.*

The text of the obverse was published, *C. I. S.* p. 38 f, with a transliteration and translation by Oppert. This text gives *la* for *abu* in the name of the seller: but with a query. The transliteration reads *abu*, however. In line 8, the transliteration reads *ina libbi*, in which case the *mât* or *lat* would perhaps really be the initial wedges of the number 'fifty,' or 'sixty.' I think that *ina libbi bilat (êri)* is a better reading. In the date I omitted *DIR*, before *ŠE*; the month is Addaru II, or *makru ša Addari*. In lines 5 to 10, after *šangû*, and before *ilu*, I have given *šá* wrongly for *ša*. In my copy I had *ša*, but made the error in the autography.

The Aramaic docket gives ... שרכן ט, which *C. I. S.* considers to embody the name of Sargon, Šarrukînu in Assyrian. But the Aramaic reading of Šarrukînu would surely be more like the Biblical סרגון. Besides it is certain that neither party to the contract bore this name. Lidzbarski, *N. E.* p. 382 a, makes the acute suggestion that it is intended to represent Sitirkânu. To that it may be objected that the *t* is not given in the Aramaic. The next character ט is possibly the initial letter of Ṭābûni, as already suggested by Lidzbarski, *N. E.* p. 284 a.

The seller's name, Bêl-abu-ušur, is discussed in § 558; Barâhu, Ṭābûni, and Sitirkânu only occur here. For the latter we may compare Sitirna, ruler of the Musanai, K 1668 b, see Winckler's *Sargon*. The seller's name cannot be restored. For Sennacherib, see § 504; for Nabû-eṭirâni, see § 468; for Šamaš-šum-ušur, see § 557; for Aḥu-lâmur, see § 680; for Nabûa, see § 486; for Unzarḥu, see § 534; for Mardî, see § 486; for Ašur-lî'âni, see § 558; for Ilu-êreš, see § 668; for Muḫâlil-mîtu, see § 698; for Gallul, see § 544.

Nabû-mudammik only occurs here, but *AN-AK-mu-ŠI-ŠAB-iḫ* occurs in later Babylonian texts, see *S. A. V.* 5818. The next name, which seems to read Bâb-ili-bêl-nûrai, only occurs here. The witnesses are all priestly personages of some kind, from lines 5 to 10: but the gods named are not certain: *AN-LAL-(LAL)* may perhaps be read Allâla. The god *KUR-KUR-ḪA* is unknown to me; *AN-ME-ME* may be Gula, but that is uncertain. Then follow six

witnesses, each *atû ša êkalli*. The witness, in line 10, bears the name Gula-zêr-ibni, which only occurs here, but is found in later Babylonian texts, see *P. A. S. passim*. Zizîa also occurs as the name of a witness and *atû*, B.C. 687, on no. 218. Bânâi only occurs here, compare Bânâi, the name of a *mašmašu*, on no. 851: compare also Bânai in § 573. For Pirhâi, compare Pirhâ, in K 831: Pirhu in K 915, and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7075.

It is very unfortunate, from many points of view, that so interesting a text is defective, but I imagine we must place it in the reign of Sennacherib. After repeated efforts to make out the first sign of the city name, I think it may be the remains of *Ku*. The second sign was most probably *la*. Then of all the Eponyms in Sennacherib's reign, the only one who is *šaknu* of a city, the name of which has *la* in its second syllable, is Manzarnê *šaknu* of Kullania. It is not likely that the first sign here was meant for *Ku*: unless, which is quite possible, the scribe wrote either *Ku* or *Kul* first, partly erased it, and wrote the other sign over it. There seems no good reason why we should not take this to be the date.

728. No. 256. Now that 83-1-18, 392 is joined to K 410, we have about the upper two-thirds of the tablet; much damaged, in places. Red.

Sin-aḫi-iddina and Tûi, two owners, sell Ḥaṣalâ, Ḥudâ, and Aḫâti-immai, their three maidservants, to Dadai, for ..... shekels of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 25th of Nisânu, B.C. 676. Seven witnesses. Charge made for seal.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', ... S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 92.

In line 8, *ina libbi* is a restoration from traces. In line 11, part of *ki* is visible still. There is a trace of another line, after line 12, but not enough to reproduce. In line 5 of the reverse, only *IM* is now left at end of the name. I have omitted *amêlu* before *tamkaru*.

Sin-aḫi-iddina is discussed in § 548; Tûi only occurs here. One is tempted to compare the Biblical Toi, king of Hamath. The slave names Ḥaṣalâ, Ḥudâ, Aḫâti-immai only occur here. With the last compare Aḫât-abîša, § 491. For Bêl-šar-ibni, see § 526; for Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467. The next witness may well be Nêrgal-šar-ušur, see § 515; the next may be Nabû-zêr-iddin, see § 467. The next may be restored *Ḥa-laḫ-ḫi-a-a*; it only occurs here. For the land

Ḥalaḥḥi, a district of Assyria, Biblical Halach, see Rm. 216 and Winckler, *A. F. I.* p. 292. In Ḥalaḥḥi, Aḥiakāmu held lands, see no. 755. It is named also in K 10922. A city Ḥalaḥḥu occurs in II. R. 53, 36, near Arbaḥa, Schrader, *K. A. T.*<sup>2</sup> 275 f, identified with the Armenian Albagh, which enters the Tigris 4 days' journey north of Alkusch. Hence was named the Kalachene of Strabo, see Jeremias, *B. A. S.* III. p. 91, note \*\*\*. Also the god Magarida is said to be *šar Ḥalḥa* (*KI*).

For Mardûa, see § 486; for the Eponym Banbâ, see § 579.

729. No. 257. Has lost the low edge and pieces out of both obverse and reverse. Red.

Nabû-bêl-ušur sells his two slaves Mârḫiḥitâ, his maid-servant and her daughter, to Nabûa, for two minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 26th of Addaru, B.C. 670. Nine witnesses.

*Pk, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, B, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The name of the slave only occurs here. Mârḫiḥitâ. The Assyrian signs were very illegible when I first copied them, but are now clearer. They read *Mar-ki-ḥi-ta*, as was made clear to me by the Aramaic docket, to which I had not paid any proper attention. That reads, in line 10, of reverse, מִרְקַחַתָּא (רַקַּחַתָּא), 'the sale of Mârḫiḥitâ.' The 7 is not now legible. On the lower edge are traces of two lines, the first seems to read בִּר..., the second seems to be בִּרְר..., for which I can suggest no meaning.

In line 3, of reverse, the sign ' is not on the tablet, and in place of 'four' minas, we should read 'seven.' In line 7, after *KAḲ* read *A*. In line 16, the father's name began with *AN-PA*, not *UR*. In the name of the Eponym, the last sign is restored. On the left-hand edge, read *te* for *ti*.

For Nabû-bêl-ušur, see § 665; for Nabûa, see § 486; for Diḥai, see § 409.

Šūmai, spelt as here, is the name of a witness and *kâšir šarri*, B.C. 682, on no. 276; of a witness and *aba*, Ep. A, on both nos. 318 and 623; of a slave sold, on no. 261. Phonetically spelt, *Šū-ma-a-a* is the name of a writer of astrological reports, in K 121, 695, 713; 83-1-18, III, 216, 222, 298; Bu. 91-5-9, 8; and a specimen name App. 1, IX. 37. The related name Šumâ, spelt *Šu-ma-a*, is the name of a witness, B.C. 702, on no. 365; occurs in K 524, 673, 678, 8960; 80-7-19, 61, 70; 81-2-4, 283; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 8477. A form *MU-a* occurs in K 433, as the name of a



witness, son of Aḥêšâ, at Erech, B.C. 648. The name of the father of this witness began with Šamaš.

For Diḥai, see § 409; the name could also be read Temênai. His father's name here began with Hu.... For Šangû-Ištar, see § 408; the name could be read Ritti-Ištar. He was a slave of some official. The *tur* after *ša* is not certain, it may only be *amêlu*. Mannu-lîme is a name that occurs in the form *Mannu-li-e-me*, on the Harran Census, and probably on no. 374, as the name of a seller, B.C. 686. How to read the next name is puzzling. *DI-TAR* is usually an ideogram for *dânu*, 'to judge,' and its derivatives; hence Da'in-aplu may be read. But we can imagine Ditarâ here as an oblique case of the Ditaru, which occurs as the name of the father of Nêrgal-šar-ušur, B.C. 680, on no. 631. But as this could be read Da'in-Adadi, the question does not seem much nearer settlement. His father's name began with Nabû. The next name is incomplete. One might think of Iddina-Ištar. The father's name I restore as Talâ, compare § 501.

The names of the next three witnesses, and their fathers, are not to be restored. For the Eponym, see § 521. For Zêr-Ištar see § 480.

730. No. 258. The tablet has lost the left-hand edge, and the lower part. Nos. 192 and 801 form a duplicate of this, by means of which nearly all can be restored. Dark brown.

Bêl-aplu-iddin, the *râb za...ri* of Tarbusêba, sells five slaves, to Rîmani-Adadi the *mukîl apâte* of the king, for three minas of silver, Carchemish standard. Dated, the 21st of Du'ûzu, B.C. 671. Ten witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>).*

The date of nos. 192 and 258 is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93; cf. Budge, *Hist. Esarh.* p. 13.

The text of no. 258 is given, in transliteration and translation, by Dr Peiser, *K. B.* iv. p. 134 ff.

In my edition of no. 801, no use was made of the reverse of no. 192. The duplicates are not exactly the same. The name of the seller is spelt in no. 258, line 1, 9, and no. 801, line 1, B. E. 1; as *EN-A-ÂŠ*; but in no. 258, line 6, as *AN-EN-A-SE-na*. In no. 258 he is described as *rabû* of the city Tarbusê simply. But on no. 801, a fuller title *râb za.. ri* is given him. Unfortunately the break leaves some doubt as to the complete title. There is room for *za-am-me-ri*. But *za* may be *a*. In no. 801, the city name is twice given, lines 2 and rev. 16, as Tarbusiba.

The names of the slaves are not completely preserved on either copy. From no. 258 we learn that the name of the first ended in *e*, and that he was a *kāšir*, and had a wife. The name of the second seems to have ended in *ki*, or *kin*, and he had two sons. The buyer Rîmâni-Adadi is only found on no. 258, see § 467. The scraps of formula which are left on no. 801 agree, as far as they go, with no. 258; but give *lakī(u)* for *lakkiû*. The spacing was clearly different. On no. 801, reverse, line 7, the *nu* at the end of the line may be part of *di-e-nu*. In line 8, the witnesses began. The first was a *mukîl apâte* of the king's son. The next was also an official of the king's son. The next, a *mukîl apâte*, bore a name ending in *-šar-ušur*, doubtless the Šamaš-šar-ušur, who so often witnessed for Rîmâni-Adadi; see § 515. The next witness was also a *mukîl apâte*, whose name seems to have ended in *ka-nu*; doubtless Šakânu. The next was a *šanû*, whose name ended in *-erba*, doubtless the Nabû-erba who so often witnessed for Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467. The traces, in line 13, may now be restored (*šá*) *amêl rāb ú-rat*, read *rat* for *nî*. The next name I gave as if Aa-imanni, but it is the end of Ašur-ilai; for *i* read *TUR*, *mâr*. Then came *MAN-KAK*, i.e. Šarru-ibni, see § 705. The next name was *ANU-GUR-MAN-PAP*, i.e. Nêrgal-šar-ušur, see § 515. Here he is said to be *maḥû* of Tarbusiba.

We find that no. 192 completes the names in lines 14, on to the end, with the names in no. 258. Ašur-ilai is discussed in § 500, Nêrgal-šar-ušur, in § 515. No. 258 gave the name of the father of the former; the latter is said to be a *maḥû* of Tarbusê. The duplicates do not seem to agree as to the date. It is conceivable that Bêl-aplu-iddin sold to Rîmâni-Adadi two separate lots of slaves, on different days in the same month. But the fact that there are at least two witnesses also common to the two documents points rather to duplicates, of which one may have been a first draft, cancelled by a later copy. I can make nothing further of the city name in line 1 of the reverse of no. 192. It does not reappear on no. 258.

For Tarbusiba compare Tarbusibi, in K 12046; Sm. 167, 1206. Can it be the same as Tarbiši? the modern Sherif Khan, where Sennacherib repaired the temple *Lamšid* of Nêrgal see i. R. 7, no. VIII, C 4, D 4; III. R. 3, no. 13, 56; and where Esarhaddon repaired a palace for Ašurbânipal, i. R. 48, no. 5, 6; no. 6, 4; no. 8, 2. Compare also i. R. 8, no. 2, 9; III. R. 14, 22; III. R. 66, vi. 3; K 521, 979, 1247, 4492, 9925.

On the lower edge of no. 801, in line 2 for *šu* read *gam*, a ditto

sign; but *lu-u* is not there. Of the reverse a few traces of signs could be read on the shaded part, but they make no connected text.

**731.** No. 259 has lost the right-hand bottom corner and several places are damaged. Red.

Bêl-amât-lîšir, Zêr-ibni and Bêl-abu-ušur sell ..... Marduk, his wife, his two sons, and two daughters, in all six souls, to Urdu, for one hundred and eighty minas of bronze. Dated, in Tišritu, in the Eponymy of Šul..... Ten witnesses.

*P<sub>5</sub>, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>).*

A line was ruled down the reverse to keep the names of the witnesses under one another. The name of the first seller is not quite clear. The sign *KA*, ideogram for 'mouth,' also denotes 'speech'; but what meaning it has here, or by what Assyrian word we should render it, is open to question. Perhaps we should read Bêl-pâ-lîšir. The name only occurs here. Zêr-ibni, spelt as here, was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 719, III. R. 1, v. 6. It occurs in the letters K 1076, 10451; Sm. 518; Rm. 58; Rm. II. 12; the form *Zêr-ib-ni*, in K 580, 653, 1235, 1270; and on no. 661, as the name of a serf, 'with his people.' A form *Zêr-ib-nu* also occurs in K 580. Our form could be read Zêr-bâni. For Bêl-abu-ušur, see § 558; for Urdu, see § 556.

The name of the witness, Nûrzu, only occurs here. Perhaps we should read Nûr-li', but there may be some other way. Nabû-šabši is only found here. Mannu-lû-šulmu is discussed in § 578; Sa'mu in § 712; Adadi-aplu-iddin, in § 517. Zamama-êreš is only found here. Akru is discussed in § 572; Adadi-mušêši is only found here. For Marḍukâte, see § 519. The Eponym's name might be restored in various ways.

**732.** No. 260 has lost the upper part. Brown to black.

Arbai sells several slaves to Ninûtai, the king's *šaḫû*, for ..... minas of silver, Carchemish standard. The date is lost. Thirteen witnesses on part preserved.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The text was published, III. R. 48, no. 5; and transliterated and translated by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 248 f.

A quotation was given, by G. Smith, *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 5048, 6238, 8979, 9059.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 152, B. 5, says *Über den Verkauf von Immobilien, von Häusern.*

Strassmaier, *A. V.* 5048, quotes a passage under *ma-nu-tum* (?). Evidently he once regarded it as possible that in the clause *F, ina dīnišu KA-KA-ma NU-TI*, the signs *ma-nu-ti* might form one word; he gives the correct transliteration *la ilakki* for *NU-TI*. He transliterated *i-KA-KA-ma*, by *iḳabbuma*. In line 9, he gave a shaded *ba* where I restore *ba-a*; in line 9 of reverse, he omits the determinative vertical before the name *Ulûlai*.

Oppert's readings of the faulty text in III. R. cannot be reckoned against that master in cuneiform decipherment. What he reads as *an su-ba-a* were the traces of *Arbai*, in line 3. In line 4, his *mustesir* was the best that could be made of *SI-DI*, which is really *SAG*. In line 7, at the end, *bîtê* should of course be *nîšê*. He correctly restored *dabâbu* at the end of line 9. The *bi* after *KA-KA*, in line 15, is wrong. In line 1 of the lower edge, he read *abusu* at the end of the line. In line 8 of reverse, he amended *ku-ris-sar* for *KU-KA-SAR*. In line 10, he read *Takkil* for *RÎM*, a tempting suggestion, but seemingly needless. In line 11, he read *Matursanni-Bin* for *Lâtubâšâni-Adadi*. In his line 33, the traces he gives as *Sa .....ba* are those of *Ašur-aḫêšu-êreš*. In his remarks, at the foot of p. 250, Professor Oppert regards the parties to the transaction as lost, but the seller's name is now clear from line 6, the buyer's from line 4.

In line 6, the last sign was evidently *ḫi*, not *ki*. On the lower edge, the scribe wrote what I give as first line, after the second line; clearly an error.

The name of the first witness, *Bêl-da'an* I always distinguish from that written *Bêl-dan-an*, for which see § 474: but many writers regard them as the same. For *Šâr-Ištar*, see § 482; for *Adî*, see § 583; *Uznânu* is found only here, but compare *Uzna'*, on no. 893, rev. 4. For *Ulûlai*, see § 505; for *Ašur-natki*, see § 572; for *Rîmâni-Adadi*, see § 467; for *Latubâšâni-Adadi*, see § 480; for *Turşu-Ištar*, see § 475; for *Dilil-Ištar*, see § 572; for *Nabû-nâdin-aḫê*, see § 470; for *Arbai*, see § 473; for *Ninûai*, see § 508.

*Ašur-damiḫ* may be read *Ašur-mudammik*, but compare *Ašur-dam-me-ik*, no. 713, 5. *Ašur-aḫêšu-êreš* is only to be found here.

733. No. 261 is only the lower portion, and much of it is badly defaced. Drab.

Arbailai sells twenty slaves, among them *Šûmai*, *Urai*, *Sina.....* and *Nêrgal-iddina*, to a *šakintu* (?), for six minas of silver. Date lost. Sixteen witnesses.

*Ac*, ..... *S*<sub>2</sub> (*F*<sub>2</sub>, *F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>6</sub>), *F*.

In line 3, read *PAP* for *nu*. I can make no sense out of the traces which I have tried to represent at the end of line 7. Perhaps the line began with *amêl ša šêpâ*, the *UD* is quite certain. The traces at the beginning of reverse, line 14, favour the reading *amêl râb kišir*, so that my restoration is probably wrong. In a number of cases I am uncertain where the inscribed part ended, so I did not venture to put square brackets.

The name Šûmai is discussed in § 728; Urai is only found here, but compare Uriâ, in § 466. Sina... may be completed Si-nadan, see § 711; for Nêrgal-iddin, see § 577; for Arbailai, see § 479; for Marduk-êreš, see § 577; for Nabû-bêl-ušur, see § 665; for Nabû-šarrâni, see § 477; for Bânî, see § 690; for Rimâni-Adadi, see § 467; for Balâšî, see § 521.

Ĥalmânu is only found here, compare the city Ĥalman, named by Shalmaneser II., in III. R. 8, 86, 87, perhaps Aleppo; and the country Ĥalman, perhaps Holwan, in v. R. 56, 22; and K 5966. Nabû-rêm-ilâni, spelt as here, is the name also of a *ḥazânu*, on no. 263; and a specimen name, App. 1, 1. 47; the form *AN-AN-MEŠ* occurs as the name of a writer, in K 4800, 9588; 83-1-18, 105. Bakilîa, Ĥaldi-rîmâni, Bêl-etilli, Ib-ukîn, are only found here. Whether the god Ib is the same as Ninip, or how his name should be read, is not clear to me. The name Sin-šar-ilâni, as here, occurs also in 81-7-27, 151; and the form *AN-XXX-MAN-AN-MEŠ* was borne by the lessee, B.C. 680, on no. 631; occurs on no. 857, II. 38; and in K 13099. The other few traces do not lend themselves to a restoration.

734. No. 262. Only the lower two-thirds is preserved. Drab.

Some slaves, line 3, *nîšê zarpu*, are sold by Sin-nâdin-aḫi to Sin-nâdin-aplu(?), for one and a half minas six shekels of silver. The date is lost. There seem to have been ten names of witnesses on the part preserved.

The clay of this tablet is full of grit, and the reverse has apparently long lain exposed to weather. It seems likely to have been unearthed in the early explorations, thrown up amongst the soil excavated, and then injured by rain and frost. It is now crumbling away, and much of it is really illegible. Many signs are very uncertain. In line 2, perhaps 'five' should be read in place of six. In line 13, there is no *ma* after *KA-KA*.

*Ac*, *C*, *C'*, *S*<sub>1</sub>, *S*<sub>2</sub> (*F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>2</sub>, *F*<sub>6</sub>), *F*.

For Sin-nâdin-aḥi see § 518; Sin-nâdin-aplu, in the form *AN-XXX-SE-na-A*, is named in K 195; in the form *AN-XXX-MU-TUR* occurs in K 1550. Among the names of the witnesses, the first that I can consider certain is Rîmâni-Marduk, and that is only found here. We might perhaps read *u* for *šu* at the end of the name. The next name is probably Rîmâni-Bêl, which also occurs as the name of a witness and *nâdin akli*, on no. 364, in B.C. 679. What the title was in line 8 I do not know. I did think of *šu-ut bîtišu*, which would be the only example of this title. But there probably was something between *šû* and *te*. For Handu, see § 513; Bêl-lamur, see § 720.

735. No. 263. Almost half the tablet is fairly well preserved. Drab.

Si'-gabbari sells some slaves, line 4, *nîšê šuatu*, to the *šakintu*, for ten minas of silver. The date is lost. The traces of five names of witnesses are left.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>3</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

In line 3, *ma* follows 'ten.' In line 7, read *ban*, before *nî*, at the end of the line. In line 4, of reverse, read *imêr* for *sik*: and *ki* has an extra vertical after it. In both cases the sign is indistinct, but there can be no reasonable doubt as to what was intended. In line 9, the *tak-lak* is no longer visible, though my copy and first collation give it without question.

The name Si'gabbari may also be that of a witness, on no. 572: where Si'gab... is preserved in line 6 of reverse. For similar names see the Harran Census. Nabû-bêl-ušur is discussed in § 665; Nabû-rêm-ilâni in § 733.

Adadi-taklak is also the name of a witness, B.C. 698, on no. 473. The name Nabû-šum-ušur or Nabû-šum-iddin is common. The last name Ardi... may be variously restored.

736. No. 264. Now that Bu. 91-5-9, 59 is joined to Bu. 91-5-9, 98, the tablet preserves most of the lower half. Yellowish buff.

Iḫisu seems to have sold some slaves, see line 7, the buyers' names are lost. Dated, in B.C. 693 or B.C. 688. Traces of ten witnesses.

*S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>6</sub>).*

In line 2, the sign *MEŠ* at end is certain. In line 3, the traces seem rather to read *i-ka-bu-u-ni ma-a nîšê*, and in line 4, the scribe certainly wrote *iš* for *a* before *din*. But *GIŠ-TIN* is impossible here. In line 8, after *ana*, and before 'ten,' there was a sign,

but it was probably erased again. In line 1 of reverse, for *zêr* read *mu*.

The name of the seller Iḫisu was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 756, III. R. 1, IV. 14; with a variant Ḳîsu. How to complete the name of the first witness, I do not know; Ilu-pisi... is not like anything else. But if we take *SI* as part of *SI-DI*, we should have Ilu-pî-lîšir, which might be compared with Ilu-pî-nâšir, or Ilu-pâ-ušur, in § 716. *Bêl-IŠ*, in line 11, is possible. We might read *Bêl-lîšir*, or *Bêl-muštêšir*. The name *Bêl-IŠ* was the name of a buyer, B.C. 695, on no. 31; of a slave sold, on no. 527; his *šaḫû* was a witness on no. 570. The name was also that of the Eponym of B.C. 779, a *nâgir êkalli*, III. R. 1, III. 37. Another form, *EN-SI-DI*, is the name of a serf, 'with his people,' on no. 661. The form *AN-EN-IS* occurs in Bu. 91-5-9, 87. If this was all the name, there probably was also a title in the same line, or the name of another witness.

For Barruḫḫu, see § 467; for Nabû-šêzib, see § 471. For the Eponym, Iddin-aḫê, see § 473. The traces on the edge, in line 2, may be read *pa kit*, or *pa bit*.

Šamaš-zêr-iddina was the name of a *bârû*, son of Šamaš-mu..., writer of the forecast tablet, Rm. II. 101. Šamaš-šum-iddina does not occur elsewhere in our documents, but the form *AN-UD-MU-MU* occurs in later Babylonian tablets, *S. A. V.* 7934. Nabû-iḫîšâni is also a specimen name, App. 1, I. 42. Nabû-iḫîša is the name of a witness, on no. 425; and a specimen name, App. 1, II. 7. A variant *AN-AK-BA-ša* was the name of a writer of several astrological reports, K 736, 756, 793, 900; D. T. 304; 81-2-4, 104, 107; 82-5-22, 48; 83-1-18, 48, 186, 187, 229, 241, 299. He was of Barsippa, and the name occurs in K 997. The next name Aḫu-mamâte, if that is how we are to read it, is only found here. In view of the frequent phrase *lâ nâšir mamîtu*, for one who breaks his oath, we should probably read this name Nâšir-mamâte, 'keeper of oaths,' probably in reference to some divinity who had kept his promise. The next name cannot be restored. Perhaps the next is Adadi-pâ-ušur, but more likely Adadi-kâšir, compare the witness and *naggaru*, B.C. 698, on nos. 473 and 474. The next name begins with *AN-GAL*, a name of Bêl, but scarcely to be read so. I read such names Rabû. But how we should complete it seems doubtful; *meri* is possible, but not certain.

In line 1, there are traces of *di-e-nu* before *KA-KA*. In line 12, the scribe omitted the determinative before Barruḫḫu's name. Note

the confusion and repetition in lines 4 and 7. There were more buyers than one.

737. No. 265. Piece out of the middle of a tablet. Drab to brown.

Kiribitu-Ašur sells Aḥu-lamši, Bêl-nûri, his brother; Šamaš-erba, and his wife, Abi-lîrim, to Idinnai, for one hundred and fifty minas of bronze. The date is lost. There are traces of the names of four witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>.....*

In line 1, which is badly rubbed, the first name seems to have been *PAP-lam-ši*, which I read Aḥu-lamši. Bêl-nûri is possible, but the *ri* is doubtful. The *SIS* is fairly clear, but not quite certain. In line 2, I think now that *AD* is better than *KAR*. In line 3, there is no *ma* after *upiš*. In line 5, for *TU* we should probably read *êru*. There is no sign of *MA-NA*, however. In line 8, for *tú* read *tu*, written like *še-ma*. In line 10, of reverse, the last sign is perhaps *te*, rather than *tu*, which is however quite possible. In the next line, the *li* is uncertain, but I cannot recognise any other sign in its place. The last sign is perhaps *šz*, but *ia* seems more suitable.

For Aḥu-lamši, which I consider to be short for Aḥu-lâmašši, see § 467. For Bêl-nûri, see § 704; for Šamaš-erba, see § 661. For Abi-lîrim, compare the male name Abu-lârim, borne by a witness, B.C. 687, on no. 43. For Idinnai compare the buyer, *šangû* of Ninip, on no. 642. The name Kiribitu-Ašur is only found here. Compare Kiribtu, son of Nimeđu, on no. 812, L. E. 3; son of Dabibi, in K 8671; and Kiribtî, a specimen name, App. 1, x. 12. Dûr-Ašur was also the name of the Eponym B.C. 729, *šaknu* of Tušḥân, III. R. 1, IV. 4. For Nîk-ilâni, see § 672. The name Malkûte is hardly complete. There may have been one sign before *mal*. Hîlîa seems more likely than Hîlîši, but compare the names חלץ, חלץ, in *N. E.* p. 275.

738. No. 266. The upper half, or so, of the tablet. Brown to black.

Idâte-Bêl-alaka, Adadi-šar-ušur and Šarru-mukîn, three sons of Ašur-šallim, sell Ilu-mukîn-aḥi, Šilli-Ašur (probably his son, his wife), two daughters, in all five souls, their slaves, to Rîmâni-Adadi, the *mukîl apâte*. Dated, the 1st of Addaru, B.C. 670. Fourteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, .....*

The text was published, III. R. 49, no. 4. A transliteration and



a translation were given, by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 191 f.; again by Peiser, *K. B.* iv. pp. 130 ff.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 93.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 5938, 8062.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A. 11, calls it a *Kaufvertrag über den Verkauf von Slaven*.

In line 2, read *LUGAL* as the last character but one. On the reverse there are some remains of a line above that which I give as the first. These are not clear enough to indicate. In line 6, the last sign may be the remains of *šir*, as Professor Jensen suggested to me, but I cannot see any indication of more. Perhaps the line was unfinished. In line 10, the name of the first witness is Nabû-eṭir, as in the first line, the *AN-PA* is quite clear. In the second name Professor Jensen suggests that for *ŠI* we should read *ŠAL*; but the scribe certainly wrote *ŠI*.

The first name, Idâte-Bêl-alaka, was read by Oppert as Idate, and *bêl-alaka* was taken to be a title. I think the name means something like: 'At the side of Bêl I will walk.' I do not know of any parallel. Adadi-šar-ušur is dealt with in § 711; Šarru-mukîn is only found here. For Ašur-šallim, see § 575; for Ilu-mukîn-aḥi, or Ilu-kêniš-ušur, see § 517; for Šilli-Ašur, see § 719; for Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467; for Nabû-eṭir, see § 573; for Nabû-zêr-iddin, see § 467; for Nabû-šar-ušur, see § 523; for Naḥarau, see § 485; for Bêl-Ḥarran-šar-ušur, see § 687; for Nargî, see § 409; for Ṭâb-šar....., see § 663; for Ḥabasti, see § 472; for Bašûa, see § 548; for the Eponym, Ṭebêtai, see § 521; for Šamaš-šar-ušur, see § 467; for Adadi-ḫassun, see § 653.

Kalḫai is a fresh name, evidently gentilic, 'he from Kalḫu.' It was borne by a witness, B.C. 707, on no. 292; by a witness and *mukîl apâte*, B.C. 680, on no. 631; by an owner of land and *šaknu*, in Šêla, on no. 918, II. 5; and is a specimen name, App. 1, IX. 18. Šimânu, if that is the correct name, is only found here.

739. No. 267. A mere fragment, broken at the top, and without its right-hand edge. Drab.

Two sellers, Paḫa-ana..... and another, sell to the *šakintu*, two female slaves, Ilu-banîtu and her daughter, for fifty shekels (of silver). The date is lost. At least twelve witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C* .....

In line 2, there is room for *bêlê* before *ŠAL-MEŠ*. The

*MEŠ* is not now on the tablet. In line 10 of reverse, read *šur* for *bi*.

For the slave's name compare the male name *Ilu-banîtu*, name of a slave sold, on no. 249; and the name *Ilu-banîtum*, *S. A. V.* 237, a female name in later Babylonian texts. For the seller's name, compare *Paša-ana-Arbaili*, in § 694. The names of the first three witnesses cannot be completed from the traces left; *Ašur-ma...* is a beginning without known parallel. For *Mudabirai*, see § 657; compare *Mudubirai*, witness, B.C. 676, on no. 175. *Ardiai* is hardly likely, we should perhaps read *Ardi-Aa*; see the lender, *Ep. A*, on no. 2; and the witness, *išpar birmi*, *Ep. i*, on no. 326. *Isânai*, evidently gentilic from *Isâna*, is discussed in § 482; for *Nabû-šar-ušur*, see § 523. The name *Mudammik-Ašur*<sup>1</sup> is only found here; for *Šâr-Ištar*, see § 482. *Ikšur-ilu* may be complete, or some divine name may follow. *Ašur-bêl-ilâni* is only found here. For *Lûku*, see § 409.

There is a blank space on the tablet after line 12 of reverse. On the upper edge are some faint traces of an Aramaic inscription, of which only ת..., probably the end of דנת, is certain.

740. No. 268. The part above the seal space is gone and the lower part of the tablet is lost. It is quite unusually thick. Drab.

*Ilu.....* sells *Sagibî*, an *išparu*, his wife; *Si'nûri*, his wife, and two daughters, in all twelve souls. The buyer's name is lost. Dated, the 22nd of *Âbu.....* At least six witnesses.

*Ac.*

In the head line read *Rm. II*, for *Rm*.

For *Sagibî*, see § 465; for *Si'nûri*, see § 486; for *Ahu-dûri*, see § 470; for *Hamnânu*, § 706; for *Gabrî*, see § 721; for *Mannu-kî-Aššur*, see § 409.

*Adadi-râhimu* is only found here. For *Zanzânu*, or *Šanšânu*, compare *Šâsanu*, father of *Ardi-Ištar*, on no. 311; and *Šana-sana*, of *Partukka*, i. R. 46, iv. 20.

741. No. 269. Upper third of tablet. Drab.

*Lûbalât* sells *Nabû-šêzib*, his sister, four sons, in all six souls, his slaves, to .....ilai, the *râb alâni*. Dated, the 25th of *Abu*, B.C. 681. At least nine witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, .....*

<sup>1</sup> For *SIK*=*damâku*, see p. 119.

In line 3, for *ŠAL DAM* read simply *NIN*, i.e. *aḫātu*. In line 4, of reverse, I have omitted *na* before *ŠI*. In line 5, the scribe wrote *Bar-za-ḫi-e*, I thought he must have meant Unḫê, but I am doubtful now. In line 3, the determinative before Nabû-šêzib is not preserved, nor the *šá* in line 5.

For Lû-balât, see § 480; for Nabû-šêzib, § 471; for Natân, § 668; for the Eponym, Nabû-aḫê-êreš, see § 526; for Aḫu-lâmur, § 680; for Ašur-abu-ušur, § 705.

Nothing can be made of the traces, in reverse, lines 2, 3 and 4, but that the last witness was *ana pâni Natân*. Balâtšu also occurs in K 7426, and later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 988. Whether it is really the same as Balâsu, § 521, is open to doubt. With Barzakê, if that is intended, compare Barzikûtu, the name of a witness, on no. 448. Unḫê would be without parallel. Ilu-lî' also occurs as the name of a seller, B.C. 698, on no. 475.

Ramân-nâdin-aplu is one of the few witnesses we have for the existence of a god Ramân. It is difficult to see how this name could be differently read. Another is Ramân-ibni, the name of the seller, B.C. 680, on no. 298. In both these cases the determinative *AN* before *Ra-man* seems decisive. Ramân-rabâ, the name of a witness, B.C. 645, on no. 68, when compared with Adadi-rabâ, see § 475, shews that Ramân, like Adadi, is a divine name. As Adadi is here written *U*, we might conjecture that *U* was to be read Ramân, while Adadi should be reserved for *AN-IM*. But *AN-IM* frequently interchanges with *U* in proper names, e.g. in the name Rîmâni-Adadi, § 467; hence all we can say is that *U* and *AN-IM* may be read either Adadi or Ramân. There is, of course, no doubt that the same god is meant in either case. This witness was an inhabitant, or a native of the city Šazabinu. Whether the city was called Ša Zabîni, or only Zabina is not clear to me.

742. No. 270. Only one side preserved. Red.

Danâni-Nêrgal, Iklî, Matilai, Ašur-šallim-aḫê, probably the four sons of Gabbu-ilâni-êreš, sell, ....., his wife; ....., Pirḫia-dalâli, Ilu....., two(?) (*amêl*) *šuḫarte*, the woman Mannu....., their mother; in all five souls, slaves of theirs; to Rîmâni-Adadi, the *muḫîl apâte*, of Ašur-bânipal, King of Assyria, for five minas of silver, Carchemish standard. The date is lost. No witnesses preserved.

*Pk, D, Ac.*

As the next number appears to be a duplicate of this we may combine them.

No. 271. A fragment. Both upper and lower portions are damaged. Bronze coloured.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

In no. 270, the first five characters of line 1 are restorations. It is quite likely that we should here read Zilî, though in line 9 of no. 271, I think Iklî is better. In letter 3, *TAK-ŠID* is a restoration. In line 5, only the lower parts of several signs are preserved, but they can be restored from no. 271. In line 4, perhaps we should read *naphar IV mârê* before the name of Gabbu-ilâni-êreš, but there is hardly room for so much. Perhaps only *IV mârê* may have been written, or even only *mârê*. In this case, the restoration in line 4 is wrong. As Gabbu-ilâni-êreš is not mentioned again, I think one of these explanations must be correct. In line 5, the first sign in the second name is doubtful. In line 2, of no. 271, it may not be all preserved. It looks as if *SE-ĦI-a* were written, or the horizontals may be part of an erased character. My reading Pirĥîa is therefore only a guess. In line 6, the first two signs are restored from no. 271. These two names seem to be names of two 'little,' *šuĥarte*, sons of the first slave. In line 7, the name Mannu..... is a restoration. In line 9, the first five characters are restored. The scribe omitted *MEŠ* at the end of the line. In line 10, the first four signs are restored.

In no. 271, the traces in line 1 are very doubtful, but seem possible. In line 2, the first character appears to begin with four horizontals. In line 11, read the usual *kas-pu* for *KU-BAB-BAR*. In reverse, line 8, the last restored sign, of course, should be *ni*, not *tap*. In line 9, the traces seem to be what I give, but they do not suit the usual formula here.

The name Pirĥîa-dalâli, if correct, is unusual. What *šuĥartu* means is very uncertain. The idea of 'little' would hardly be expressed by this form. Note the mark *ša* in the Haran Census; and see later under the introduction to nos. 310 to 317.

The name of the first buyer, Danâni-Nêrgal, is given in full by no. 271, line 9. It does not occur outside these two texts. The name is of interest for the reading of names like Danân-Ninip, a specimen name, App. 1, xi. 34; Danân-ili, a specimen name, App. 3, iii. 19. The former readings of the signs *DAN-AN*, as *etil-ili* by Oppert, *danin* by Bezold, see *Cata.* p. 2004, and others less

probable, can hardly be retained. For the ending *-danân*, compare Bêl-danân, § 494. Zilî would be without parallel, but Ikli was the name of a witness, *ardu ša Nadbâni*, Sargon XII, B.C. 709, *S. A. V.* 720, see no. 1141, 49. It also occurs in K 1220, 1226; Sm. 456. For Matilai see § 409; for Ašur-šallim-aḥê, see § 481; for Gabbu-ilâni-êreš, see § 487; for Rimâni-Adadi, see § 467.

743. No. 272. An upper portion, much injured. Red.

The sellers' names began with Ši... and Bur..... That it was a slave sale is certain, from line 3, *bêl nîšê tadâni*. Dated, the 29th of Âbu, B.C. 694. Traces of at least five witnesses.

*Pkš, D.*

In reverse, line 3, the name may be Šilim-iddin, hardly Abikta-iddin. I know of no parallel. In line 4, the sign *GAL* is better read *Lip*, *lul*, so that the name is Ilu-lipḥur, compare no. 770, 4. For Aššurai, see § 481; and for the Eponym, Ilu-kia, see § 520.

No. 273. Only a fragment of the obverse is preserved, the reverse is almost complete and fairly well preserved. Light brown.

Only the presence of *nîšê*, in line 2, determines the nature of the transaction. In line 3, the vertical may be the remains of *TA*. In line 4, of reverse, for (*amêl*) *ardu ša Sa-e-ru*, I now think we may read (*amêl*) *su-sa-ni*, a title found also on no. 852. In line 8, the last sign was probably *ba*, not *ardu*. The names of the principals and the date have quite disappeared, except that the seller's name began with Rîm. The name of the first witness Abilu is only found here, but compare Abi-ilu, in K 1202; and Abi-ilâa, the name of the Eponym of B.C. 900, III. R. 1, I. 11. Bêl-zêr-iddin is only found here. Êreš-ilu is also the name of a witness, Ep. S, on no. 619, and occurs in K 2908. Sin-utakḫin is only found here. I think we may venture to restore the name, in line 10, as Si'-parakka-(uṣur). I know of no parallel.

For Sâeru, see § 560; for Nabû-nâ'id, § 491; for Nabû-nammir, § 672; for Nabûa, § 486; for Ilu-imme, § 574; for Rîmânî, § 511; for Handî, § 513; for Mannu-kî-Adadi, § 473.

744. No. 274. A mere fragment. Dark slate colour.

Tirî, the *šaknu* of Ḥarran, sells a slave, his wife and children, in all six souls. The buyer's name is lost. Dated, the 26th of Tišrîtu, B.C. 685. One or two witnesses indicated. 'One shekel of silver for his seal.'

*Pk, D, Ac.*

In line 2, there seem to have been one or two signs after Ḥarran and before *bél*; but they may have been erased again. In line 3, after the second *ba*, are traces that suggest *a*. The name may have ended in *babâ*.

The seller's name is only found here, compare perhaps the Nabataean תירו, *N. E.* p. 386 a. The Eponym's name appears to be written Ilu-daninâni, but it seems clear that Ašur-daninâni is intended; see § 541.

No. 275. Fragments only, of both sides. Drab.

Several slaves are named and part of the formula of a sale is preserved. Hence the transaction clearly was a sale of several slaves.

*Pk, Ac, ..... S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

In lines 1 and 2, the traces are merely sufficient to indicate the presence of the lines. Many signs are indistinct. In line 3, the name Muzurai is possible. In line 4, the *MEŠ* at the end was omitted by the scribe. In line 5, for *mâršu* we may read *amêlu* followed by an illegible sign. In line 1, of reverse, I think Nêrgal was written, and the traces which follow are the remains of *i-šak-(kan)*. In line 3, after *i-rak-kas*, there seem to be traces of two horizontals, perhaps the remains of *sa*. In line 4, after the bracket, instead of *X-MEŠ*, read *a-te*, the end of *ešrâte*. In line 6, the last sign is very like the *li* at the end of line 12. The title *PAP-ŠE-LI* is not otherwise known to me. Here, as often, the sign may be either, *nu*, *be*, or *PAP*. Perhaps we could read *NU-ŠE-RA*. In line 8, after *TUR*, read *amêlu* in place of the second *TUR*.

The first slave name could be restored Šulmânu, which may also be the name of a witness, on no. 403. Compare Šulmân, a witness, B.C. 674, on no. 117. For Immanu, see § 709; for Muzurai, see § 722; for Same, § 712; for Šillai, § 509; for Mannu-kî-Ašur, § 409; for Tabalai, § 474.

Gadîa seems to have a superfluous *a* at the end; compare *Ga-di-ia*, a witness, on no. 291; *Ga-di-a*, in K 4286; *Ga-di-i'*, in K 835; *Ga-da-a*, a *ša šêpâ*, on no. 860; *Ga-da'*, a *mutîr pûti*, on no. 857, II. 34; compare no. 595, R 4. Gadi-ilu is the name of a seller, on no. 443. Compare such names as גדיא, גדי, גרי, גריא, גראל, *N. E.* pp. 242-3.

The name 'Iba-kâme is not certain, as it might begin with 'A or 'U. The element *kâme* suggests that 'Iba should be a divine name. But I know of no parallel and perhaps 'Abaḳame is all one word.

The name in line 8, Ditaki, seems to be complete. As he was son of the *bêl paḥāti* of Laḫīru, perhaps the name is Elamite. It does not occur elsewhere. The name Kilakû is only found here. The restoration Šillai is not inevitable. We might read Šallai, as in § 700. Tarditu-Ašur is perhaps to be read Ẹudditu-Ašur. The same form is the name of a witness, B.C. 682, on no. 363; of a witness and *šalšu* of the Crown Prince, B.C. 660, on no. 444; of a witness and *šalšu*, Ep. T, on no. 618; and occurs on no. 947. The form *Tar-di-it*-Ašur was the name of a witness, B.C. 660, on no. 445. For the reading Ẹudditu-Ašur, compare *Ẹud-di-ia*, in 82-5-22, 131; and Ẹûdâ, Ẹuddâ, in later texts, *B. E. P.* ix. p. 68 b.

745. No. 276. Fragment of the upper portion. Drab.

Sip(parânu?) sells Aḫûa and other slaves. Dated, in B.C. 682. Nine witnesses at least.

*Pk, D, Ac.*

The end of line 4 may be *ka-a*. In line 2 of reverse, the name may be *A-gi-a-a*. In line 3, read *tir* for *nir*.

The only name known to me, beginning with *Si-ip*, is Sipparânu, see § 476. The name of the first witness ended in Ištar. Ašur-ilai is a common name, see § 500; Agiai would be found here only, but Aga in the Ḥarran Census, if a proper name, and Aginu, the name of a neighbour, on no. 425, might support it. Bêl-ittîa, or Bêl-kîa, occurs as the name of the father of a witness, on no. 453, and as a specimen name, App. i, v. 18, App. 3, i. 17. With Ḥīnumu compare *Ḥi-in-nu-mu*, in K 2889. Rīmût, in this form, which could be read Littu, occurs as a specimen name, App. i, x. 13. The form *Rīm-u-tú* is the name of a *mašmašu*, on no. 851, i. 15; *Ri-mu-tu* occurs on no. 882, i; and in K 1054, 1269, 7317, 13173; 82-5-22, 68; 83-1-18, 245; *Ri-mu-u-tú* occurs in K 1194; *Ri-mu-te*, on no. 829, 7; *Ri-mut*, in K 94, and often in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 7591, where also *Ri-e-mu-tu* is found.

For Sin-bêl-ušur, see § 696; for Šumâ, § 728; for Aḫûni, § 544; for the Eponym, Nabû-šar-ušur, § 523.

The name Pulḫu-šêzib is clearly the same as Pulḫu-ušêzib, the name of an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' on no. 742, 20, in Asiḫi; named also on no. 857, iv. 6.

No. 277. Upper portion, much injured. Drab.

Marduk-aḫi-erba, the *šanû* of the *nâgīru*, sells a number of slaves. Dated, the 12th of Aaru, B.C. 681. Eight witnesses at least.

*Pk, D, Ac, ..... S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>6</sub>).*

In line 1, the last character given is *amêlu*, but after it, in some lights, I think I can see *II-û*, hence read *šanû*. In line 2, the first two characters seem to be *šá nâgîru*. In line 2, of reverse, we may complete *û-tura*. On the left-hand edge, we may read *ŠI (m) A-šâ-te*.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 91, and *Hist. Senn.* p. 22.

The buyer's name is also found in the form *AN-AMAR-UD-PAP-er-ba*, in 81-2-4, 70. The name of the first witness, Aḫûa-bâni, or Aḫûa-ibni, is only found here. If we take Aḫû to be a divine name, we might read Aḫû-aplu-ibni. The name *DUG-GA-I* could be read Tâb-nâ'id. In this form, it occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 717, on no. 391; in the Harran Census, and in K 4729, 7390; Bu. 91-5-9, 183. But the name can be read Tâbî, compare *Ta-bi-i*, the name of a witness and *šaknu*, B.C. 694, on no. 58. The name *Ta-bi-ia* occurs as a writer of astrological reports, in K 1392; 81-2-4, 85; 83-1-18, 179, 180, 181, 182; Bu. 89-4-26, 11. Ardi-Gula often occurs in letters, K 14, 183, 472, 666, 991, 1026, 2077; 82-5-22, 171. The name of the last witness, in line 10, is not easily restored. The name Ašate is only found here.

For Mannu-kî-aḫê, see § 471; for Bêl-aḫi-iddin, § 684; for Nabû-aplu-iddin, § 492; Nabû-aḫê-êreš, the Eponym, § 526.

746. No. 278. A fragment of the upper portion. Dark red.

Ardi-Ištar sells Marsete', Si'-imme, Murâ, in all three souls, slaves of his, to Si'-ma'di, the *râb alâni*, for fifty shekels of silver. Dated, the ...7th of some month, B.C. 683. At least six witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac.*

In line 5, a plural sign seems to have preceded the seller's name. In line 8, read *ki* for *ki*. There are some traces of the next line. In line 4, of reverse, for *râb* read *amêlu*. There may have been another line between lines 1 and 2.

For Ardi-Ištar, see § 474; for Si'-imme, § 525; for Si'-ma'di, § 704.

The name Marsete' is new. Comparing Mar-sûri, the name of the seller, on no. 479; Mari', the name of the king of Damascus, I. R. 35, no. 1, 15; Mar-bi'di, the borrower, on no. 720; and Mari-iddi, an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in Basrê, on no. 742; we may regard Mar as the Aramaic מר, 'lord.' The element *sete'* remains



without parallel. The name Murâ is only found here. The name of the witness, in line 6 of the reverse, ended in *baba*.

The *al šê Rabû* in line 5 is only found here. An *al šê*, probably a village in the open fields, was often called after some owner. Here it seems to be simply called 'the great village.' I think that Şubâte, in line 8, is the name of the city, of which the Eponym was *šaknu*. I am inclined to regard it as the same place as Şupite. The name of this town is given as Şubutû, on no. 951, R 11; as Şubute, on no. 951, 10; as Şubât, in II. R. 53, 41 b; as Şubite, in v. R. 7, 114; as Şupite, on nos. 51, 447, and in Rm. 77. It seems likely to be Zobah. Now as Mannu-kî-Adadi was *šaknu* of Şupite and Eponym, B.C. 683, I think it most probable that this was the date of our tablet.

No. 279. An upper portion. Drab.

Bêl-Harran-kušurâni sells some slaves for a sum of bronze. Dated, the 14th of Arahsamna, B.C. 681.

*Pk, D, Ac, ..... F.*

Bêl-Harran-kušurâni does not occur again. The names of the slaves are lost, as that of the buyer is. It should come in line 5, but the traces there are beyond my power to read. For the first witness Kandalanu, see § 705. Radimu is not found again. It is hardly likely to be the same as Raḥimu, in § 668. Harazaza seems a peculiar name, the second *za* may be *a*. Then Harašâ might be compared with Harrušu, the name of the seller's father, on no. 352; and with Hirišai, the name of a witness and *atû*, B.C. 663, on no. 309; of a witness and *atû* of Bît Kidmûri, Ep. A, on no. 318; of a witness, Ep. A, on nos. 325 and 623; of a witness, Ep. N, on no. 327; of a witness and *atû*, Ep. Q, on no. 308; of a witness, Ep. Q, on no. 349; of a witness and *atû*, Ep. E, on no. 711. But we may note that Hara-šarru, in § 471, suggests that Šâ may be a divine name. For this we may compare the Palmyrene אמתנא, *N. E.* p. 221 a; and תימצא, *N. E.* p. 385 a. Also it is possible that Zaza was a divine name.

For Bêl-Harran-dûri, see § 701. How we should read *Ilu-GAB-E* I do not know. For Nabû-aḥu-ušur, see § 520; for the Eponym, Nabû-aḥê-êreš, see § 526. On the lower edge is an Aramaic docket, which seems to me to read... עתר (רת). Hence the name of the slave sold probably began with Atar. The end of the name, in line 3, seems to be *maki*; but my first copy has *milki*. Atar-milki would be quite regular. In the last line of reverse, before *ša*, are the traces of *amêlu*.

747. No. 280. Part of the lower portion. Drab to dark brown.

Dannu-Nêrgal sells some slaves to Ninip-aḥi-iddin for a sum of bronze. Traces of two lines of witnesses.

...A<sub>c</sub>, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>2</sub>, B, F<sub>6</sub>), F.

In line 9, *tu*; in line 10, *la*; in line 11, *ina matêma*; are restorations. In line 1, of reverse, there is not room for *lû mârêšu*, probably only *mârêšu* was written. In reverse, line 2, for *ta* the scribe seems to have written *tu*.

Dannu-Nêrgal was the name of a (*ša*)*šêpâ*, on no. 857, I. 12; and occurs on no. 909. Ninip-aḥi-iddin was the name of a witness and *šanû* of the old palace, B.C. 712, on no. 5; occurs in K 559, Bu. 89-4-26, 20. The form *AN-BAR-SIS-SE-na* occurs in K 22, 672. I can make nothing of the traces of the names of the witnesses.

No. 281. Part of the reverse. Drab.

That this is a sale of slaves is concluded only from the B clause. Dated, the 15th of Âbu, B.C. 694. Eight witnesses.

...F, B.

In line 8, the last sign is written very like *TIŠ-IR*. In line 13, for *di* we might read *ki*. In line 10, the scribe probably omitted *maš* after *ša*; it is not on the tablet.

For Abda', see § 512; for Aḥu-abû, see § 475; for Bîr-Šamaš, see § 554; for Ištar-dûri, see § 486; for Nabû-ušallim, see § 465; for the Eponym, Ilu-ittîa, see § 520.

In line 8, the name Pûlu is interesting, because it has been suggested that this was the name by which Tiglath Pileser III. was known, as king in Babylon. It occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 707, on no. 350; as a *kalû*, in K 189, and in the letters K 832 a, Sm. 1067. Hadasâ is only found here. Ninip-ilai was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 865, III. R. 1, I. 46; B.C. 839, III. R. 1, II. 26; B.C. 803, *šaknu* of Aḥi-zuḥîna, III. R. 1, III. 15; B.C. 737, *šaknu* of Nasibîna, III. R. 1, IV. 33; B.C. 723, III. R. 1, V. 2. It was the name of the buyer, B.C. 717, on no. 391; of the seller, B.C. 710, on no. 392; of a seller, from Dannai, B.C. 663, on no. 470; of a buyer, on no. 405; and occurs in K 1142.

748. No. 282. A thin flake of the upper part of obverse. Black.

This is undoubtedly the upper part of no. 283, to which 80-7-19, 345 has now been joined. The augmented text appears as no. 802.

From these portions the transaction is very clear, but only one side is preserved.

Sê-ime and Dišî sell a number of slaves to Sê-iate for two minas of silver. No date or name of witness is preserved.

The names of the parties are singular. The first, Sê-ime, may be a compound of Sê, a form of Si'. The second seller, Dišî, also bears a name that occurs nowhere else. Sê-iate seems also to be a compound of Sê. Thus we may perhaps regard these names as Aramaic; compare the Harran Census. Note the reference to Sin of Harran.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

No. 284. A lower portion. Dark red.

Ardi-Ištar sells....., Sudalâ, his mother, in all two souls, slaves of Ardi-Ištar, who was over the *bîtâni*, to Šulmânu-imme, for one mina and a half of silver according to the mina of the king. Dated, the 28th of Têbêtu, B.C. 668. Thirteen witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, B, S<sub>2</sub>.*

In line 10, after *izakḫupanni*, the *e* is an error of mine. In line 1, of reverse, after *amêlu*, the traces are probably to be read *râb KA-SAR ša êkalli*. In line 7, traces of *PA* may be seen, at the beginning of the line. For *ba* read *KA*, and the whole name was Nabû-balâṭṣu-iḫbi. In line 11, the last sign before *anni* is *KAD*, which seems to be the ideogram for *riḫtu*, but a name Nabû-riḫtu-anni is unlikely. Perhaps we may read Nabû-iriḫâni.

The name Sudalâ has the ending *-dalâ*, seen in Nabû-dalâ, Si'-dalâ, and Šêr-dalâ. The same root appears in the ending *-dilîni*, seen in Našuh-dilîni, Si'-dilîni. We may compare the Biblical Dalaiah, Delaiah. The verb *dalû*, 'to draw out,' may be used here in some such meaning as 'to save.' But this particular name would point to a god *Su*, perhaps a form of *Se'*, *Sa'*, *Si'*. For Ardi-Ištar, see § 474. Šulmânu-imme is only found here.

The name of the first witness ends in *-šallim*. For Dannai, see § 474; for Tariba-Ištar, see § 476; for Nabû-balâṭṣu-iḫbi, see § 506; for Šamaš-ilai, see § 560; for Ḥabaste, see § 472; for Bêl-dûri, see § 558; for Šamaš-êreš, see § 577. The name Tagalî is singular. Perhaps it is a form of Takalî, shewing the same root as Takilâte, Takkallum, Takil-šarru, etc. The name Nabû-iriḫâni might also be read Nabû-kušûrâni. It also was borne by a witness and *mukîl apâte* of the Crown Prince; occurs as the name of a slave, on no. 913, and

as a specimen name, App. 1, 1. 21. For the Eponym Marlarîm, see § 472.

749. No. 285. A short upper portion. Brown.

Sar-uarrî sells some slaves. Dated, the 1st of Du'ûzu, B.C. 686. Eleven witnesses.

*Pk, D,.....F.*

In line 3, the name begins with Mar, not Sar, and is probably to be read Mar-Samsî. I do not think this means 'Son of Samsu,' but 'The lord is Samsu.' For other Mar compounds, see § 746. The name is only found here. At the end of the line is *amêl šanû*, quite distinctly visible now. In line 4, the *ru* is much broken and only Si-e can be relied on. I know of no parallel. The next name seems to be Sê-hân, but is also rather doubtful. The name in line 6 is altogether unreliable. So far as they go, these seem Aramaic names. The name of the first seller is perhaps Šar-uarrî. The ending *uarrî* is seen in Sarda-urri, the name of a prince of Urarṭu, named by Tiglath Pileser III., A. 20. This may be the same name as Sardûri, king of Urarṭu, v. R. 10, 40. The same ending occurs in Maribe-uarrî a place name in the Ḥarran Census. Why these four persons sealed the document, unfortunately does not appear. If they also were sellers, then the scribe may have written line 2 before he was aware of more sellers than one.

For Ziî, see § 476; for Parûṭu, see § 577; for Šamaš-erba, see § 661; for Nâ'id-ilu, see § 504; for the Eponym, Bêl-êmurâni, see § 540.

Iḳbi-ilu was the name of a slave on no. 661, and a specimen name, App. 1, VIII. 12. Sin-nâšîr was the name of two witnesses here, in lines 3 and 7. The same form occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6711. The forms *AN-XXX-na-šîr*, *AN-XXX-PAP*, also are found in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 6711. Also a form *EN-ZU-PAP* occurs as the name of a Darâtai, writer to the king, in K 186. With Abdi-Azûzi we return to Aramaic names. The name implies a god Azûzi; see *N. E.* p. 338 b, עבדעזי, a Punic name. Kakusi is only found here. Perhaps we should compare Kakustu in the Ḥarran Census. Ardi-Šamaš is only found here.

Marduk-erba, in this form, is the name of a witness, B.C. 676, on no. 330; of a borrower, B.C. 672, on no. 15; of a witness and son of Urdu, on no. 311; of a *bêl paḥâti* of Purâmu, on no. 853; of an officer in charge of 1300 men, on no. 855. The form *AN-AMAR-UD-SU* is the name of a *râb kišîr* of the Rabshakeh, on nos. 857,

860; of a seller, on no. 419; occurs in the letters K 653, 1051, 1274; 81-2-4, 313; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 147. The form *AN-RID-SU* occurs as the name of a *šaknu* of the *mukil apâte*, on no. 814.

750. No. 286. A fragment of the upper portion. Drab to brown.

Surâ, Gargamišai, Nabû-upaḥḥir, in all three officials, sell their slaves. Dated, the 1st of Šabâtu, B.C. 691. Two witnesses.

*Pš, D.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 89, and *Hist. Senn.* p. 17.

The text is partly published III. R. 47. no. 11. Professor Oppert gave a transliteration and translation, *Doc. Jur.* p. 154.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A. 7, calls it a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Sklaven*.

In line 2, the name clearly begins *Su-ra...*, compare § 474. There are distinct traces of a sixth line on the obverse, but it is not legible. III. R. omits the first two lines of the reverse. The first line seems to have the name Imâni-ilu, compare § 481. In line 2, there are some traces left, which may point to *DIN* before *su*. The name therefore seems to have ended in *balâtsu*, but I cannot read the rest.

The name of the second seller, Gargamišai, is obviously a gentilic, but only occurs here. For Nabû-upaḥḥir, see § 672; for the Eponym, Zazaku, see § 476. This latter name also occurs in 81-2-4, 65, where his sons are mentioned.

No. 287. A fragment of the obverse. Drab.

Nabûti sells five slaves, among them Bêl-šar-ibni, to Milki-nûri, the *šaknu* of the Queen. Date and witnesses lost.

*Pk, D, Ac.*

There are distinct marks of the coarse cloth, or canvas, in which this tablet was wrapped before it hardened. In line 2, the scribe wrote the *TA* of *tadâni* twice over. In line 3, the name ended in *PAP-MEŠ-TI*, i.e. in *aḥê-bullit*. The first sign in line 5 seems to be *ŠI*, rather than *AN*.

For Nabûti, see § 466; for Bêl-šar-ibni, see § 526; for Milki-nûri, § 513.

751. No. 288. A fragment, out of the central part of the tablet. Dark grey to black.

Šamaš-aali, an *amêlu* ŠA....., Ianûku his son, his wife; Dakûlê, his son, his wife; the woman Bau-iaa(li?), the woman Dimtu(?); and others, in all fifteen(?) souls, are sold. The names of the principals and the date are lost. Ten witnesses.

*Ac*, ... *F*, *B*.

In line 5, the name is very uncertain. For *Di* we may read *ša*; for *tu* perhaps *ba* followed by *ni*. In line 8, the traces are very faint, and even the number is not certain. In line 9, *upišma* is a restoration. In the first line of reverse, the traces rather favour *ina dînišu* in place of *di-e-nu*. In line 5, I omitted *AN* before *XXX*. In lines 6, 7, 8, 9, there should be a square bracket at the end of each line; they may have had more. On the reverse edge, line 2, the first two signs are not certain.

The edge lines are puzzling. The words *šar (mât) Aššur (KI)* may point to the date being in the Eponymy of a king. Sargon is unlikely, Sennacherib, B.C. 687, would be the most likely. Ašurbânipal seemingly was Eponym, for his *limmu* is named in 48-11-4, 282, a letter addressed to a king, his son, see *H. A. B. L.* p. 505. On the other hand, the tablet K 4728 is not dated in the Eponymy of Ašurbânipal, as Dr Bezold, *Cata.* p. 657, gave; but in the Eponymy of Ašur-dûr-ušur, which G. Smith considered to be B.C. 650. When Ašurbânipal was Eponym, we do not know. But in our case, we may have *ina tarši* of some king, that is, as I take it, 'by the direction of' the king. Then clearly followed a new sentence, beginning with *šummu*, 'if.' Then we might restore *nîšê lâ idin*. That would imply that the slaves were not delivered when the purchase money was paid. But there is no certainty of the true restoration.

For Šamaš-aali, compare Si'-aali, Našḥu-aali, and Nabû-iâli. They seem Aramaic; Bau-iâli would be of the same type. The name Ianûku also occurs as that of a *nasîku* of Zâmê, Sargon *Annals*, 267; see Winckler's *Sargon*. Dakûlê seems related to the name Daḳali-Marduk, in App. I, XII. 15. It is less likely to be the Aramaic 𐤊𐤍𐤏, 'palm.'

Among the witnesses Atarai is also the name of a *bêl paḥâtî*, on no. 854, 14. Sin-šašu does not seem complete. Sin-šašu-ušur seems possible. I know of no parallel. For ʾĀb-šâr-Ašur, see § 663; for Nabû-aḥi-iddin, see § 534.

ʾĀb-šil-Ištar is only found here. The name is like ʾĀb-šil-Ešarra,

which, in the form *DUG-GA-IŠ-MI-E-šár-ra*, was borne by the Eponym of B.C. 717, *šaknu* of Aššur, III. R. 1, v. 8, in the sixth year of Sargon; compare K 2686, 3067, 3127, III. R. 2, nos. 1, II, III. In the same form it occurs in K 1151, 82-5-22, 173; and dates Bu. 91-5-9, 97. The form *DUG-GA-NUN-E-šár-ra* occurs as the name of the writer of the letters K 466, 507, 515, 594, 620, 656, 1057, 1147, 1413, 4770, 8402; Sm. 1030; Rm. II. 458; 82-5-22, 104; dating no. 662, and a specimen name, App. 1, XII. 39. *DUG-GA-NUN-e-šár-ra* is the name of the writer of K 5465. *DUG-GA-NUN-e-šár* is the name of the writer of K 5466; *DUG-GA-NUN-E-ŠÁR*, of the writer of K 13019; and, probably in error, *IM-NUN-E-šár-ra* of the writer of 81-7-27, 33. Another similar name is Tâb-šil-Marduk, written *DUG-GA-IŠ-MI-AN-AMAR-UD*, the name of the writer of the astrological reports K 754, 1308, 1332, 1393, a nephew of Bêl-nâšir. The name Ilu-kaiâ..... is discussed in § 716; Azi-ilu and Mîsu, in § 573; Hallîa, in § 712.

752. No. 289. A mere fragment. Drab.

The occurrence of the *B* clause in reverse, line 2, shews it is a slave sale; the presence of the plural predicates *zarpu lakku*, in line 3, points to more slaves than one. The date is lost, and only one name of a witness is preserved.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), B.*

The last sign but one in the first line of the reverse is *dan*. For Šamaš-erba, see § 661.

No. 290. A fragment of the reverse side. Dark brown.

*B, F.*

There is only the *B* clause to rely upon for classification; but that need not imply more than one slave, and, of course, this might also be an estate sale. There are parts of the names of nine witnesses left. Adadi-nâ'id is also the name of a buyer, on no. 613. For Ahi-râmu, see § 709; for Ludime, see § 483. The name Sili is that of a witness, B.C. 692, on no. 33; of the father of Ahi-nûri, on no. 318. Compare Silî, in K 7339. The next name may well be restored Sabai, compare the folk name Sab'ai, named by Tiglath Pileser III., in II. R. 67, 53; III. R. 10, no. 2, 27, (l. 38); and the country Saba'ai, *Sargon, Ann.* 97, *Pr.* 27. The name Ra'u recalls the witness, Ep. D, on nos. 38 and 39; compare the Aramaic רע, Greek 'Ραίον.

The name Zakiru occurs as that of a *kalû*, on no. 851, III. 2; as the son of Iddina-šarru, in K 4740; and in later Babylonian texts,

*S. A. V.* 553, etc. Zakiri occurs in 80-7-19, 113. Zaḳiru, of Bît Sa'alli, is named by Tiglath Pileser III., B. 19, and occurs in K 186; as a Darâtai and writer to the king. Zakirru occurs in K 154. Zakîr occurs frequently as the name of a writer to the king, often of astrological reports, K 467, 770, 931, 1345, 5467, 6077, 8379, 8391, 8671, 13092; D. T. 53; Rm. 193, 201; 80-7-19, 19, 59; 81-2-4, 77, 143; 82-5-22, 46, 67; 83-1-18, 85, 196, 248; Bu. 89-4-26, 8; also in later Babylonian texts, v. R. 67, 8 a; cf. v. R. 53, 20.

No. 291. A fragment. Slate grey.

The beginning of *nîšê šuatu*, in line 2, marks this as a sale of slaves. The date is lost. There are traces of nine witnesses.

*C, C', D'.*

In line 4, I think we may have part of *tuâru dēnu dabâbu laššu*; as, in line 3, the first sign seems to be *la* the beginning of *laḳiu*. The first line of obverse seems to indicate that the scribe wrote *ina dînišu dabâbašu idabûbma lâ ilaḳḳi*. In line 6, after *a* may have been *hal*: then either *lîlî*, or *susu*. In line 9, in place of *bar* read a single vertical. At the end of line 10, are traces of *amêlu*. All through there may have been titles written at the ends of the lines, but they are not preserved.

For Nabûa, see § 486; for Bêl-aplu-iddin see § 711; for Arbailai, see §§ 409, 478; for Mannu-kî-aḥi, see § 471; for Gadîa, see § 744.

The second witness may have borne the name Nabû-bâni, compare the name of a witness on no. 601. In both these cases the name may really be longer. Nabû-bânunni was the name of an *aba*, iv. R. *add.* p. 9, Col. 11. 29. Nabû-bâne-aḥê was the name of a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 3; of a witness, B.C. 680, on no. 26; occurs in K 637, 81-2-4, 50, and as a specimen name, App. 2, 11. 5. Nabû-bâni-aḥi occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5723; Nabû-bâni-aḥêšu as a specimen name, App. 1, 111. 23. Nabû-bâni-aplu is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 687, on no. 624; of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 686, on no. 374, and a specimen name, App. 1, iv. 49. The form *AN-PA-KAK-TUR-UŠ* is a specimen name, App. 1, iv. 10; App. 2, 11. 7. In nearly all these cases we have *bâni* expressed ideographically by *KAK*. But *AN-PA-ba-ni-A* is written as a specimen name, App. 2, 11. 6. Hence, if our name be not simply Nabû-bâni, Nabû-bâni-aplu is the most likely form.

Aḥallîli seems more likely than Aḥalsusu. Perhaps we have the root 𐎶𐎵𐎶, seen in Halla-alla', Hallu, etc., see § 712. Compare Halli-arraka, the name of a witness and *aba*, on no. 469. Note the



Phoenician name אֲבַחֲלָל, *N. E.* p. 205 b. The name in line 9 seems to be Ardi-Ea, which is written in this form also in K 626, 940. A shorter form *ARAD-1* occurs in 82-5-22, 145. The more usual spelling *ARAD-AN-Ê-A* is the name of a frequent writer to the king, in K 602, 1022, 1024, 1204, 1383, 1405, 1428, 1963, 7426, 1300; 81-2-4, 58; 81-7-27, 30; 83-1-18, 88, 211, 226, 255, 270. These are not all to be referred to the same person, as some of the letters belong to the time of Sargon II., and others are clearly later. It was the name of a *kalû*, on no. 857, 1. 40. In III. R. 43, II. 4, we find the name as early as the time of Marduk-nâdin-aḫi of Babylon, as borne by the father of Êa-kudurri-ibni *bêl paḫâtî ša mâtâte*: compare IV. R. 38, II. 3, 37. In V. R. 44, 15 c d, we have a variant given as *LA-BAR-AN-NU-DIM-MUT*, probably as the name of an ancient Babylonian author. The name *UR-40*, borne by the boatman of the Ark in the Nimrod Epos, has been variously read; Amêl-Êa, Puzur-Bêl, etc. For this name, *UR-50*, in IV. R. 44, VI. 33, and *UR-AN-40*, in K 8517, seem to be variants. V. R. 44, 48 c d, reads *UR-50* as Amêl-Êa.

753. No. 292. A fragment. Light red.

The slaves Mannu-kî-Ninûa, Ḥandî, Iṣtar-Arbaili(?) ....., and Ilu-šallim....., are sold. Dated, the 28th of Nisânu, B.C. 707. Seven witnesses.

Several names are doubtful. Thus in line 1, for *NINA*, perhaps we should read *i*. Then the name might be restored in various ways. In line 4, the name is doubtful all through and may not be complete. In line 1 of reverse the traces are quite uncertain. In line 5, perhaps the title was *šalšu*, but it looks most like *naggaru*. In line 6, after *bêl* may be *za*, or *ša*. In line 7, the office seems to have been *aba*. In line 8, the *KAN* is very uncertain.

For Ḥandî as a masculine name, see § 513. The name may not be complete. The next name certainly is not complete, and the *Arbailu* is very doubtful. For Iṣtar-dûri, see § 470; for Bêl-ibni, see § 505; for Kalḫai, see § 738; for Baḫiânu, see § 532; for Abdî, see § 512; for Nabû-dûri, see § 534; for Nabû-nâ'id, see § 491.

The name of the Eponym is doubtful, being much defaced, but I follow Dr Bezold, in reading it Ša-Ašur-dubbu. This was the name of the Eponym, *šaknu* of Tušḫân, B.C. 707, III. R. 1, V. 17; compare K 3064, III. R. 2, no. XIV, line 26, the fifteenth year of Sargon as king of Assyria, third year as king of Babylon. The same information as to the synchronisms is given by K 3055, 3074, III. R. 2,

nos. XIII, xv. In our documents he dates no. 350. The name seems to be borne by a witness, on no. 467, and occurs in the letters K 469, 1067, 1108, 13008; 72-7-8, 292 and 82-5-22, 109.

No. 293. A fragment. Red.

Two slaves, one a woman called Danni-ilu, are sold by two or more owners to a *bêl paḥâti*, for two minas of silver. Traces of two witnesses.

In line 3, after *ni*, the scribe seems to have written *ni* again, and altered it to *ša*. The effect is very like *TA*. The formula presents several peculiarities. In line 8, *izirip* is unusual in this place. The word *itidima* only occurs here. Professor Zimmern, *G. G. A.* p. 249, suggested *KI* for *DI*, but the scribe wrote *DI*. We should read the signs *i-TI-ki*, as *ilakki*. In line 9, the name is not *KI-A*....., but clearly *Abša*....., compare *Abšâ*, the name of the brother of *Karḥai*, sold, B.C. 670, on no. 420. Can *itidi* be for *itidin*, before *ma*? Then it would seem that the *bêl paḥâti* bought these slaves and handed them over to *Abšâ*. After *ardu*, the scribe wrote *ša*, in place of the usual *šu*. Clearly one *ša* is an error. For Danni-ili compare the masculine name of a slave sold, B.C. 670, on no. 420. In neither place is the name certainly complete. Compare *Dannu-Nêrgal*, in § 747 and App. I, vii. 20. *Dannu-ḫarši* is the name of a serf, with his people, on no. 672: and a specimen name, App. I, viii. 34. *Dannu-šarri* is the name of a witness and *mâr šipri*, on no. 219. For names beginning with *Aḫa*....., see *Aḫâ*, § 711; *Aḫaba* and *Aḫabi-ilu*, in § 502.

No. 294. A fragment. Red.

The script is very peculiar; wedges usually written on the slant are here all horizontal. The readings are often doubtful. In line 2, the first sign may be *maḥ*, but possibly *li*. The next sign is probably *la*, but may be *u-ma*. The *ra* seems certain. In line 6, we could restore *amêl GUR pu-ti*; at the end *šâ* is better than *ki*. In the next line, read now *MA-NA KU (BABBAR)*. Consequently we may take the abstract to be:

*Maḥlara*, his maidservant, *Babai* her daughter, in all three souls, his slaves, are sold by a seller, whose name is lost, to *Risa*, the *mutîr pûti* of ....., for so many minas of silver. Dated, the 20th (?) of *Ulûlu*, B.C. 700. Traces of ten witnesses.

So long as the name is so uncertain in its reading it seems useless to seek for parallels but I know of nothing like any of the forms

which Maḥlara could take. With Barbai compare the masculine Babai, a specimen name, App. 1, ix. 36. Note also Babûa, named by Ašurnâširpal as *ḫēpu* of Ništun, 1. R. 18, 67; Bubâ, Bûbu, Bubûa, variants of the same, or of his father's name. The more usual form seems to have been Bibîa, which occurs as the name of a witness, B.C. 679, on Rm. 157; and in 83-1-18, 24. Bibî was the name of a seller and *bêl narḫabti*, B.C. 679, on no. 364; of a witness and *sukallu rabû*, Ep. 1, on no. 326. Whether Bibê-ḥallušu, on no. 429, is a proper name seems not quite clear; nor is Bîbi-lagamur, on no. 917, a proper name. But compare Bibbûa, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 2; Hilprecht's Bibâ, *B. E.* ix. p. 57 a; and the Biblical בִּבְי.

For Risai, see § 705; for Aa-aḥê, § 408; for Bêl-li', § 712; for Dâri-Bêl, § 473; for Iâda, § 702; for the Eponym, Mitunu, § 476.

In line 5, of reverse, the scribe seems to have written *Na-bi-ra-mu*, over an erased name. The characters *Na-bi* were probably intended, but in this text *na* is indistinguishable from *ba*. Babirâmu is quite likely, and may be restored perhaps, in no. 313, as the name of a slave sold. Nabi would be an unusual commencement for a name, but see Nabisikki, the name of a witness, on no. 388. Bala-imme may be for Ba'al-imme; but compare Balai in § 548. Zabai is the name also of a *mutir pûti*, named by Kudur, in K 82; of a witness, B.C. 679, on Rm. 157; of a *râb ali* of Appîna, writer of 83-1-18, 18. Hence it seems not unfair to restore Barḥalzi for the end of the line. We could read Šābai, compare Šabaiu, the seller of no. 376, if *u* be really part of the name. For Amêḫi I know no parallel. The name on the edge seems to be Nabû-nâ'id, see § 491.

754. No. 295. A fragment. Red. The tablet was unusually small for this sort of contract. There is nothing to decide how many slaves were sold, perhaps only one woman. The seller's name began with Im, or perhaps Adadi, or Šâr. The buyer's name is lost. There were five witnesses. Dated, the 15th of Nisânu, B.C. 731.

*A<sub>6</sub>, C, C', S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

Scarcely one name is complete. The female name Laḥa..... has no parallel. The name of the first witness might be Belânu, or Tillânu, both new to me. The next name began with *DUG-GA*, which could be variously restored. The next may have begun with Ḳurdi. No name beginning with Pai..... is known to me; except Pa'i, in K 4690, probably the same as Pa'e, the name of a king of Elam, given by Ašurbânipal, on K 6382; successor of Ummanaldas

on the throne of Elam, v. R. 7, 51 and v. R. 10, 17. The name also occurs in 83-1-18, 68 and in II. R. 66, II. 3. In line 9, the name seems to have begun with I..... For the Eponym, Bêl-lûdâri, see § 657. In line 1, *amtušû* is a restoration; in line 5, read *ķi* for *ki*.

No. 296. A fragment. Slate grey.

Mar..... sells Ḫalmusu, the *KU-KA-SAR*, his wife; Ilu-meḫûnai, Matalli, his wife; a son of Ašur-šum-ukîn, to Babîlai. Date lost. Seven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac.*

In line 7, the sign is very doubtful. In line 1, of reverse, Mattallai is a likely restoration. In line 6, we may restore Nabû-šêzib, with some probability. I cannot read the traces of the date.

Ḫalmusu is the name of a witness, B.C. 679, on no. 462; of a witness, servant of the *râb nâdin akli*, on no. 464; and occurs in the Ḫarran Census. How to combine the signs for the next name, I do not know. Anmeḫunai seems as difficult as Ilumeḫûnai. I know of no parallel for either. For Matalli, see § 409. We might perhaps read Mari-lî. Whether Ašur-šum-ukîn is the father of the slave whose name preceded, or whether he is another slave I am not sure. For the name compare *Ašur-mu-ki-in* in K 943, and Sm. 1031. If this be so, perhaps the name really was Ašur-mukînu. For Babîlai, see § 498.

Among the witnesses, Mattallai is discussed in § 409. Sulâ occurs on no. 853, as the name of a *bêl paḫâtî*, and is named in 81-2-4, 493. The related name, Sulai, occurs in K 821, and as a specimen name, App. 1, IX. 30. Sulîa is the name of a witness, B.C. 679, on Rm. 157. La-amme only occurs here. For Šarru-ibni, see § 705; for Nabû-šêzib, § 471.

Adadi-rîmâni was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 843, III. R. 1, II. 22; occurs as the name of a neighbour, in Du'ua, B.C. 748, on no. 418; and in K 4675. Also it is a specimen name App. 3, II. 13. These names are spelt with *AN-IM*. Our form is the name of a witness, a Ninevite, B.C. 668, on no. 472; of a witness, on no. 438; as Ep. D, on nos. 38, 39, 622; also in K 534 and D. T. 317. The form *AN-U-rîm-an-ni* is the name of the master of a slave, Ep. S, on no. 311.

755. No. 297. Portions made up from 83-1-18, 259, 372, and 397. The first and third join; the second is, in my opinion, part of the same tablet, but does not join. Drab.

The specification of the lot sold probably went down to line 7.

The name of the seller is partly preserved, in lines 8 and 18; perhaps it was *Ilu-tabâni*. Dated, the 5th of Âbu, Ep. J. Eight witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

For the witness *Zarûtî*, see § 515; for *Ḥabaste*, § 472; for *Sin-nâ'id*, § 475; for *Šillâ*, § 509; for *Nabûa*, § 486: for the Eponym, *Šulmu-Bêl*, § 706. The other names are too fragmentary for restoration.

No. 298. The top edge only is preserved. Drab.

*Ramân-ibni* sells some slaves. Dated, the 22nd of *Simânu*, B.C. 680. At least three witnesses.

*Pk, D.*

For *Ramân-ibni*, see § 475; for the Eponym, *Danânu*, § 480. The other names are not easily restored.

No. 299. Fragment of top edge. Drab to black.

Four men, or three sons of one man, whose names are almost destroyed, sell some slaves. Dated in *Aaru*, no day given. Trace of one witness.

The name in line 4 may be that of the father of the first three. The *TAK-ŠID*, at the beginning of the line, is a restoration, and may be wrong. *Damḫi-ilî* is possible as a name. *Dumḫi-ilâni* occurs on no. 862. The word *tiriši*, in rev. 3, replaces the more usual *ina tarši*. It was clearly followed by the name of a king. I can make nothing of the other traces of names.

No. 300. A fragment. Slate grey to black.

No names of principals, or slaves, and no price, are preserved. The *bêl nûšê* of line 2, however, is sufficient to mark a sale of slaves. Dated, in *Du'ûzu*. Seven witnesses. We have traces of *Pk, D* and *F*.

*Silim-ilu*, *Silim-Ašur*, or even *Silim-Adadi*, might be the name of the first witness. For *Ḥandî*, see § 513; for *Nabû-aḫi-iddin*, see § 534.

*Babali* is only found here. The other names I am unable to restore.

756. No. 301. A fragment of the upper portion. Brown.

*Aplûa*, the *râb ali* of *Laḫîru*, of the house of the Queen Mother, sells some slaves. Dated, the 7th of some month, in B.C. 678. At least three witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac....*

In the head line, read B.C. 678 for B.C. 698. In line 1, I have given the wrong *amêlu*. The first slave was an *irrišu*. There are a

number of peculiar scratchings on the tablet. In line 2, the *šá* is not now on the tablet. The names of the first two witnesses are not to be restored.

Aplûa is a form that only occurs here. For Aplûa, see § 518; for Ardi-Nanâ, see § 491; for the name of the Eponym, Nêrgal-šarru-ušur, § 515.

No. 302. A fragment of the upper edge. Drab.

Erihi, the *pirhinu* of Nabû, sells some slaves. Date gone, witnesses missing.

At the end of line 3 may be *mâršu*. We have traces of *P*<sub>5</sub>, *D*, *Ac*. The name Erihi is only found here.

No. 303. A fragment. Drab.

This text has really no right to be here. It rather seems to be part out of the penalties to a contract. The buyer seems to have been Šum-lišir. The name occurs as that of a buyer, and *mušarkisu*, B.C. 734, on no. 415; of a witness and *šangû*, on no. 603. Another form, *MU-SI-DI*, is a specimen name, App. 1, xi. 28. Among the penalties we may recognise *F*<sub>2</sub>, *F*<sub>8</sub>, *F*<sub>6</sub>, on the reverse, but it is not easy to say what was on the obverse. 'One mina of some woollen stuff, and one mina of bright silver,' are not like the usual penalties.

No. 304. A mere strip from the right-hand side. Drab.

The words *nîšê šuatu*, in line 4, sufficiently mark it as a sale of slaves. We can recognise parts of the clauses, *Ac*, *C*, *C'*, *D'*, *S*<sub>1</sub>, *S*<sub>2</sub> (*F*<sub>1</sub> *F*<sub>6</sub>), *F*. In line 1, the sign may be part of *na*. In line 4, of reverse, the trace may be *û* or *ŠI-LU*. No names of the principals, witnesses, slaves, nor date, are preserved.

No. 305. A top edge. Red brown.

Bêl-êreš sells several slaves. The names of the slaves, of the buyer, and of the witnesses are lost. No date is preserved. For Bêl-êreš, see § 474.

No. 306. A top edge. Drab.

A *râb alâni*, called Idu....., sells Nâdin-Bêl and other slaves. The buyer's name, and those of the witnesses are lost. Dated in Ulûlu.

757. No. 320. A singular shape, like a flat fig. Black. Now that Sm. 649 is joined to Sm. 1407, we have most of the tablet. The writing is along the length of the tablet, large and bold.

Three or four men whose names are only partly preserved sell Nêrgal-tuklâtûa (?), Mumâr-ili, Šamaš-li', Ištar-di'nini, and Mukînat-Ištar, in all five slaves to Mušallim-

Ištar, for sixty-four minas of bronze. Dated, the 9th of Aaru, B.C. 691. Seven witnesses.

*Pš, D, Ac, C, S.*

The peculiarity of the writing, in which horizontals replace slant wedges, makes me think that, in line 3, the first sign is meant for *U-GUR*. Then *tuk* seems to be certain. The scribe wrote *AD*, but I think he meant *la*. Then the name would be *U-GUR-tuk-la-a-tú-u-a*, or Nêrgal-tuklâtûa. In line 4, of reverse, the scribe wrote *amêlu NI ÁŠ-ŠUR*, which I do not understand. The title *NI-ŠUR* is common, and may be intended here.

The names of the sellers are not to be restored from the traces in lines 1 and 2. For Nêrgal-tuklâtûa compare Nabû-tuklatûa, written *AN-PA-tuk-lat-u-a*, a specimen name, App. 1, iv. 31. Mumâr-ili is quite without parallel. I take *mumâr* to be the participle II. 1, of *mâru*, 'to send.' Šamaš-li' was the name of a neighbour, Ep. N, on no. 327; and a specimen name, App. 1, vi. 13. In the form *AN-Ša-maš-DA* it is the name of a witness on no. 209, if that name be complete. Ištar-di'nini is only found here. Mukînat-Ištar is considered in § 665, Mušallim-Ištar in § 481.

Ḳurdi-Nêrgal is the name of the *purḳullu*, named by Akkullânu, on Rm. 67, as having stolen a gold plate from the temple of Ašur. It also occurs in the Ḥarran Census. Ṭabûsu is the name of a seller, B.C. 686, on no. 374; of a lessor, B.C. 687, on no. 624. For Urdu, see § 556; for Sûsû, see § 486; for Ninûai, see § 508; for the Eponym, Bêl-êmurâni, see § 540.

Ašur-aplu-iddin only occurs here. Išdu-nâ'id, or Išdî, is the name of a seller, son of Ḥala-iddi; of an Aramaic scribe, B.C. 661, on no. 782; and occurs on no. 877 a. Ḳurdi-ilu, in line 6, may not be complete.

758. No. 322. Now that K 1505 is joined to K 7407 we have most of the tablet. Chocolate.

Nabû-aplu-iddina sells several slaves to Rîmâni-Adadi, the *mukîl apâte* of Ašurbânipal, the king of Assyria, for ..... shekels of silver. Date lost. At least seven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, ..... F.*

In line 7, there is something visible before *a*: perhaps an erasure. In line 10, there is not quite all *si* left, the lower horizontal is wanting. The next sign is *šar*, or *zar*; doubtless part of *zarpu*. In line 3, of reverse, the word *daiani* seems to indicate either the phrase *daianu*

*lâ išâmu*, or *daiani ilu*....., meaning that some god shall be the judge. But it may also be part of a proper name. In that case it may be the name of the Eponym. In line 10, the scribe wrote *bar* for *PAP*; but as Bar-lâmur does not seem sense, I took the sign to be for *aĥu*.

In line 3, I fancy the slave's name must have been Atarai, see § 751. For Rîmâni-Adadi, see § 467; for Nabû-aplu-iddina, see § 492. Recalling Rîmâni-Adadi's witnesses elsewhere, we may restore the name in line 4 of reverse, as Sâeru, see § 560. But no name, known to me, ends in *limme-ilu*. Nabû-bêl-uşur seems the likeliest reading in line 6, see § 665. Liķibe seems possible in line 7, see § 657. For Ĥubašate, see § 472; for Kakkullânu, see § 510; for Aĥu-lâmur, see § 680.

No. 323. A mere fragment, of a limy clay, calcined. Grey to drab.

This is classed here because of the *B* clause. We can recognise parts also of *C*, *C'*, *S*<sub>1</sub>, *S*<sub>2</sub> (*F*<sub>1</sub>). In line 3, for *ka* read *te*; of course, part of *matêma*. In line 4, there are traces of *na* before *kaspu*. In line 6, there are traces of *sartu*, *ar-tû* being legible. Then came *ĀŠ* = *ana*. In line 7, Bêl-dûri should be more to the left; there was no other name before it. For Bêl-dûri, see § 558. I can offer no suggestion as to the other names.

759. No. 718. A piece of the left-hand side. Brown.

This is clearly part of the sale of several slaves. Adûnu....., seems to have been sold with four sons, Nabûtu, Ambana....., Abda', and Laia'..... The signs in line 6, I read *I EN mâru UD-su*, or *išlên mâru batûsu*, 'one son a child.' In line 7, we see there were 'in all four sons.' There may have been 'a wife,' in line 1; but in line 7 we do not know what was the full total. In line 8, they are called *ardâni* of the seller, whose name is lost. Then follows *upišma*. The buyer's name is lost, but he seems, from line 10, to have been an *aba*. Line 11 suggests that the price was a hundred minas, or perhaps several hundred minas. The price was therefore probably paid in bronze.

No. 725. A fragment of the left-hand side. Red.

Here some slaves; a daughter Daĥi....., a woman Ištar-napšir..... among them; 'in all five souls, slaves' of the seller, are sold. Then comes *upišma*, and the buyer's name began with Šumma..... He was a *mukîl apâte*, and was very likely called Šumma-ilâni. Of the other traces I can make nothing clear.

No. 789. A right-hand edge. Black.



Here several slaves, with their families, (note the *ŠAL-šu* in lines 1, 2 and 5, the *mâratsu* in line 3,) are sold. In line 6, we have clearly the end of *ardâni*; in line 7, *upiš*; there seems to have been no *ma*. On the reverse we recognise part of  $S_2$  ( $F_1$   $F_6$ ),  $F$ . In line 3, we find the fine was paid to *Ištar âšibat*; either Arbela or Nineveh probably followed. The names of two of the witnesses ended in *ikbi*. In line 9 we have a singular title *râb ŠAL-MEŠ*, *râb sinnišâte*, 'master of the women.'

The names occurring in these fragments are mostly beyond restoration. For Nabûtu, see § 466; for Abda', see § 512; for Šumma-ilâni, see § 467. Ambana seems unique: but may not be complete. La'ia..... may be restored Laiati-ilu. This name, in the form *La'-i-ti-AN* is a specimen, App. 3, III. 13; *La-i-ti-AN* is the name of a witness, on no. 572, and occurs in the Harran Census; *La-a-a-te-AN* is the name of the *bêl paḥâti* of Amêdi, on K 6367; *La-it-ti-AN* occurs in the Harran Census. An ideographic spelling *ZU-AN* occurs as a specimen name, App. 3, III. 8; as the name of a witness and *râb kišir* of the *mâr šipri* of the Queen, on no. 494; as a witness on no. 388. A partly ideographic form is *ZU-te-AN*, the name of a witness and *tamkaru* on no. 345, of a witness on no. 568.

### SALES OF A WOMAN AS WIFE.

760. In these cases the purpose of the sale is stated. The slave is bought as a wife (or concubine) for a son, or as wife for a slave. There is no marked deviation from the formula of a sale, but the slave is bought *ana aššûti*, 'for wifedom.'

#### *Abstracts of nos. 307-309 and 711.*

No. 307. Nearly complete. Brown.

Nabû-rihtu-ušur, son of Amur-dišê, a Ḥasai, by his agent Ardi-Ištar of the city of the *ašlakê*, with Tebêtai and Silim-Adadi his sons, together sell Bêlit-ḥazîna, his daughter, to Niḥti-šarau, as wife for her son Šiḥâ; at the price of sixteen shekels of silver. Dated, the 1st of Ulûlu, Ep. F. Fifteen witnesses.

*Pk, D, A, C, C', S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 6211, 7977.

The text was published III. R. 49, no. 3. It was transliterated and translated by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 220 ff. See also *Records of the Past*, VII. p. 115 ff.: Oppert, *Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie*, p. 111. Mr T. G. Pinches, in his review of Vol. I., gave a transliteration and translation; *J. R. A. S.* 1898, pp. 894-8. Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A 10, calls this a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Sklaven*.

I regret to say that my edition exhibits many faults. In line 1, the last two characters are restored. In line 3, the wrong *amêlu* is given; and of Ardi-Ištar only Ardi is left on the tablet. Both Ištar and *ma* are gone. In line 4, for *šá* read *TA*. Also here, and in line 11 of rev., read *KU-UD*, not *KI-UD*. I thought to connect *KI-UD* with *maškânû*. In line 6, at the end, only the beginning of *TUR* is now visible. In lines 9, 10, 11, of rev. *del. ŠI* at the beginnings of the lines. In line 12, the wrong *amêlu* is given. In line 14, the last sign is *u* not *ú*. In line 16, the first character of the first name may be *naṣ*, not *ba*. At the end of line 18, the signs *AN-NU-SI* or *AN-NU-GI* may be read. On the edge, *KAM* is slightly on the slant. Note that in line 13, the end of the line is carried on, over the edge, and into the seal, on the obverse. In line 9, *riḥtu* is replaced by *KAD*, giving a value not entered in Brünnow, p. 75.

There are many peculiarities of detail, due I think to the status of the parties. The sellers are Nabû-riḥtu-ušur and his two sons. The father was clearly of foreign extraction, for his father was called Amur-dišê. The name seems to be of the Ḫarran type. I think it means, 'I have seen increase.' Nabû-riḥtu-ušur, 'Nabû preserve a remnant,' seems to point to family, if not to national distress. The father is also said to be a Ḫasai. There was a land of Ḫâsû, named by Tiglath Pileser III., in III. R. 9, 28. A land Ḫassû is named by Esarhaddon, III. R. 15, IV. 14. On no. 810, 10, certain garments from Ḫasai are named. Hence I imagine we are dealing with one of those deported families who must have been so common in Assyria. The sons bear Assyrian names.

Nabû-riḥtu-ušur seems to have acted through an agent, Ardi-Ištar. The *-ma*, which follows the name, renders prominent the fact of agency. The father and his two sons are *bêl* of the woman sold, that is, they have the power to sell, but perhaps have not legal standing as citizens. It is also possible, that while the sons and

daughter were present in Nineveh, the father was in his native place and he had to act through an accredited proxy.

The woman sold, Bêlit-ḥašîna, in line 7, is stated to be *mârtišunu*, 'their daughter.' Actually she seems to have been 'daughter of,' *mâratsu ša*, Nabû-rihtu-ušur, and sister of the other two. The scribe may have allowed the idea of 'daughter' to outweigh that of 'sister.' Or we may suppose *mârtu* used in the sense of 'girl.' In the same way, we find *mâru* used as if meaning 'boy.'

The buyer was the lady Niḥti-ešarau. Although in line 5, of reverse, the scribe writes the masculine determinative before her name, this must be an error, for he uses the feminine predicates *tupiš*, *talki*, and the feminine suffix *ša*. This lady buys the girl for her son, Šihâ, 'for his wife,' *ana aššûtišu*; compare line 14, *aššatišu ša Šihâ šî*, 'the wife of Šihai shall she be.' The names of this lady and her son are foreign, Egyptian perhaps. But they also may have been exiles from the land of Hâsû.

The price paid is small, only sixteen shekels of silver. We may discover a reason for this in the position, and poverty also, perhaps, of the exiles. We note the careful formality of the contract, and may imagine these people of high rank, but reduced to great want. It is also quite possible that Bêlit-ḥašîna had still to be fetched from her home.

In reverse, lines 9-12, we read that Šaḥpimau, Bêl-šum-iddin, and Išdi-Bêlit, are three (*amêl*) *ur-ki-u* (*MEŠ*). Mr Pinches joins this to the *ša ŠAL* of the next line, so that these men are 'urkiûte of the girl sold.' An objection to this is that another *urkiu*, Karmeûni, follows immediately. Now these men are not witnesses; the *ŠI* before their names is an error of mine. Their position in the transaction is without parallel and hence obscure. Mr Pinches regards them as 'next of kin.' But *urkiû* seems used in other places to mean 'guarantee,' and here these men may be guarantees for the production of the girl. I think that the next of kin would have sealed the document. In line 13, if we take *sartu* as 'illegality'; *ḫâtâ šibti* as a 'defect of the hands,' like *šibit pî* in Maništusu's text, *D. P.* p. 110, line 38, which clearly means 'dumbness'; and *ḫabulli* as an 'injury' of some kind, compare *ḫabâlu*, 'to destroy'; then we see that Karmeûni is a 'guarantee,' *urkiu*, 'against,' or 'from,' *ištu pâni*, these blemishes. This explanation is due primarily to Professor Jensen. Compare *K. B.* vi. 1, p. 569.

On the other hand, *urkiû* sometimes appears to mean a mortgagee,

*sartu kâtâ* could mean 'compensation from the handiwork,' *šibtu* may be 'profit' and *ḥabullu* 'interest.' Then the phrase would run, *ša amilti*, 'of the woman,' *ištu pâni sarte kâtâ* 'from the value of her work,' shall be 'the profit and interest.' Then it would seem that the girl had already been mortgaged to the *urkiûte*, for debt perhaps. They had a right to the girl's hand service. It was the *sartu*, 'set off' for the interest and profit on their loan. But they had no other right to the girl, and she might become a wife. They could not stand in the way of her marriage, but a clause must be inserted to reserve their right to her manual labour. Hence the lady who bought her could not make use of her as a domestic servant, and she was less valuable than an ordinary slave girl. This might also explain the presence of Ardi-Ištar. He was from the city of the *ašlakê*, the 'washermen's quarter' in Nineveh. The third of the mortgagees was an *ašlaku*; it is possible, therefore, that the mortgagees employed Ardi-Ištar to watch their interests.

The absence of a verb in the sentence in line 13 is very trying. If we take the *ša amilti* with the *urkiûte* of line 12, we could still read *sarte kâtâ šibtu ḥabulli*, '(her) manual labour is (their) profit as set off to the interest.' But, on the whole, I think Professor Jensen's explanations are the best. In no. 102, where (*amêl*) *urkiu* may be 'mortgagee,' he might also be 'guarantee'; in no. 105, *urki'ûte* may be 'guarantees.' But at present the instances of its use are too few, and their contexts too fragmentary, to warrant certainty. A reading *likkiu* is not likely; nor is *UR-KI-U* likely to be an ideogram.

Nabû-rihtu-ušur is the name of a witness and *aba*, B.C. 645, on no. 25; of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, Ep. Q, on no. 349; of witnesses probably on nos. 448, 527, 532: cf. nos. 649, 650; of an officer of the king, on no. 860, II. 11; occurs in K 7395; 82-5-22, 108; and as a specimen name, App. 1, I. 6. Compare Nabû-rihîtum-ušur, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 5853. Amur-dîšê appears also as a witness, in rev. 15. As *dîšu* means the 'growing vegetation,' and *dîšâtî* seems used of *nîšê* in the sense of the 'uprising generation,' we may suppose Amur-dîšê to mean 'I have seen a rising generation.' But the name may be read Aḥardišê and may be foreign. Compare the name Diši, 'my growth,' in § 748. For Ardi-Ištar, see § 474; for Tebêtai, § 521; for Silim-Adadi, § 577.

The name of the girl sold I read Bêlit-ḥašina; the Catalogue, p. 2065 a, reads Ištar-ḥašina. I think that *ḥaši* is the same root as seen in Ḥazi-ilu, Ilu-ḥazzi, Ḥazianu, etc. The name should mean

'Bêlit—our *hazi*.' But, of course, the *hašina* may be quite distinct, perhaps related to *hašānu*, perhaps altogether foreign. Niḫti-ešarau seems foreign. We may compare Naḫti-ḫuruansini, the king of Pišapti'a, in v. R. 1, 104, see Steindorff, *B. A. S.* 1. p. 353. Šihâ may also be compared with Šihâ, the king of Siaûtu, in Egypt, in v. R. 1, 106; and with Šihû, a *HAR-DI-BI*, on no. 851, iv. 1. For Šahpîmau, see § 663; and compare שחפֿימו, an Egyptian name, *N. E.* p. 374. Bêl-šum-iddin only occurs here and under the form *EN-MU-MU*, in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1168, etc. For Ilu-udanâni, see § 574, but we could read Ilu-ukâlâni, compare *AN-u-kal-la-an-ni*, B.C. 649, on no. 698; and a specimen name, App. 3, II. 26. Išdi-Bêlit is only found here; for Atî, see § 583. Karneûni I take to be all the name, *šû urkiu* means 'he is *urkiu*.' The name seems foreign.

The witness Banîtu bears a name discussed in § 578; Nabnîtu would be unique. For Ardi-Nanâ, see § 491. For Puṭumḫêšu, which only occurs here, compare Puṭu-Paiti, in § 503; Puṭu-Bišti the king of Šînu, in Egypt, v. R. 1, 96, the Greek Πετοβάσθις, Πετοβάστης, Πετουβάστις; and perhaps Puṭurânu, a specimen name, App. 1, XII. 8. Also compare the many names spelt Pudi, which might be read Puṭi, and some of which are clearly Egyptian, § 503. But many of these could be read Budi, i.e. Bôd, and may be Semitic. Was the Phoenician Bôd really a loan word from Egyptian Pet?

The name, in line 18, begins apparently with Ḥašba....., but I cannot complete it. The names of the other witnesses are too defective to restore, except Ulûlai, see § 505; Nûr-Šamaš, see § 580; Puṭu-Paiti, see § 503. For the Eponym, Ašur-mât-utakḫin, see § 691. For Ate', see § 583; for Nabû-nâdin-aḫê, see § 470.

**761.** No. 308. Nearly complete. Brown.

Aḫûasu, son of Aa-aḫê, and another, sell their maid, Šâli-Bêltu, to Kâkûlânu, the *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince; as wife to Tarḫunâzi, his slave, for half a mina of silver. Dated, the 20th of Aaru, Ep. A. Perhaps nine witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

Extracts are given, *S. A. V.* 4822, 7977, 8979.

In line 3, *bêl* is a restoration. In line 7, the scribe has omitted the usual *ina libbi*, before the price, and *kaspu* after it. In other

respects the formula is condensed. In line 6, as Professor Zimmern suggested, *G. G. A.* p. 249, *šir-ki* may be an error for *kišir*. There seems to be an official called a *širkinu*, or *muškinu*, of which the scribe may have thought. Note that the price here is quite normal, there are no *urkiûte*.

For Aḥûasu, see § 508; for Aa-aḥê, see § 408. The name of the first seller it is impossible to restore. The name Šâli-Bêltu only occurs here. Compare the masculine names Šalâ-ilu, Šalîai, Šallâ, in § 700. For Kakkullânu, see § 510; for the Eponym, Šalmu-šar-iḳbi, see § 467; for Liḳipu, § 657; for Balâsî, § 521; for Nabû-utarrîš, § 573; for Zîzê, § 476; for Ašur-killâni, § 691; for Idî, § 583; for Ħirišai, § 746.

The name of the father of the witness, in line 9, is not clear; Šamaš-natkil seems to be intended. It would only occur here, but compare Ašur-natkil, in § 572. The signs at the end of the line I take to be a ditto sign, followed by *ma*: meaning that Balâsî was 'also' a *râb kišir*. That the name really was Šamaš-nakil-gamma, or anything similar, is very unlikely. The traces, *šeri* and *UD-NA-SIS*, in the last two lines, are not easy to recognise.

No. 309. Only a fragment. Light red.

Diḥai and his two sons sell a girl Abi-dalali to Kakkullânu, for half a mina of silver, as a wife for his slave Ulûlai. Dated perhaps in B.C. 663. Eight witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', .....*

In line 1, the traces of *la-li* can be made out, at the end of the name. In line 1, of reverse, nothing can be made out with certainty. On the left-hand edge, the Eponym's name certainly began with Bêl, and after *mât*, *ku* is possible.

For Diḥai, or Temênai, see § 409; for Kakkullânu, § 510; for Ulûlai, § 505; for Liḳipu, § 657; for Zîzî, § 476; for Ašur-killâni, § 691; for Nabû-utarrîš, § 573; for Idî, § 583; for Ħirišai, § 746. Note that the list of witnesses is almost the same as the last. The price is quite normal and there are no *urkiûte*. Abi-dalali only occurs here.

762. No. 711. Upper portion of tablet. Brown.

Mutakkil-Marduk and Ašur-mušallim, in all two brothers of Šiltiba-Ištar; Ašur-nâdin-aḥi and Išdi-Ištar, in all two sons of the same; in all four 'sons' of Šiltiba-Ištar; in all four iron-smiths, owners of the girl Gula-rîmat, sell her to Kakkullanu, for half a mina of silver.

He gave her to Ardi-Nabû, his slave, to wife. Dated, the 19th of Nisânu, Ep. E. Eleven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, ..... S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 98.

The text was published, *III. R.* 46, no. 2; and repeated *C. I. S.* p. 14.

A transliteration and translation were given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 147 ff.: also a transliteration and translation appear in *C. I. S.* l. c.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A. 2, calls it a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Sklaven.*

Reference is made to it by Amiaud, *R. A.* II. p. 13.

It was described in the old *Guide*, p. 176, no. 47.

This document was postponed to such a late place because I was unable to make up my mind where it really belonged. The Aramaic docket gives אִשְׁתּוֹ עַרְדִּנְבוּ, 'wife of Ardi-Nabû.' Now Ardi-Nabû only occurs in the text as a witness. But in line 12 we see that Kakkullânu *upišma ittidin*, 'bought and gave' the girl to someone. *III. R.* and *C. I. S.* gave *ilišu* before *ittidin*. Hence it seemed likely that here we had a deed of dedication to the service of a god, like nos. 640-642. The references to the gods in line 2 of reverse supported this somewhat. So I had classed the text as a dedication. But when I came to examine the dedications more closely, it seemed impossible to accept this view. A careful collation shewed that *ilišu* was wrong and *-sušu* was really on the tablet. This must be the end of *ana aššutsu-šu*, where the *šu* is redundant. This agrees with the docket, which clearly implies that Gula-rîmat was wife of Ardi-Nabû. Now we can see why he was witness.

Another consideration delayed me. The rarity of the 19th as a date seemed to demand a special reason. I thought that perhaps a dedication to a god was such a good deed that it might be done on the 19th. Perhaps the purchase of a wife for a slave ranked equally appropriate for a day of rigid self-denial.

In line 3, *III. R.* and *C. I. S.* have *amêlu* in place of *SIS*. In line 5, they have *amêlu* again for *TUR*; and again in line 6, before Šiltiba-Ištar, they insert *amêlê* (*MEŠ-e*). They give *XIV* in place of *naphar IV*, at the end of line 6. The sign at the end of line 7 they omit, and I regard it as an error of the scribe's. These errors gave Oppert a completely false view of the relationships. As it is, the scribe is not clear. But he seems to have meant that the first two sellers were brothers of Šiltiba-Ištar, the second two were sons.

Then he calls them all 'sons,' perhaps using *mârê* in the sense of 'next relatives.' Another way of understanding the text would be to take the first *ša* as the feminine suffix; the first two sellers being 'her two brothers'; the second two, sons of Šiltiba-Ištar, and all four really his sons. The second two sellers would then be 'her half-brothers.'

In line 11, III. R. and C. I. S. give *u* before *bar*. The end of *bî* is plain, but *ina lib-* is a restoration of mine. What was written before *ma* at the end of line 13, I cannot make out. III. R. and C. I. S. give *UD*. Both III. R. and C. I. S. omit all line 1, of reverse; in line 2, they omit *ina dîni* and give *u* for *šu*. They insert *ma* before *la*. In line 3, they put *ŠI TIS* at the commencement of the line and indicate a loss at the end. Hence Oppert made Samas-šabit a proper name. Of course, the line reads *Šamaš lû bēl dīnišu*, 'Šamaš be his advocate.'

In rev. line 4, III. R. and C. I. S. have *šû* for *šu*; and in line 5, give *NU-MAN* for *zêr-u*. They both omitted all the left-hand edge line. The title at the end of this line was very likely *ša šêpâ*. The price is quite an ordinary one. There are no *urkiûte*. With respect to the Aramaic docket, De Vogüé read it correctly, but he hazarded the opinion that Ardi-Nabû was the principal witness or notary. As a fact he is said to be some *amêlu*, but the traces do not suggest *aba*; while Adadi-abu-ušur was the principal witness.

For Mutakkil-Marduk, see § 505; for Ašur-nâdin-aḥi, § 685; for Išdi-Ašur, § 491; for Kakkullânu, see § 510; for Zârûti, § 515; for Ašur-šum-ukîn, see § 687; for Išdi-Nabû, § 521; for Ḫirišai, § 746; for Aplîa, § 518; for the Eponym, Nabû-šar-ušur, § 523; for Ardi-Nabû, § 487.

Ašur-mušallim is named in the letter K 13102, and in the form *Ašur-GI*, occurs in Bu. 89-4-26, 163. For Šiltiba-Ištar compare the name Šilteba, of a witness, Ep. P, on no. 628. Gula-rîmât only occurs here. Adadi-abu-ušur is the name of a witness, son of Dûr-Adadi, Ep. A, on no. 446; of a witness and *mâr šîpri*, on no. 600; and of a neighbour, on no. 411. For Ašur-kâtsu compare Ašur-kâssunu, the name of a witness, and neighbour, Ep. D, on no. 622; also in K 525; and Ašur-kâssun, the name of a witness and official of the Crown Prince, on no. 527; of a witness and slave of the *amêlu ša pâni êkalli*, on no. 464. Aḥu-lamma I regard as either an error for Aḥu-lâmašši, or a variant of it, see § 467. Zitai is only found here. Burkai is only found here. As *burku* is a part of the



body, perhaps connected with *birḫu*, 'the knee,' we may have here some name like 'My knees.' Iṣtar-ilai occurs as the name of a seller and *rāb kiṣir* of Dannai, B.C. 663, on no. 470.

It is noticeable, that in the last three cases, it is Kakkullānu who buys wives for his slaves.

### SALES OF SLAVES OF THE CLASS MARKED RŪṬU.

763. The peculiarity of this class is the presence of the word *rūṭu*, clearly an epithet applied to the slave. It is usually preceded by a number, 3, 4, or 5; but this number does not agree with the number of the slaves. Single slaves are marked by it, as in no. 311, one female slave is 4 *rūṭu*; in no. 312, one female slave is 3 *rūṭu*; one male slave is .....*rūṭu*, in no. 314; one female slave, 3 *rūṭu*, in no. 315; one female slave, 5 *rūṭu*, in no. 317. In no. 783, we have in lines 8-12, Unzarḫu-Tašmētum (?) followed by *māratsu* 4 *rūṭu*, *māršu* 3 *rūṭu*, *maršu šaniū UD-su*. Then followed the total. Hence, with the possible exception of a wife, named at the end of line 8, this was all the family. Now it is singular to find a daughter put before the sons, usually sons are enumerated first. The only reason can be that the daughter was the eldest of the children. Hence, 4 *rūṭu* is applied to an elder child than that to which 3 *rūṭu* is applied. Apparently, the second son, evidently the youngest of the family, is marked *UD-su*. Also we may note that in no. 312, we read 3 *rūṭu lānša*. Now *lānu* denotes 'stature,' originally 'external appearance.' Hence we may regard the term *rūṭu* as concerned with some external physical characteristic, perhaps height.

Now, in no. 1099, a list of people brought from Ẹûê, we have first enumerated 334 *ṣābê*, followed by an epithet unfortunately lost. These were of course adult men. Then came 38 *mârê* marked as 5 *rūṭi*. These were clearly sons, or boys, not adult, but of the class 5 *rūṭu*. Then came 41 *mârê* 4 *rūṭi*, then 40 *mârê* 3 *rūṭi*. It will be noted that nowhere does 2 *rūṭu*, or 1 *rūṭu* occur. Here and elsewhere the next division below the 3 *rūṭu* is *UD-su*. We next have 28 *mâr UD-si*. Note that as the plural of *rūṭu* is here written *rūṭi*, so the plural of *UD-su* seems to be written *UD-si*. This points to the ending *su* being phonetic. Now a perfectly similar series of numbers is used in the Ḫarran Census, see 'An Assyrian Doomsday

Book,' in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, xvii. In the 'excursus on the marks' given there on p. 79 f, it is shewn that in some places *batûsu* replaces *UD-su* as applied to a daughter. This must be the phonetic reading therefore of *UD-su*. It is clear that *batûsu*, for *batussu*, for *batultu*, is the name for a child, boy, or girl, younger than that marked by 3 *rûtu*. Next, in no. 1099, we have 25 *mâru ša GA*; here *GA* is the ideogram for *tulû*, 'breast,' and *mâru ša GA* is evidently to be read *mâru ša tulê*, as in Sm. 305. This phrase must mean 'a child at the breast.' This view is confirmed by the fact that in the Harran Census, children marked *GA* are not counted in the total, evidently being too young.

Hence there were evidently five classes at least, infants at the breast, children called *batûsu*, and then 3, 4, and 5 *rûtu*. As no. 1099 shews, these classes apply equally well to daughters. Thus line 8 onwards reads, 349 *amêlâte*, 8 *amêlâte* 5 *rûti*, 22 *amêlâte* 4 *rûti*, 59 *amêlâte* 3 *rûti*, 17 *amêlâte UD-si*, 25 *amêlâte ša GA*. Now these classes are denoted in the Harran Census by the obvious abbreviations *GA*, *UD*, 3, 4, 5, but are accompanied by a higher mark *ŠA*, which is not to be confused with the numeral 4, always written with *ŠA*. This class evidently does not appear in no. 1099. But, in no. 783, the next section to that considered above had, in line 13, the name, ending in *-nû-îlu*, perhaps *Dannu-îlu*, of an *irrišu*. In the next line was named *mâršu šamurtu*. Now *šamurtu* cannot be a masculine name. It seems likely to be a noun in apposition to *mâršu*, and possibly *ŠA* is an abbreviation for it. The next two lines both end in *rûtu*, so that *šamurtu*, like *ŠA*, indicates a higher class than could be called *rûtu*. This suggests our comparing the *šimru*, *H. W. B.* p. 571 b, to which some such meaning as 'fulness,' 'multitude,' may be assigned. Hence our *šamurtu* may mean 'completion'; *šamru* may be used in the sense of 'adult,' 'fully-grown,' or something practically equivalent. But we already have met with what is evidently only a variant, *šumurtu*, applied in nos. 270, 271, with the prefix *amêlu*, apparently to a son. In no. 471, lines 9 and 11, we have directly *mâršu šumurtu*. Of course we could read *šuhartu*, or *šahartu*, but it is not easy to see any meaning for that. I believe that *šamurtu* was appended to a child's name to denote the 'completion' of something, whether growth or term of service; and that it was denoted by *ŠA*.

We may now see how our results work out for the rest of no. 783. The first line seems to have had a man's name. Line 2 begins with

'his wife,' followed by Bêl-ilai perhaps, the name evidently of the eldest son. What mark was attached to his name is now lost. In the next line we read *šaniu mâršu*, evidently 'his second son.' The mark is lost here. In line 4, we read *ištēnit mâratsu TUR...* 'one daughter,' and perhaps another son. Then in line 5, 2 *TA ŠAL ba-tu-la*, evidently 'in the second place a female batûla.' But *batula* is what is usually written *batultu*, 'a girl,' the same as in other texts is written *batûsu*. These were 'in all 7 souls,' as should be. A name followed, *Minuḫi.....*, beginning another family. In line 7, he is said to be an *irrišu*, and is followed by *ŠAL-šu*, 'his wife,' 2 *mâré*, 'two sons,' and then probably came the total. We have already dealt with the rest of the obverse.

The reverse began with a total probably, then the name Nûr-Šamaš, starting a new section. After his wife and perhaps one son, we have *UD-su*, which we now read *batûsu*. According to our reckoning any younger child would be called *ša GA*, and *GA* appears at the end of line 3. This was followed by a total. Then came the total of all the lot, written *napharma 1 LAL-DI ana 30 ZI-MEŠ*, or *napharma 1 mâṭi 30 napšâti*, 'and in all one less than thirty souls.' The total evidently comes to twenty-nine persons. On the reading of *LAL-DI*, see § 244.

Now a very similar enumeration of slaves occurs in no. 906. There the tablet is divided into sections, by lines ruled across. The first section has a name beginning with *A*, and the sign for 'total' in the next line. In the next section Nêrgal-šallim occurs alone. Of these a total gives, 'in all one *mutîr pûti*, one *kâšîr*, 3.....' Clearly Nêrgal-šallim was the *mutîr pûti*, and the man in the first section was a *kâšîr*, and had three children. In the next column, we have a total 1 *NU-kirî urki*, 1 *šamurtu*, 1 *abdi.....*, *naphar 9 šâb DAN*. Here we have 'a gardener, an adult child,' *abdi.....* may be a name, but, with other items, 'in all there were nine *ŠÂB-DAN*.' This term may mean adults: *šâbu* is the regular term for 'workman,' or we could read it *ummânu*; and *DAN* is the ideogram for *dannu*.

The reverse, in column IV., begins with a summation, quite in the style of the Census Tablets, 1 *mâru 5*, 1 *ditto 4*, 2 *ditto di*: evidently meaning, 'one son marked 5, one son marked 4, two sons marked *di*.' In some way it may be that *DI* was used in place of 3 *rûtu*: or, did the scribe intend to write *rûti* at the end? In the next line, we have 'in all thirteen *šâbê*, twelve women.' The final *e* may mark a plural, or begin a fresh word. Then, in line 3, we

have 3 *mârat* 4, 5 *ditto* 3, *naphar* 8, 'three daughters marked 4, five marked 3, in all eight.' In line 4 we read, 'in all twenty females, in all thirty-three *šâbê*.' The totals are correct. It is difficult to see how we could otherwise account for the numbers which appear. In the next line, we have 'six oxen, one vegetable garden, *ŠA*.' Here, as also in the Census, *ŠA* may apply to a garden or orchard. This is consistent with its denoting completeness, or even 'fully grown,' as distinguished from 'newly planted.' But here *ŠA* may be read *za*, the beginning of *zamru*, a term also applied to 'orchards.' Was this to be read *šamru*, denoting 'full' growth?

The last section deals evidently with a summation over all, recounting how many *mutîr pûti*, how many *kâšîr*, at least twenty-one, and other items. We have already noted the isolated occurrences of *UD-su*, in nos. 229, 718. We may now return to the still obscure word *rûtu*. Now, in no. 756, the word *rûtu* is clearly applied to 'beams of wood' or 'blocks of stone.' They are said to be so many *ammatu rûtu*. Here a *U-rûtu* seems to denote a measure of length. If so, it cannot have been far from our foot. For young folk, 3, 4 and 5 feet high might not be 'grown up,' but any higher measure would be too long. Nor can it be much less, for a child less than three feet tall would surely be a *batûsu*. Even this additional consideration leaves it quite uncertain, what the real significance and derivation of *rûtu* can be.

A suggestion which I made in the excursus, *A.D.B.* p. 81, that the figures really referred to the terms of service, on the *corvée* or other forced labour, is not so likely as the reference to size. For in that case one would expect also the numbers 1 and 2 *rûtu*, but children two feet and one foot tall would, of course, be called 'child' and 'infant.' Age is not so likely; as a child could hardly be reckoned adult after six years of age.

Another consideration may serve to clear up some points. Slaves sold with these marks often fetched very small prices. In no. 311, only two shekels and a half were paid for a girl, 4 *rûtu*: but thirty-four shekels were paid, in no. 312, for a girl, only 3 *rûtu*. One would expect more for a tall girl than a short one. Of course the tall girl may have been sickly, or in some way defective. In no. 313, a male slave, 4 *rûtu*, fetched a full price, one mina. In no. 314, a boy, ...*rûtu*, was sold for only sixteen shekels, in no. 315, a girl, 3 *rûtu*, for only nine shekels. The case of the girl,

5 *rûtu*, in no. 317, who fetched half a mina, is perhaps different. In *A. D. B.* p. 81, I argued that if the figures denoted terms of service to the *corvée*, the longer the slave still had to serve, the less would be the value. In some cases the buyer may have been in a position to claim exemption for his slaves, and so could afford a full price. These considerations might serve to explain the few cases we have, but certainty can hardly be obtained till we get a fresh context. For further details of this interesting question I must refer to *A. D. B. passim*.

The deeds of sale exhibit no further peculiarities in formula. We must therefore conclude that *rûtu* simply denotes an accidental quality which might affect the appearance and value of a slave, but did not affect his status otherwise.

764. In order not to have to return to nos. 783, 906, and 1099 again, we may add a few further remarks on them here.

No. 783. A fragment, contract shaped. Red.

For Bêl-ilai compare the Eponym, B.C. 770, *šaknu* of Arapha, III. R. I, III. 48, the name of a *šâbu*, on no. 877, rev. 8; and a specimen name, App. 3, i. 8. The form *BE-AN-a-a* occurs as the name of a witness, Ep. a, on no. 22; the form *AN-EN-AN-a-a* as the name of a witness of Kûrai, on no. 500; of a witness, probably, on no. 606. Of course, Bêl-ilâni is possible, see § 690. Bêl-ilâni-šar-ušur is the name of a witness, Ep. F, on no. 23; but would be too long for this place. The name in line 6 may have been Mînu-aḥṭi-ana-ili, 'How have I sinned against God?' see § 503. The name Unzaḥu-Taš..... may be compared with Unzaḥu-Ašur, in no. 312, see § 534. The second part of the name does not seem to be Urkittu; but Tašmêtum is not certain. If it really is not a name, perhaps instead of *un*, we have the number 'four' at the beginning. Then we could read *za-ḥu-ur-ti*, which may be the true reading of *šamurtu*: as *ḤAR* can be read *hur*. That would upset my derivation of *šamurtu*. Against it is the fact that lower down the scribe writes *šamurtu*; but *zaḥurti* might be plural. If we had even the numbers complete, we might settle the doubt. For Dannu-ili compare the names in § 753.

No. 906. A fragment. Brown to black.

For Nêrgal-šallim, see § 577.

No. 1099. Complete. Drab.

This list of captives from Kûê shews the system of deportation in full operation. The scribe's totals are correct for the males, but

he is wrong in his addition of the daughters. The total should be 131 not 121. Even with his own figures he gives a wrong total of 977, instead of 976.

*Abstracts of nos. 310—317.*

765. No. 310. Now that K 1492 and K 1505 are joined we have a nearly complete tablet. It is much rubbed in places and very difficult to make out. Dark brown to black.

Adadi-aḥi-iddin sells Nêrgal-danân, Marti, Mar-aplu-iddin(?) and perhaps two others, in all three (or five?) souls, his slaves, to Mannu-kî-Allâ, for three minas of silver, according to the standard of Gada(?) Samerâti. Dated, the 3rd of some month, B.C. 669. Perhaps seventeen witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>5</sub>, F<sub>4</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), F, B.*

In line 1, of *TAK* only the last two verticals and the upper slant wedge are visible. Of *PAP* at the end only a horizontal line is left, *ĀŠ* has quite disappeared. In line 2, *bêl* is restored. Perhaps in place of *a*, the scribe wrote *e*, or *ni* twice over. In line 3, the *ŠAL* is not clear, perhaps we should read *TIŠ AN* there, which would make the first slave a male. For *amêlu* may be *ŠAL*, but I think not. The *AZAG* might be Ištar, but I now think the next sign was *GIM*. The *amêlu AZAG-DIM* is read *kudimmu*, *H. W. B.* p. 318, a. This would suit a male best. The first slave was therefore, I think, 'Nêrgal-danân, a goldsmith.' In line 4, the *ŠAL* is nearly certain, Martî was therefore probably his wife. The next *ŠAL* is very doubtful. Even a sign of division may be thought of. The scribe hardly meant to spell 'daughter,' *ma-ār-a*-. The name Mar-aplu-iddin should be a male name. But of course it may be Mârâti, or something else. If a son, then the *ŠAL* before it is certainly wrong. The 3 *rûtu*, in line 5, seems to be all. If, in line 3, there were two names, then we should have at least four souls, not three, in line 6. The three seems certain.

In line 6, after *ZI-MEŠ* may be *il-ki-u*, or almost anything. Of course, in my restoration of the seller's name here, I meant *AN-IM*, not *AN-III*, as I gave. In line 7, *ŠAL* before Mannu-kî-Allâ is uncertain. The verbs are masculine, which does not prove much, as female buyers are often construed with masculine predicates. In the next line *ŠAL-su* seemed to make the buyer 'wife of the

Rabshakeh.' But we could read '*raksu* of the Rabshakeh,' only then line 8 should have begun with *amêlu*. In line 9, the scribe omitted *MA* of *MA-NA*. The name of the city, whose standard mina was used, is difficult to make out; because of the damaged state of the second sign. I read *kak*, or *dâ*, but I now think it was *up*, *âr*. If so, the name was Gâr-samêrâtî; the last part is certain. A by-name of Damascus was Gar-imêrišu; is this a play on our name? Names beginning with Gar are rare, Gargamiš of course, and Gar-dikanni (named by Ašurnâsirpal, in I. R. 23, 3, 4, compare I. R. 19, 78; and no. 499, 2) occur to us at once. That the Gar was separable is seen from the occurrence of Dikanâ, as a city name, on no. 472; and of Dikannai, on K 3374. Hence we may suppose Gar to be a Western relative of Kar, so often used in Assyrian place names. Whether *samêrâtî* could answer to *imêrêšu* I do not know.

I must confess my inability to read line 11. At first sight we seem to have *urkiu* once more, perhaps as a guarantee for the slaves sold; but then we should expect a name before it. What *ra-ri* could be here I do not know. The *nîšê* seems clear, and *asîki* also. The latter is puzzling, *issi*ki, *isî*ki, for *iltê*ki, from *lakû* seems possible, but *asî*ki is strange. Why should a first person occur here? Perhaps *asî*ki was the scribe's way of writing *isî*ki. In line 13, the whole of *a* and part of *tu* are broken out. The scribe put in a *zip* after *âr*. He wrote *zarzippûti*, compare *zarzippu*, in no. 175.

In line 14, part of *ru* and the whole of *dî* are broken out. In line 15, all before *šâ* is restored. In line 16, read *lu-u* for *šâ ŠI*. All before *šâ* is gone. In line 18, all before *lu-u* is restored. In line 1, of the lower edge, *pa-nu'* seems to be there, what it means I do not know, perhaps a part of *dînu'*. In the next line, I restored *i-za* before *ku*. In line 1, of reverse, all before *Man* is restored. In line 2, *lu-u* is restored; in line 3, *ma* is restored. The scribe wrote *û* after *LUH*. In line 5, he put a division mark after Ninûa. At the end of line 9, for *šû* read *te*. At the beginning of line 12, I can see a trace of *ina* before *dînušu*. In line 13, *bi* is restored, the trace before *nu* looks like *e*, there may have been *be* before that, so that we should have *be-e-nu* for the usual *bennu*. At the end of line 14 are faint traces of *MEŠ*.

How the scribe got his 'five' witnesses in line 16 I do not know. Either 5 or 4 is certain. Either figure disagrees with the three names given. In line 17, I can read no more than I give, but these signs are useless as they stand. On the left-hand edge, in the first

line, only *ilai* is left, but as my first copy gives the name in full, I think it may have been there, when first I saw the tablet. In line 3, *ilu* at the end is now gone.

For Adadi-aḥi-iddin, see § 655; for Nabû-nâdin-aḥê, see § 470; for Šulmu-šarri, see § 517; for Mannu-kî-Ninûa, see § 474; for Adadi-nâšir, see § 518; for Tatû, see § 705; for the Eponym, Šamaš-kâšid-aibi, see § 507; for Arbailai, see §§ 408 and 479.

Nêrgal-danân is only found here. Martî is the only example of the name. Mar-aplu-iddin is only found here. Clearly the 3 *rûtu* only applies to him. Mannu-kî-Allâ is only found here. In line 18, the first name ended in *gai*. Puḥî or Buḥî only occurs here. The next name may be Šêru-abu-ušur, compare the compounds of Šêru in the Ḥarran Census. Dadî seems to have been the name of the witness at the end of line 2 of the left-hand edge. It was the name of a witness and *aba*, on no. 389; of a neighbour, Ep. ψ, on no. 351; of an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in Dûr-Nanâ, on no. 742; and occurs in the letters K 606, 12989; 80-7-19, 24; 83-1-18, 67; in the two last, with Arbailai. Dadîa, which would also be possible here, occurs in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 1793. I am not able to restore any other names at present. Išdi-ili may not be complete.

§ 766. No. 311. Nearly complete. Red.

Nabû-bêl-ušur, slave of Adadi-rîmâni, sells a girl, Aḥât-abîša, his maid, 4 *rûtu*, to Abdunu, son of Kukullâni, for two shekels and a half of silver. Dated, the 14th of Araḥsamna, Ep. S. Twenty-one witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub> F<sub>6</sub>), F.*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 99.

Extracts are given *S. A. V.* 8698 and *Aeg. Zeits.* 1872, p. 112.

In line 7, the doubtful characters on the edge appear to be *A TIS Ku-ku-ul-la-a-ni* or *apil Kukullâni*. The scribe evidently became confused about line 12 onwards. He has jumbled up his sentences. In line 13, he wrote *i-za-ku-za-pa-ni*, or *i-za-ku-a-pa-ni*, for *izaḥûpâni*. In line 14, I have omitted *u* after *lu*. In line 2 of reverse *dênu dabâbu* is repeated by the scribe in error. In line 5, he wrote *ubtanâûni* for the usual *ubta'ûni*. On the left-hand edge the second name was *Ša-ru-ri-sa-ni*, in line 1; and in line 3, the second name is *Pu-ša-di-dir-u-a*, or Puḥadi-dirûa.

For Nabû-bêl-ušur, see § 665; Adadi-rîmâni, § 754; Aḥât-abîša, § 491; Kukullâni, § 510; Nargî, and Takilâti, § 409; Ašur-nâdin-aḥî, § 685; Muḥâlil-mîtu, § 698; Diḥai, and Rîmût-ilâni, § 409;



Sin-nâ'id, § 475 ; Ulûlai, § 505 ; Balât-êreš, § 662 ; Lûku, § 409 ; Marduk-erba, § 749 ; Urdu, § 556 ; Ardi-Ištar, § 474 ; Ukîn-abûa, § 494 ; Dilil-Ištar, § 572.

Abdûnu is the name of a witness, *rakbu šarri*, B.C. 671, on no. 41 ; of an *irrišu* sold, on no. 429. Pamû is only found here, compare perhaps the Phoenician פמי, *N. E.* p. 351 b. Ilu-zirâm only occurs here, it may be read Ilu-napišti-irâm. Ilu-abi-erba only occurs here. Erba-aḥê was the name of a witness of ẖabal ḥurâši, B.C. 734, on no. 415 ; of a witness, *kêpu* of Kar-Šamaš, B.C. 682, on no. 363 ; of a seller, on no. 419 ; and is named on no. 841. Kišir-Ištar was the name of a witness, *šalšu* of the *râb BI-LUL*, B.C. 676, on no. 330 ; of a seller, on no. 489 ; and occurs in no. 1076, and Bu. 91-5-9, 218. Šarurisânu or Šarurisânu is only found here. The next name ends in *aiu*, which is difficult to restore. Sinḫi, better than Ešḫi, only occurs here ; compare Sinḫi-Ištar, § 482. Puḥadi-dirûa, or Pušadi-dirûa, only occurs here. Ardi-Allai is a specimen name, App. 3, XI. 8. It is remarkable that no. 4 has no less than five names in common with this.

767. No. 312. A fragment out of the middle of the tablet. Brown.

Ilîa-Au sells his maid Um̄mi-Mar', 3 *rûtu lânša*, to Akul-lânu the *râb kišir* of the Crown Prince, for half a mina and four shekels of silver. Date lost. Nine witnesses left.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>, F<sub>6</sub>), B.*

In line 1, the first character was very like *TUR*, not *TAK* as I give. It may be *amêlu*. Hence what I give as line 1 probably came in a line above, and here was either the office of the seller or the name of his father. In line 3, the *TUR* may be *i*, written over another character ; the name then would be Um̄mi'. But it would be a rare spelling. In line 9, the second character, of course, is *nu*, not *PAP* ; but the scribe seems to have written *PAP*. In line 10, there was not room for all I give, but it is not easy to say exactly what was there. Several lines are lost before the reverse goes on. In line 1, of reverse, only the lower half of each character is visible ; at the end after *ta* may have been '. In line 7, after *râb kišir* I have omitted *ša* before *apil šarri*. In line 12, instead of *apil šarri* may be *ša mâtî*. In place of *ḫi* read *bêlit*, Brûnnow, no. 7336. In line 14, at the end of the line read *DAM-KAR* : there are traces of *amêlu* before that, and Ḥalli was not all the name, *ia*, or *a*, is possible as an ending. In line 15, the name began with *Ba*.

The name Ilîa-Au only occurs here, it must mean 'My god is Au,' unless we read Au as Mâr-Addi or something of the sort. Ilîa-abi occurs on K 2564; and Ilî-Adadi, written *AN-AN-IM*, was a ruler of Sunâ, 1. R. 19, 78. If my reading of the slave name is right, it may be Ummi-mari', a compound like Aḥât-abiša; compare Ummi-abîa, a specimen female name, App. 7, vi. 3. Akullânu was the name of a writer to the king in K 1109, 1168; 83-1-18, 63, 205; compare Akullânu, § 572. Mannu-kî-Nabû was the name of a witness, B.C. 695, on no. 31; of a witness and *mutîr pûti*, B.C. 688, on no. 400; of a witness and *râb kišir*, Ep. F, on no. 361.

For Šarru-êmurâni, see § 514; Unzaḥu-Ašur, § 534; Išdi-Nabû, § 521; Nabû-utarriš, § 573; Arbailai, § 408 and 479; Adî, § 583; Ḥalli..., § 712.

768. No. 313. A mere strip off the right-hand side. Drab to black.

Here some men sell Babi..., (some one) 4 *rûtu*, to Mâr-šarri-ilai, an official of Iṣ..., for one mina (of silver). Date and witnesses lost.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

In line 6, of reverse, the scribe seems to have written the sign for 10, over that for 1. It may be that Babi... had his office named also in line 1, then the 4 *rûtu* would refer to him: in line 8 there is mention of only one slave as sold. For the name compare Babirâmu, § 753, who was an *irrišu*. I know of no other name that would be written *Ba-bi*.... Mâr-šarri-ilai, only occurs here, compare Apil-šarri-ilai, § 500. Names beginning with Iṣ... are only compounds of Iṣbu, see § 490; and Iṣpuṭu, see § 664.

No. 314. Has lost the left-hand edge, and most of reverse. Dark brown.

Šilli-Ašur sells Nêrgal-aḥu-ušur, his son, ...*rûtu* to Erba-ilu, for eighteen shekels of silver. Date lost. Perhaps nine witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

In line 9, read *ki* for *ki*. On the reverse, there was another line between lines 6 and 7 and again between lines 7 and 8.

For Šilli-Ašur, see § 719; for Erba-ilu, § 544.

Nêrgal-aḥu-ušur was the name of a witness and *râb ḥanšâ ša ḥal*... B.C. 698, on no. 328; of a principal, Ep. T, on no. 618; of a buyer, on no. 413; of a neighbour, on no. 648; of a witness, on no. 507. The form *AN-U-GUR-SIS-PAP* occurs in later Babylonian texts *S. A. V.* 6323. The traces of the witnesses' names do

not lend themselves to restoration. The endings *-aḥē*, *-meu*, *-šār-ušur*, *-ēreš* might be variously restored. Ruradidi ends like the name in line 4, see § 698.

No. 315. Upper and lower edges lost. Red.

Some men sell Nabû-râmat, their maid, 3 *rûtu*, to the lady Urkit-išmeâni, for nine shekels (of silver). Dated, the 2nd of Šabâtu, B.C. 667. Traces of five witnesses.

*Ac*, *C*, *C'*, *D'*, *S*<sub>1</sub>, *S*<sub>2</sub>....

In line 4, I have inserted *e* after *amêlê* wrongly. In line 7, read *tû* for *tu*. In line 9, the scribe wrote *i-na* before *matêma*, not *ĀŠ*. In line 4, of reverse, at end read *NI-GAB* for *aba*. In line 5, the scribe wrote a second *a* after Nabûa, making the name read Nabûai. In line 7, the scribe wrote the Eponym's name *Gab-ba-ru*, not *Gab-bar-ru*. Dr Bezold, *Cata*. p. 1884, gave the name correctly, as did my first copy. In line 8, after Dûr I have omitted the vertical determinative before Sin-aḥê-erba.

Nabû-râmat occurs only here. For Urkit-išmeâni, see § 707. Note the use of *mârtu* for 'girl' in line 6. The name Ninip-taklak seems certain, but is only found here. Nabûai, if intended here, also occurs as the name of two witnesses, one a *rakbu ša šēpâ*, B.C. 686, on no. 612. For Gabbaru, as Eponym, see § 667.

§ 769. No. 316. A flake from the obverse. Dark brown.

Marduk-rîmâni sells a slave, with his son Šamaš-ilai, perhaps 4 *rûtu*, Ušîa, another son, 3 *rûtu*, another son.... Ištar, *batûsu*, a daughter Bassi, (in all 5) souls, slaves of his, to Milki-nûri, the *šakû* of the Queen, for two minas (of silver). Date and witnesses lost.

*Ac*.

The scribe has written a *man* too many in the seller's name, in line 7. Marduk-rîmâni was the name of the Eponym of B.C. 780, a *râb BILUL*, III. R. 1, III. 38. It was the name of a witness, B.C. 670, on no. 331. In the form *AN-AMAR-UD-rîmâni*, it occurs in K. 10911; Rm. 71. The form *ASARU-MUL-ĤI-rîmâni* was the name of a seller, B.C. 688, on. no. 400. *AN-KU-rîmâni* was the name of Ep. a, see § 427. A form *AN-RID-rîmâni* is a variant in III. R. 1, III. 38. *AN-AMAR-UD-rimni* occurs in K. 1897. For Marduk-rîmâni, perhaps king of Babylon, in the time of Šamši-Adadi, see Dr Peiser, in *M. V. A. G.* 1898, 6, 14 f.

It seems clear that the slave's name was a short one. For Šamaš-ilai, see § 560; for Ušîa, § 704. The name of the third son

may have been Ardi-Ištar; there is not room for much to the left, in line 3. Bassi is new, compare Bašî on no. 811, 3: and the masculine name Bašî, on no. 782, B.C. 661; named also K. 174. For Bašûa, Bašûai, see § 548. Ba'sa was the name of a chief, in Bît Ammâna, III. R. 8, 95. For Milki-nûri, see § 513.

No. 317. All except the right of reverse is preserved. Drab.

The lady Dalîa sells the girl Ana-addalâti, her daughter, 5 *rûtu*, to Ahi-dalli, the *ŠAL-ŠAB êkalli*, for a half mina of silver. Dated, the 12th of Šabâtu, B.C. 686. Probably one or two witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

The tablet is referred to by G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 417.

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 90, under the mark T. 156.

The old Guide described it, p. 179, No. 66.

The female names Dalîa and Ana-addalâti are found only here. For the buyer Ahi-dalli see § 707. The name in line 5 of reverse is not complete. For Sin-aḥê-erba as Eponym, see § 504.

### EXCHANGE OF SLAVES.

§ 770. One of the few examples of barter, referred to in § 313, is placed next. It is, of course, as much a sale as the preceding sales, only the price is not paid in money. It has its value, like no. 252, because the replacement of the price, by a slave taken in exchange, helps to fix the construction of the sentences. The word for exchange being *šapûsu*, *H. W. B.* p. 638 b, the words *ana šapûsi ina libbi amûlti tadâni*, take the place of the usual *amûlti tadâni*, and in place of the price, the name of the slave taken in exchange is inserted, with the epithet *šapûsu*.

No. 318. Complete. Brown.

Nabû-aḥu-ušur and Aḥûnu, two sons of Nargî, with Ahi-nûri son of Sîli, in all are the three owners of the man exchanged for the woman given over. Their servant Ištar-dûr-kâli, Kakkullânu, the *râb kišîr*, has made a bargain and for Tulîḥa, his maid, as an exchange, has acquired him from the said parties. Dated, the 20th of Aaru, Ep. A. Eleven witnesses.

*Pk, D, Ac, S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>).*

The date is quoted, *Ep. Can.* p. 97.

An extract is given, *S. A. V.* 7914.

The old Guide described it, p. 175, no. 46.

Dr Bezold, *Lit.* p. 148, A. 3, calls it a *Kaufvertrag, über den Verkauf von Slaven*, but compare p. 152, note 3.

The text was published III. R. 46, no. 3, and repeated *C. I. S.* p. 27 f.

Transliterations and translations were given by Oppert, *Doc. Jur.* p. 210 and *C. I. S. l. c.*

III. R. already recognised it as a case of barter.

In line 10 before *ŠI* and reverse, line 2, before *mârêšu*, read *TA* for *ŠA*; III. R. and *C. I. S.* gave the sign correctly. In line 1, of the lower edge, III. R. and *C. I. S.* omit the *ni* after *pa*. The scribe did not finish the sign, he wrote the two horizontals, but omitted the two verticals. In reverse, line 9, the last legible sign is *u*, not *mat* as III. R. and *C. I. S.* gave. In line 13, III. R. and *C. I. S.* give *Šamaš-iḫṣur*, for my *Šamaš-iḫbi*. It is not easy to be sure which is right.

The absence of the word *ilaḫḫi* in line 12 is of no importance, as its place is taken by *ittiši*, with the same sense.

For Nabû-aḫ-u-ṣur, see § 520; for Aḫûnu, § 544; for Nargî, § 409; for Aḫi-nûri, § 518; for Sili, § 752; for Kakkullânu, § 510; for Ašur-killâni, § 691; for Liḫipu, § 657; Balasî, § 521; for Zizî, § 476; for Idi, § 583; for Ḫiriṣai, § 746; for Šumai, § 729; for Sin-šar-uṣur, witness and Eponym, § 476.

Ištar-dûr-ḫâli was also the name of a *ša šaḫê*, devised, Ep. S, on no. 619. Tuliḫa is found only here, compare the names in § 668. The witness, in line 12, of reverse, is best read Šalmûte, the name was also borne by an *irrišu*, 'with his people,' in Bêl-iḫbi, on no. 742. Šamaš-iḫṣur, in line 13, is possible but has no parallel; Šamaš-iḫbi occurs on no. 434. Ilu-gabri occurs only here and in the Ḫarran Census.

The Aramaic docket gives דרנקל...דנת, that is to say, 'the sale of Ištar-dûr-ḫâli.'

771. No. 319. A fragment. Dark red.

Some men sell their slave, who in line 7 is called a son, to Šumma-ilâni, for fifty minas of bronze. Date gone, traces of two witnesses.

*Ac, C, C', D', S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub> (F<sub>1</sub>), F.*

In line 1, before *šunu* are traces which suit *ardu*. Hence, as in other cases, *mâru* in line 7 may mean 'a boy.' In line 5, I have

given the wrong *amêlu*, and again in line 1 of reverse. From line 4 of reverse onwards the writing is very indistinct. In line 6, before 'two minas of silver,' the signs are perhaps wrongly restored. At the beginning of the line *ubta'ûni* might be expected, and I think I can see traces of *ni* at the end.

For Šumma-ilâni, see § 467. I can make nothing of the other traces of names. Nos. 320, 322, 323 have already been taken in § 757-8.

### *ASSIGNMENT OF SLAVE AS COMPOSITION FOR MANSLAUGHTER.*

772. No. 321. A piece out of the middle. Nearly black.

Owing to the fragmentary state of the document, an abstract is difficult to construct. The case seems to have been this. Atar-*kâmu*, the *aba*, had caused the death of Samâku, whose son Šamaš-ukîn-aḥi had therefore the power to exact vengeance. The text gives no clue as to the manner of Samâku's death. Atar-*kâmu* was called before some judge, perhaps before Ašurbânipal, the king himself, acting as *Sartênu*, or Chief Justice. He was condemned to hand over a slave Saḥîš, his maid (his daughter, according to line 3), with her family, or property, to the son. He would thus purge his guilt. This must be done *ina eli kaburi*. No date is preserved, but there are traces of four or more witnesses.

I have already called attention to the unique nature of this document, in the preface to Vol. I. p. xv. Mr T. G. Pinches in his review in *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 896, summarises the context much as I did, only he takes the words, *ina eli kaburi ša Samâku idûkušû*, to mean that the avengers shall kill the manslayer 'upon the grave of Samâku.' I took *ina eli kaburi ša Samâku* to mean 'by the time of the burying of Samâku.' Although the interment of the body probably took place almost at once, the funeral rites may not have been completed until satisfaction had been given: and so I thought that the funeral might have been fixed as the limit of time within which the satisfaction must be rendered. But the satisfaction may have been given 'upon the grave,' in order that the spirit might be aware of it. I was also inclined to seek for another meaning than 'grave' for *kaburu*, because *kabru*, *kabîru*,

are used in that sense. The exact significance of the clause, however, may be cleared up by the recognition of some other reference to burial customs. If, as the Nippur explorations seem to shew, the Babylonians adopted some sort of cremation as their method of disposing of the dead, this process might well be postponed long enough to admit of the satisfaction being paid, before the actual interment. Professor Zimmern, *G. G. A.* 1899, p. 251, seems to be of the opinion that no. 618 is a similar text. I am not aware of the reasons for this view, so must be content with calling attention to it.

The text contains several obscurities. In line 1, the first sign may be a trace of *ú*. The word *umâ* means 'now.' The form *ittatruš*, IV. 2, of *tarâsu*, may mean 'he gave direction,' but the form IV. 2 seems to demand a passive meaning. Further it is difficult to see how otherwise to connect the word with the rest of the text. But it is possible that the scribe wrote *ittaprus*, from *parâsu*, 'to decide.' If so, this may be to record the judgment. In that case we should expect the following sentence to be a subordinate clause. Then the verb in line 5 should be *idîni*. But we may suppose *idan* to be used, as in a quotation, 'he shall give.' In either case we should expect *mâ* to begin line 2. There, however, nothing but *ŠAL* appears to be lost, indicating that Saḥîš is a female name. It is not likely that *amtu* is part of the name, but her title as 'maid.' Whether line 3 means that she was actually the daughter of Atarḫâmu, or only his 'slave girl,' is difficult to decide.

The arrangement of the sentence, from line 4 onwards, is rather difficult to follow. We should expect *ana* before the name of the recipient in line 4. But the scribe did not give it. But it can hardly be but that Atarḫâmu, the *aba*, was to give the girl to Šamaš-ukîn-aḫi. The girl was to be accompanied by the *inria*, or *IM-RI-A*, which seems to mean 'family,' at any rate in some connections. But it may be that the sense here is something like 'property,' unless we are to suppose that Saḥîš had children. The nominative to *idan* I take to be Atarḫâmu, the *aba*, and then as he gives the slave *kûm dâme*, 'in lieu of blood,' we must credit him with being the offender. Then in line 6, we read *dâme imasi*, 'he shall purge the blood,' that is, 'wash away its guilt.' A parallel to these phrases may be found in no. 806, line 3, where we see that 'ten homers of land in Niramai had been paid by the servants of the *bêl paḥâti* of Simê, *kûm dâme*.' Hence blood-guiltiness might be

purged by a fine, which could be paid in slaves, or land, perhaps also in money.

For in the next line here we read, *šumma amiltu lâ idîn ana eli kaburi ša Samâku idûkušu*, 'if he do not give the woman, upon the grave of Samâku they shall kill him.' But, if this settlement of the quarrel was not accepted by the disputants, and respected, then a penalty must be paid by the offender to the treasury of Ašur and Šamaš. This penalty is set, by line 10, at ten minas of silver. Hence we might conclude that ten minas of silver would have been accepted originally as blood money. But this is not certain; for in other contracts we find that the penalty attached to breach of contract was neither the equivalent of the value of the loss nor any constant multiple of it. Further, we do not find that this penalty was to be paid to the son of the slain man, but to the treasury of the gods. With this agrees what we find in no. 806, where the land paid by the servants of the *bêl paḥâti*, *kûm dâme*, seems to be in the possession of a temple.

The verb *idûkušu*, 'they shall kill him,' seems to be plural. This may be taken as impersonal, in the sense that any of the relatives of the slain man may slay the slayer; or it may point to the public officials of the state. I am not aware of any definite reference to ministers of justice, or police, in Assyria; but the existence of judges, and the *Sartênu*, or Chief Justice, almost implies something of the sort. Still, in Babylonia, see Kohler-Peiser, *A. B. L.*, *passim*, men took a good deal into their own hands, for example, arresting and imprisoning an offender, in their own house.

In this case, no doubt, the clause, in lines 10 onwards, defined the next of kin, who would be held responsible, but unfortunately this information has now perished. The mention of Ašurbânipal, as king, in line 2 of the reverse, serves to fix the reign; and in line 3, the traces strongly suggest that to the titles, 'king of Assyria,' and *šar kiššâtî*, was added *amêlu sartênu*. If so, we may consider that the king himself gave judgment in the case.

The witnesses shew the importance of the case. The titles of the first two are difficult to read. The first sign *TUR* is certain in each case. But then there seems to be *šû*, followed by two small verticals, and a pair of small verticals one above the other. Hence *mâr kâtâte* may be meant. But I know of no parallel to that, and I suspect that *DAN* was written over and upon a previous *TA*. Then the scribe must have meant to write *Turtânu*, and altered to *Turtân*.



If so, both these witnesses were Tartans, and appropriately follow the king. One was Tartan of the king's son. That speaks against *mâr kâtâte* in the sense of 'agent'; for what call could the 'agent' of the Crown Prince have to witness the transaction?

It is unfortunate that so little of the tablet is left to guide us. We cannot add any information from any other sources. Šamaš-ukîn-aḥi or Šamaš-kêniš-ušur is the name of a witness, B.C. 692, on no. 324. Samâku only occurs elsewhere as the name of a witness, on no. 598. Atarḫâmu and Saḥiṣ are to be found only here. The former is Aramaic in form. Adalal is the name of a witness and Tartan, B.C. 642, on no. 586; of a witness, Ep. D, on no. 622; occurs in the Ḥarran Census, and in the form Adallal, as a specimen name, App. I, XII. 27. Adadi-babau is a name not found elsewhere, and appears to be Aramaic. For Šarru-ilai, see § 472. The other traces do not seem to be any help. Perhaps for *ri* we should read *hu*.

773. No. 733. Lower portion, about half. Red.

This tablet enumerates a number of female slaves, each assigned to one man, for a sum of money. These sums are such that we must suppose them full prices, not the hire of the girls.

The traces in line 1 are not easy to complete. Above line 1, are traces of two more lines, in one we may conjecture *MA-NA*, in the other *ŠI*. In line 3, *Bêl* is quite as likely as *Kin*, the name may therefore be *Bêl-abûa*. This was the name of the Eponym, B.C. 842, III. R. I, II. 23, compare II. R. 68, no. 2, 30. The name is borne by a witness, Ep. ψ, on no. 351; occurs in the Ḥarran Census, and as a specimen name, App. I, v. 21. The traces of the sum before *kaspu*, in line 4, are very uncertain.

The first fully legible entry, lines 5 and 6, reads *I-it ŠAL ina ŠI Bêl-aḥêšu ina libbi ½ MA-NA KU BABBAR*, or *ištênit amiltu ina pâni Bêl-aḥêšu ina libbi ½ manê kaspi*, i.e. 'one woman in possession of *Bêl-aḥêšu* for half a mina of silver.' Taking this sentence as the model, we see that in all probability, the first entry read also 'one woman in possession of *Ilu*..... for half a mina of silver.' The next entry probably was 'one woman in the possession of *Bêl-abûa* for one-third mina and three shekels of silver.' Then in line 7 onwards we read, 'one woman in the possession of *Bânî* for half a mina of silver; one woman in the possession of *Ki*..... for half a mina of silver; one woman in the possession of *Abu*..... for one third (of a mina) of silver; two souls in the possession of

Bêl-ib(ni?) for one mina and a half of silver; one woman in the possession of Kundai, for ..... silver.'

Here then we have four women reckoned worth half a mina of silver each, one worth twenty-three shekels, one worth twenty shekels, and two other slaves, perhaps a man and wife, together worth a mina and a half. The phrase *ina pâni*, literally, 'in the presence of,' denotes 'possession.' It may have been read *ana pâni*, in the sense of 'assigned to,' 'delivered to.' In all probability we have here a list of the proceeds of a slave sale; or perhaps an inventory of slaves allotted with an estimate of their values.

For Ukîn-abûa see § 494; for Bêl-aḥêšu, § 687; for Bânî, § 467; for Bêl-ibni, § 505. I know of no other occurrence of Kundai.

774. No. 763. The right-hand edge and lower portion are gone. Drab.

This is clearly a list of captive slaves, unfortunately badly preserved. In line 1, it is impossible to be certain of the signs, but perhaps we have *amêlu laba*.....: in the next line *ša ana A*....., 'which to A....., *lîdinu* 'let them (or him) give.' Then follows a list of proper names. Against some of these the scribe has put a mark, exactly like the sign *ĀŠ*. As the ideogram *HA-A*, i.e. *ḥalâku* or some derivative, probably *ḥalka*, occurs in line 10, I expect the scribe 'ticked off,' such as had fled or perished by the way. The names seem foreign, Pûdi is a frequent element, Hûru also. They may therefore be Egyptian. In line 8, the scribe gives a total 'one woman,' the rest is lost. Then he adds the name of another male, who seems to have perished. He adds yet another male name; and, in line 11, seems to reckon, 'one woman, four men.' That agrees well with the preceding items. He gives three more male names, and after several lines missing, one more female name. After that he has a total. I think he wrote 4 *amêlu UŠ*....., probably meaning *išparê*, 'weavers.' Then he wrote *ŠAL* upon *amêlu*, producing the indistinct sign before *UŠ*. But I am not at all sure which was the first written sign. Still the position after a female name suggests that there were 'four women weavers.' Then comes a total over all, of 'nine *šâbê*, eight (women probably).' He makes a grand total of seventeen only. Hence one figure is given wrongly. I now think the second figure was eight, but it is hidden by silica. The list goes on with some articles of furniture. I think, then, we have a note of a share of booty from some expedition, allotted to the person whose name, in line 2, begins with A.

These articles are 'two *iršê*, two *paššûrê*, two *arnê*, two (*iṣu*) *NA*, two....., one *ḥaṣinâ*, one....., one (*iṣu*) ....., two.....' The list is badly damaged. The sign for *iršu* was followed by another sign, making up a fuller ideogram. These 'beds,' or 'cushions,' are therefore not defined completely. The next article was indicated by the sign for *paššûru*, 'dish.' The second sign is an error. The article *arnu* is often mentioned in other lists of furniture, but at present I see no clue to its meaning. The *iṣu NA*, may be really *iṣu LA*, the name of some sort of vessel. Whether *ḥaṣinâ* here is an article, or whether the scribe has gone back to proper names, is not clear. For *Ḥaṣinâ* we might compare *Bêlit-ḥaṣîna*, in § 760. If this is a proper name, then also, in line 11, we may have another, and line 12 may give a total 'two.'

Unsatisfactory as the list is, the proper names are of great interest. The first name *Uṣiḥanša* is curious and may not be complete. The name may really end in *Šamaš* and be *Uṣiḥa-Šamaš*. The female name *Ummat-ḥa*....., is also without any parallel, at present known to me. There is trace of a sign after *ḥa*. *Ḥartibû* seems to be the same as the name *חַרְתַּבּוּ*, which occurs on an *ostrakon* from Elephantina, *C. I. S.* p. 140, B. line 3; which De Vogüé thinks is neither Aramaic nor Egyptian. *Pûdi-Ḥûrû* is discussed in § 503. The compounds there read *Pûdi* might, of course, be read *Bôd*. The many Aramaic names into which *חור* enters as an element, may make us hesitate to identify the second element of the name with the Egyptian Horus. As Horus appears in Aramaic as *חַר*, I think it would not appear in Assyrian as *Ḥûru*. In fact, *Ašurbânipal*'s scribes in v. R. 1, 98 give *Ḥar-siaêšu* as the name of the king of *Šabnûti* in Egypt. This name is identified by Steindorff, *B. A. S.* 1, p. 350, with the Egyptian *Ḥr-si-'is-(t)*, the Greek *Ἡρσιῆσις*, 'Horus son of Isis,' a frequent name in Saitic times. Compare *Ḥarsîsu*, the name of a witness, on no. 590. This inclines me to think that Horus appears in cuneiform transcription as *Ḥar*, not as *Ḥûru*<sup>1</sup>. Here, in line 9, we have the name *Ḥûru*, if it be complete. It may be followed by *amêlu*, or by *DU*, or the name may be *Ḥûru-milki*. The next name seems to be *Šumaššê*, for which I know no parallel.

A name like *Pûdi-Mâni* again raises the Egyptian question. Was

<sup>1</sup> But *Ḥar* can also be read *Ḥur*; and the name *Pišan-Ḥuru*, borne by the king of *Nathu*, in Egypt, Greek *Πενδύρις*, found in K 8537, v. R. 1, 92 is considered to be a compound of Horus; see Steindorff, *B. A. S.* 1. p. 347.

Mâni, the god M<sup>h</sup>v, or Amen, or the Assyrian Manu of III. R. 66, 2 c? Here the possibility of reading Bôd for Pûdi renders more information desirable. The next name Pûdi-Šêri seems to point to the god Šêru, known from the Harran Census. The next name seems meant for Kurarâte, or Kirarâte. As *Ku* may be read Dur, we may compare Dararâte, in § 471, and read perhaps Durrarâte. The end of a name *-su*, occurs in the first line of reverse. A name like Unsardi....., which is probably incomplete, is quite unknown to me. Whether Hašinâ could mean 'Protection,' or something similar, is rendered doubtful, by the nationality of the slaves here being so doubtful.

On these names see the correspondence in *The Expository Times*, X. pp. 423, 475, 526.

775. No. 759. The upper edge and left-hand upper corner are gone. Drab.

Although this cannot be in any sense a contract, or remotely connected with one, it is apparently concerned with captives. The first few lines are defective and consequently their sense is obscure. In the first line seems to have been a name, perhaps Iarapâ, who was a *râb kišir* of the land of Arbai. The scribe seems to have written *ma* in place of *pa*. The female name Samsi seems to be the nominative to the verb *tabbal*. But what that means here is not clear to me, nor what the first name agrees with. Can it be a report that Samsi had slain, or captured, .....ramâ? One is irresistibly reminded of Samsi, Queen of Arabia. Was Arabia meant by Arbai? On the other hand we could take *tabbal ša Samsi* together, if we only knew what verb to supply. A fresh sentence seems to begin in line 7; from that point onwards we read 'to the land Arbai, Iarapâ the *râb kišir*, Hatarânu the *râb kišir*, Ganabu and Tamrânu, in all four *šâbê ana HA-A*.' Here we may take *HA-A* as *iḥliku*, 'fled.' But *ana* would remain hung up without an object. Can the scribe have meant that they fled to Samsi? Then he goes on to say that 'Hatarânu carried off sixty-one, and Iarapâ sixty-three, in all one hundred and twenty-four white camels.' Here the verb of which only .....*tesiru* is left, may have been *ušteširu*, and may be for the usual *ušteširu*. But naturally one cannot be sure.

This is properly a report, and it is difficult to see why Dr Peiser wished to see it included in the collection. It is of interest, however, for the proper names. Whether we should think of the Samsi of Tiglath Pileser III's time, or whether this is quite another person I am not prepared to say. Samsi was also Queen of Arabia in Sargon's

time, see *Annals* 97, *Pr.* 27, in Winckler's *Sargon*; compare III. R. 10, no. 2, 19. Now Arbai, in *Sargon*, *Annals* 95, means the Arabs, *ruḫūti āšibūt madbari*; compare III. R. 8, 94, and *Rm.* 77.

Iarapâ is known to me only from this text, but is clearly Aramaic, Hebrew or Arabic; compare ירפאל and the many names formed from רפא, in *N. E.* p. 369. The names are Nabataean and Palmyrene, which agrees well with the idea of Arabians. Hatarânu occurs only here, but compare the city Hâtâru, placed by Ašurnâširpal in Kirḫi, I. R. 18, 59. The name Ganabu recalls the Palmyrene גנבה. I know no other parallel. Tamrânu occurs only in this place, but we may compare the city name Tamar, in III. R. 10, no. 3, 8 b, if that name be complete.

In line 1, read *pa* for *ma*. In line 4, two characters seem lost on the left. Hence *tabbal* may be the end of *ubal*. Perhaps then Iarapâ 'brought' the tribute of Arabia from Samsi. Between lines 6 and 7 may have been a line written, now covered in silica, which may be *û-ba-la*, but Winckler also omitted the line. In line 1, of reverse, several characters may have been written. In line 5, the scribe either wrote *pašūti*, or made *pi* very like *pa*.

The text has already been published, Winckler, *Sml.* p. 62.

776. No. 772. Piece of the left-hand upper corner. Red.

This is a list of men, some of whom are evidently peasants, each of whom is accompanied by a family, so many 'souls.' From its style it might well be a part of one of the schedules; but, as yet, I have not succeeded in finding its join. There is not much to remark about the text.

The first person was an *irrišu*, with 'four souls'; the name of the next ended in *i*, with 'four souls'; the name of the next ends in *nî*, he was a 'gardener.' The next name Bêl-balât, or Bêl-uballit, is common enough. The form here, *EN-TI-LA*, was the name of a neighbour, B.C. 717, on no. 391; of the son of Bêl-aḫi-iddin, on no. 880; occurs on no. 394; and as a specimen name, *App.* 3, I. 21. That Bêl-balât is a possible reading seems shewn by the form *EN-ba-lat*, the name of the Eponym, B.C. 816, III. R. 1, III. 9. The name *EN-ba...* of the lender, on no. 114, might be restored in other ways. On the other hand *AN-EN-u-bal-liṭ* is named in K 13106; and *AN-EN-DIN-iṭ* is found in K 1950, 8671; 83-1-18, 110; and in later Babylonian texts, *S. A. V.* 809. Bêl-balât had with him 'two souls.' The next named, Sâsû, had seven souls; his name is discussed in § 486. Mannu-aki-aḫê, see § 660, has no figure

preserved for his name. The next name is only partly preserved, only *-ipšê* is left, and *amêlu*, part of his title.

It is clear that this might be a list of slaves sold, as in our no. 275.

No. 776. Piece out of the middle. Brown colour. About 8 lines to the inch.

This clearly contained the end of the formula of a slave sale. In line 1, we have traces of *ešrâte*; in line 2, of *(ana) bêlišu (utâr)*; in line 3, *dînišu*. In line 1 of the reverse, we have *(šib)tu bîni ana*; and, in line 2, *sartu*, being part of clause B. Hence slaves were part of the property sold. Then came the list of witnesses, of whose names only *-ri* and *-ku* are left.

No. 811. Piece of lower side, of a small contract-shaped tablet. No join is possible. Brown.

This is part of a list of persons in the peasant rank, very likely slaves. The traces of the first line are not easily restored. Then we read, 'Aḥi-iddin, one son, one wife, in all (three); the woman Bašî, three sons, in all (four); the woman Sagibê, one son, in all two; the woman Eziptu, the woman Šiḥâtî, the woman Išittu, Pâni-Ištar-lâmur, Aḥu-lâmur, a *nâdin akli*; Mannu-lû-napišti, an *irrišu*; Bânî a gardener.' There is no clue to the purpose of the list.

For Aḥi-iddin, see § 572; for Bašî, § 768; for Sagibê, compare the names in § 465; for Eziptu, compare Ezipata, in § 707; for Šiḥâtî, compare Šiḥâ, in § 760. Išittu seems intended for a feminine of Išdu. For Pâni-Ištar-lâmur see § 475; for Aḥu-lâmur, § 680; for Bânî, § 467. Mannu-lû-napištu is found only here, compare Mannu-lû-šulmu, in § 578.

777. No. 826. Nearly complete. Brown.

This list is almost exactly like no. 811. It begins, oddly enough, with 'two sons' of a man Atta.... Then came 'the wife of Abi-lâmur, Badî, Ištar-bâbi-ilai; Iḳbi-Ištar, his wife, three daughters of his; Ḳurdi-Ištar, a *nâdin akli*, his three sons, his wife, and probably two daughters *batûsu*, in all seventeen souls, who fear not God.'

These are not necessarily slaves, but the style of enumeration suggests that they are to be sold, or deported. The last clause opens a wide field for speculation.

The name Atta... might be completed in different ways. Abi-lâmur is also a specimen name, App. 1, x. 5. Badî occurs only here, but compare the female name Badîa, in § 704. Badâ is found

in K 684, 1226, 1881, 8409. For Ištar-bâbu-ilai, see § 554. I know of no other occurrence of Iḫbi-Ištar. For ẖurdi-Ištar, see § 554.

No. 870. Portion of right-hand edge. Red.

This might well be part of a similar list to the last. The name Bêl-Harran-šar-ušur seems the only complete name, see § 687. Rîmâni is not to be restored easily. What name could give the traces *sa-al-la* is hard to decide. In line 5, we seem to have *šadûni*, doubtless the end of a name. Then the signs *I TUR-UD*... suggest, 'one son *batûsu*.' It is possible that this tablet is part of a schedule, but if *batûsu* was intended that is very unlikely.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

### PRICES OF SLAVES.

In all comparisons of prices, it is essential to bear in mind that the quality of the commodity may vary. Thus a female slave might be sold for as much as 90 shekels, or as little as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  shekels. The true average price of a slave girl does not, however, lie midway between these figures. A glance at the table will shew both to be exceptional prices. No doubt, in each case, special reasons existed. Sometimes the document allows us to see something of these special reasons. A man would naturally demand more for his daughter, or his sister, than for a mere slave girl; even if he sold her to become such. On the other hand, he could not expect much for an ordinary slave girl, sold to be wife to another man's slave, if he had already pledged her manual labour to a third party. Such exceptional prices must be left out of account altogether; they do not necessarily compensate one another in estimates of average value, unless occurring in sufficient numbers. Even then they must be laid aside, if we have a large number of cases, varying within narrow limits, about a mean value that may be taken to represent the ordinary price of an ordinary article.

#### I. Single male slave.

##### (a) in shekels, royal standard.

No. 172, a <i>šibirru KU šiprât</i> ,	90 shekels.
No. 196, a <i>rêd imêrê</i> ,	90 „

##### (b) in shekels, Carchemish standard.

No. 174,	60 „
No. 175,	120 „
No. 182,	60 + „



No. 183,	60 shekels.
No. 201, a son,	120 „
No. 203,	60 „
(c) in shekels, standard unnamed.	
No. 173,	130 „
No. 178,	20 „
No. 179,	30 „
No. 184,	30 „
No. 186,	30 „
No. 197, a man from Tabal,	67 „
No. 198,	32 „
No. 200, a <i>šaḫū</i> ,	30 „
No. 313,	60 „
No. 314,	16 „
No. 642, an <i>išpar birmi</i> ,	90 „
(d) in minas of bronze.	
No. 176,	50 „
No. 180,	100 „
No. 181,	50 „
No. 199,	50 „

The cases where there is doubt about the price are excluded.

Here we see that a skilled artisan, a *šibirru šiprât*, a 'cloth worker,' or 'dyer'; an *išpar birmi*, a 'weaver' or 'spinner' of variegated wool; a herdsman or 'driver of asses,' would fetch as much as ninety shekels. A son sold for as much as one hundred and twenty shekels, Carchemish money. There is no clue to the high price in no. 175. The other four cases give an average price of sixty shekels, Carchemish standard. In no. 173, we have an abnormally high price; a man from Tabal fetched sixty-seven shekels; one man in the *rûtu* class fetched sixty and another only sixteen shekels. One slave sold for thirty-three, another for twenty shekels. But four are priced at exactly thirty shekels. Hence it looks as if a Carchemish shekel was only worth half as much as the unnamed standard.

Whether the difference in weights applied to bronze we do not know; but three cases out of four shew the value of a slave to be fifty minas. Hence we may conjecture fifty minas of bronze to be worth half a common mina of silver or one mina of silver Carchemish. That gives a ratio of bronze to silver as 1 : 100.

## II. Single female slave.

## (a) in shekels, Carchemish standard.

No. 208, a sister,	30 shekels.
No. 217,	90 „
No. 222,	60 „

## (b) in shekels, standard unnamed.

No. 207,	90 „
No. 209,	35 „
No. 211,	30 „
No. 213,	90 „
No. 214,	34 „
No. 215,	9 „
No. 216,	60 „
No. 220,	34 „
No. 224,	30 „
No. 227,	30 „
No. 307, wife for a son,	16 „
No. 308, wife for a slave,	30 „
No. 309, wife for a slave,	30 „
No. 711, wife for a slave,	30 „
No. 311, <i>rûtu</i> ,	2½ „
No. 312, „	34 „
No. 317, „	30 „
No. 86, pledge,	30 „

## (c) in minas of bronze.

No. 218,	60 „
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Here we see that in eight cases the price of a female slave for ordinary purposes, wife for a slave, housemaid, etc., was thirty ordinary shekels; in three cases thirty-four, and once thirty-five. One of the class (a) is the same value, if we take a Carchemish mina to be worth half as much. But we have a wide range of prices: in three cases ninety shekels was given, and sixty shekels in no. 216. In no. 208, the thirty shekels Carchemish seems on a level with the sixteen shekels in no. 307. The prices, two and a half shekels, and nine shekels, are curiously low. It is clear that there was greater variability in women slaves than among the males. But an average price was thirty shekels, or a half mina.

The single bronze price was not out of the way here; sixty in place of fifty minas, the average for a male slave.

### III. Several slaves together.

M = male, F = female.

#### (a) in shekels, royal standard.

No. 241,	9 M, 8 F,	510,	average 30 shekels.
No. 242,	1 M, 1 F,	60,	„ 30 „
No. 243,	2 M, 1 F, males skilled,	180,	„ 60 „
No. 284,	1 M, 1 F, (his mother)	90,	„ 45 „

#### (b) in shekels, Carchemish standard.

No. 230,	7 M, 3 F,	540,	„ 54 „
No. 231,	3 M, 4 F,	120,	„ 17 „
No. 234,	2 M, 1 F,	180,	„ 60 „
No. 236,	1 M, 1 F,	60,	„ 30 „
No. 240,	5 M, 2 F,	600,	„ 85 „
No. 245,	3 F,	120,	„ 40 „
No. 249,	2 M, one skilled,	90,	„ 45 „
No. 253,	11 M, 9 F,	600,	„ 30 „
No. 257,	2 F,	120,	„ 60 „
No. 258,	4 M, 1 F, one skilled,	180,	„ 36 „
No. 270,	3 M, 2 F,	300,	„ 60 „
No. 271,	3 M, 2 F,	300,	„ 60 „

#### (c) in shekels, unnamed standard.

No. 229,	3 M, 4 F,	180,	„ 25 „
No. 232,	2 M, 1 F,	240,	„ 80 „
No. 233,	3 F,	68,	„ 23 „
No. 235,	1 M, 2 F, man skilled,	60,	„ 20 „
No. 237,	1 M, 1 F,	60,	„ 30 „
No. 246,	7 M, 6 F,	210,	„ 16 „
No. 251,	2 M,	30,	„ 15 „
No. 261,	9 M, 11 F,	360,	„ 18 „
No. 267,	2 F,	50,	„ 25 „
No. 278,	3 M,	50,	„ 17 „
No. 293,	1 M, 1 F,	120,	„ 60 „

#### (d) in shekels, merchant standard.

No. 244,	2 M, 2 F,	180,	„ 45 „
No. 254,	2 M, 1 F,	30,	„ 10 „

(e) in shekels, standard of Gar-samerâte.

No. 310, 1 M, 2 F, 180, average 60 shekels.

(f) in minas of bronze.

No. 330, 3 M, 2 F, 74, „ 15 „

No. 248, 2 M, 5 F, 180, „ 25 „

No. 259, 2 M, 4 F, 180, „ 30 „

Here we cannot rely on uniformity of quality. But if we use the value of thirty shekels for an ordinary slave, sixty for a skilled artisan, then we shall get a close approximation. Thus, in no. 284, we may assume that the man was skilled and worth sixty shekels and the woman only the ordinary thirty. No. 249 gives sixty shekels for a gardener and thirty for his brother, who may have been a child. In the Carchemish standard, nos. 234, 257, 270, 271, work out on the basis of sixty shekels an ordinary adult slave. With this agree nos. 241, 242, giving thirty shekels on the royal standard. When we take a blind average over all, we get forty-five shekels in Carchemish and twenty-four in the ordinary standard. The value of the royal mina is clearly the same as the ordinary mina. One value for the merchant's standard is the same as for the Carchemish standard, but the other case suggests a very low-price slave. The mina of Gar-samerâte is evidently the same as that of Carchemish.

In the bronze prices, the ratio of silver to bronze seems to be about 50:1 unless these are reckoned in the old heavy mina, when we should get as before, a ratio 100:1. But in these mixed sales, all that we can do is to check former results by a general closeness of agreement.

The case of barter, in no. 252, exchanges three male slaves for one fine horse, which would make the value of the horse about three minas in the Carchemish standard. In the days of king Solomon we are told that an Egyptian horse fetched one hundred and fifty shekels of silver. Allowing for the possibility that this was also three minas, the permanence of prices is certainly remarkable.

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A denotes that the place is called *alu* in the original.

M	„	„	„	„	„	„	<i>mātu</i>	„	„
N	„	„					<i>nâru</i> is prefixed to the name.		
P	„	„					<i>amêlu</i> is prefixed, meaning a tribe or people.		
S	„	„					<i>šâdu</i> is prefixed; but in many cases this may denote a country, <i>mātu</i> .		
V	„	„					<i>alu šê</i> is prefixed.		

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